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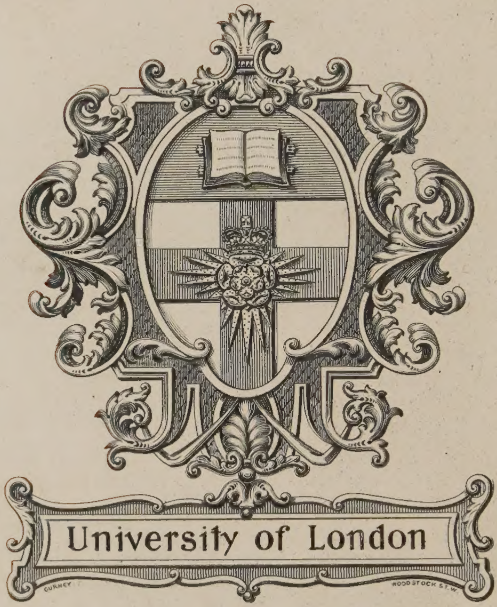

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THE

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(AUTHORISED EDITION),

FOURTH SERIES.

FIRST SESSION OF THE TWENTY-SEVENTH PARLIAMENT

OF THE

UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

64 VICTORIÆ.

VOLUME LXXXVIII.

COMPRISING THE PERIOD FROM THE THIRD DAY OF DECEMBER TO
THE FIFTEENTH DAY OF DECEMBER,

1900.

WITH INDEX FOR THE SESSION.

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CHRONOLOGY OF "THE PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES."

THE PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY contains all that can be collected of the Legislative History of this country from the Conquest to the close of the XVIIIth Century (1803), 36 vols. The chief sources whence these Debates are derived are the Constitutional History, 24 vols.; Sir Simonds D'Ewes' Journal; Debates of the Commons in 1620 and 1621; Chandler and Timberland's Debates, 22 vols.; Grey's Debates of the Commons, from 1667 to 1694, 10 vols.; Almon's Debates, 24 vols.; Debrett's Debates, 63 vols.; The Hardwicke Papers; Debates in Parliament by Dr. Johnson, &c., &c.

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OF THE

LORDS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL

IN THE

FIRST SESSION OF THE TWENTY-SEVENTH PARLIAMENT

OF

THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

---

64 VICTORIÆ 1900.

A

Abercorn, James Marquess of. (*Duke of Abercorn*)
Abercromby, George Ralph Lord
Aberdare, Henry Campbell Lord
Abergavenny, William Marquess of
Abingdon, Montagu Arthur Earl of
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Aldenham, Henry Hucks Lord
Alington, Henry Gerard Lord
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Ashburton, Francis Denzil Edward Lord
Ashcombe, George Lord
Ashton, James Lord
Auckland, William Morton Lord
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Cawdor, Frederick Archibald Vaughan Earl

Chaworth, Reginald Lord. (*Earl of Meath*)

Chelmsford, Frederic Augustus Lord

Chesham, Charles Compton William Lord

Chester, Francis John Bishop of

Chesterfield, Edwyn Francis Earl of

Cheylesmore, William Meriton Lord

Chichester, Walter John Earl of

Chichester, Ernest Roland Bishop of

Cholmondeley, George Henry Hugh Marquess of

Churchill, Victor Albert Francis Charles Lord

Churston, John Lord

Clancarty, William Frederick Viscount. (*Earl of Clancarty*)

Clanwilliam, Richard James Lord. (*Earl of Clanwilliam*)

Clarendon, Edward Hyde Earl of

Clements, Charles Lord. (*Earl of Leitrim*)

Clifford of Chudleigh, Lewis Henry Hugh Lord

Clifton, Edward Henry Stuart Lord. (*Earl of Darnley*)

Clinton, Charles Henry Rolle Lord

Clonbrock, Luke Gerald Lord. (*Elected for Ireland*)

Cloncurry, Valentine Frederick Lord

Cobham, Charles George Viscount

Colchester, Reginald Charles Edward Lord

Coleridge, Bernard John Seymour Lord

Colville of Culross, Charles John Lord

Combermere, Francis Lynch Wellington Viscount

Congleton, Henry Lord

Connaught and Strathearn, His Royal Highness Arthur William Patrick Albert Duke of

Connemara, Robert Lord

Cottenham, Kenelm Charles Edward Earl of

Cottesloe, Thomas Francis Lord

Coventry, George William Earl of

Cowley, Henry Arthur Mornington Earl

Cowper, Francis Thomas de Grey Earl

Cranbrook, Gathorne Earl of

Cranworth, Robert Thornhaugh Lord

Craven, William George Robert Earl of

Crawshaw, Thomas Lord

Crewe, Robert Offley Ashburton Earl of

Crofton, Edward Henry Churchill Lord. (*Elected for Ireland*)

Cromer, Evelyn Viscount

Cross, Richard Assheton Viscount

Cumberland and Teviotdale, His Royal Highness Ernest Augustus William Adolphus George Frederick Duke of

Currie, Philip Henry Wodehouse Lord

D

Dartmouth, William Heneage Earl of

Dartrey, Vesey Earl of

Davey, Horace Lord. (*A Lord of Appeal in Ordinary*)

Dawnay, Hugh Richard Lord. (*Viscount Downe*)

De Clifford, Jack Southwell Lord

De Freyne, Arthur Lord

De La Warr, Gilbert George Reginald Earl

De L'Isle and Dudley, Philip Lord

De Mauley, William Ashley Webb Lord

de Montalt, Cornwallis Earl

De Ramsey, William Henry Lord

de Ros, Dudley Charles Lord

De Saumarez, James St. Vincent Lord

de Vesci, John Robert William Lord. (*Viscount de Vesci*)

Delamere, Hugh Lord

Denbigh, Rudolph Robert Basil Aloysius Augustine Earl of

Denman, Thomas Lord

Deramore, Robert Wilfrid Lord

Derby, Frederick Arthur Earl of

Derwent, Harcourt Lord

Devon, Henry Hugh Earl of

Devonshire, Spencer Compton Duke of. (*Lord President of the Council*)

Digby, Edward Henry Trafalgar Lord

Dinevor, Arthur de Cardonnel Lord

Doncaster, William Henry Walter Earl of. (*Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry*)

Dormer, John Baptist Joseph Lord

Douglas, Charles Alexander Lord. (*Earl of Home*)

Drogheda, Ponsonby William Moore Earl of. (*Elected for Ireland*)

Ducie, Henry John Earl of

Dudley, William Humble Earl of

Dufferin and Ava, Frederick Temple Marquess of

Dunalley, Henry O'Callaghan Lord. (*Elected for Ireland*)

Dundonald, Douglas Mackinnon Baillie Hamilton Earl of. (*Elected for Scotland*)

Dunleath, Henry Lyle Lord

Dunmore, Charles Adolphus Lord. (*Earl of Dunmore*)

Dunning, John Lord. (*Lord Rollo*)

Durham, John George Earl of

Durham, Brooke Foss Bishop of

E

Ebury, Robert Wellesley Lord

Effingham, Henry Alexander Gordon Earl of

Egerton, Wilbraham Earl

Eldon, John Earl of

Elgin, Victor Alexander Lord. (*Earl of Elgin and Kincardine*)

Ellenborough, Charles Towry Hamilton Lord

Ellesmere, Francis Charles Granville Earl of

Elphinstone, Sidney Herbert Lord

Ely, Alwyne Bishop of

Emly, Thomas William Gaston Lord

Erskine, William Macnaghten Lord

Esher, Reginald Baliol Viscount

Essex, George Devereux de Vere Earl of

Ettrick, William John George Lord. (*Lord Napier*)

Exeter, William Thomas Brownlow Marquess of

Exeter, Edward Henry Bishop of

Exmouth, Edward Addington Hargreaves Viscount

F

Fairlie, David Lord. (*Earl of Glasgow*)

Falkland, Byron Plantagenet Viscount. (*Elected for Scotland*)

Falmouth, Evelyn Edward Thomas Viscount

Farnham, Somerset Henry Lord. (*Elected for Ireland*)

Farquhar, Horace Brand Lord

Farrer, Thomas Cecil Lord

Fermanagh, John Henry Lord. (*Earl Erne*)

Ferrers, Sewallis Edward Earl

Feversham, William Ernest Earl of

Field, William Ventris Lord

Fife, Alexander William George Duke of

Fingall, Arthur James Francis Lord. (*Earl of Fingall*)

Fisherwick, George Augustus Hamilton Lord. (*Marquess of Donegall*)

Fitzhardinge, Charles Paget Fitzhardinge Lord

Fitzwilliam, William Thomas Spencer Earl

Foley, Henry Thomas Lord

Forbes, Horace Courtenay Gammell Lord. (*Elected for Scotland*)

Forester, Cecil Theodore Lord

Fortescue, Hugh Earl

Foxford, William Henry Edmond de Vere Sheaffe Lord. (*Earl of Limerick*)

Frankfort de Montmorency, Viscount. (*Elected for Ireland*)

G

Gage, Henry Charles Lord. (*Viscount Gage*)

Gainsborough, Charles William Francis Earl of

Gardner, —— Lord

Gerard, William Cansfield Lord

Gifford, Edric Frederick Lord

Glanusk, Joseph Russell Lord

Glenesk, Algernon Lord

Gloucester, Charles John Bishop of

Gordon, John Campbell Viscount. (*Earl of Aberdeen*)

Gormanston, Jenico William Joseph Lord. (*Viscount Gormanston*)

Gough, Hugh Viscount

Grafton, Augustus Charles Lennox Duke of

Graham, Douglas Beresford Malise Ronald Earl. (*Duke of Montrose*)

Granard, Bernard Arthur William Patrick Hastings Lord. (*Earl of Granard*)

Grantley, John Richard Brinsley Lord

Granville, Granville George Earl

Greville, Algernon William Fulke Lord

Grey, Albert Henry George Earl

Grey de Ruthyn, Rawdon George Grey Lord

Grimthorpe, Edmund Lord

Grinstead, Lowry Egerton Lord. (*Earl of Enniskillen*)

Guilford, Frederick George Earl of

Gwydir, Peter Robert Lord

H

Haddington, George Earl of. (*Elected for Scotland*)

Haldon, Lawrence Hesketh Lord

Haliburton, Arthur Lawrence Lord

Halifax, Charles Lindley Viscount

Halsbury, Hardinge Stanley Earl of. (*Lord High Chancellor*)

Hamilton of Dalzell, John Glencairn Carter Lord

Hampden, Henry Robert Viscount

Hampton, Herbert Perrott Murray Lord

Hardinge, Henry Charles Viscount

Hardwicke, Albert Edward Philip Henry Earl of

Hare, William Lord. (*Earl of Listowel*)

Harewood, Henry Ulick Earl of

Harlech, William Richard Lord

Harrington, Charles Augustus Earl of

Harris, George Robert Canning Lord

Harrowby, Dudley Francis Stewart Earl of

Hartismere, John Major Lord. (*Lord Henniker*)

Hastings, George Manners Lord

Hatherton, Edward George Percy Lord

Hawarden, Cornwallis Viscount. (*Elected for Ireland.*) (*In another place as Earl de Montalt*)

Hawke, Martin Bladen Lord

Hawkesbury, Cecil George Savile Lord

Hay, George Lord. (*Earl of Kinnoul*)

Headley, Charles Mark Lord. (*Elected for Ireland*)

Heneage, Edward Lord

Hereford, Robert Viscount

Herries, Marmaduke Francis Lord

Herschell, Richard Farrer Lord

Hertford, Hugh de Grey Marquess of

Heytesbury, William Frederick Lord

Hill, Rowland Richard Viscount

Hillingdon, Charles William Lord

Hillsborough, Arthur Wills John Wellington Trumbell Blundell Earl of. (*Marquess of Downshire*)

Hindlip, Charles Lord

Hobhouse, Arthur Lord

Holm Patrick, Hans Wellesley Lord

Hood, Francis Wheler Viscount

Hood of Avalon, Arthur William Acland Lord

Hopetoun, John Adrian Louis Lord. (*Earl of Hopetoun.*)

Hothfield, Henry James Lord

Howard of Glossop, Francis Edward Lord

Howard de Walden, Thomas Evelyn Lord

Howe, Richard William Penn Earl

Howth, William Ulick Tristram Lord. (*Earl of Howth*)

Huntingdon, Warner Francis John Plantagenet Earl of

Hutchinson, John Luke George Viscount. (*Earl of Donoughmore*)

Hylton, George Hylton Lord

I

Iddesleigh, Walter Stafford Earl of

Ilchester, Henry Edward Earl of

Innes, Henry John Earl. (*Duke of Roxburghe*)

Inverclyde, John Lord

Iveagh, Edward Cecil Lord

J

James, Henry Lord

Jersey, Victor Albert George Earl of

K

Keane, John Manley Arbuthnot Lord

Kelvin, William Lord

Kenlis, Geoffrey Thomas Lord. (*Marquess of Headfort*)

Kenmare, Valentine Augustus Lord. (*Earl of Kenmare*)

Kenry, Windham Thomas Lord. (*Earl of Dunraven and Mount-Earl*)

Kensington, William Lord

Kenyon, Lloyd Lord

Ker, Robert Schomberg Lord. (*Marquess of Lothian*)

Kesteven, John Henry Lord

Kilmaine, Francis William Lord. (*Elected for Ireland*)

Kilmarnock, Charles Gore Lord. (*Earl of Erroll*)

Kilmorey, Francis Charles Earl of (*Elected for Ireland*)

Kimberley, John Earl of

Kinnaird, Arthur Fitz-Gerald Lord

Kinnear, Alexander Smith Lord

Kintore, Algernon Hawkins Thomond Lord. (*Earl of Kintore*)

Kitchener of Khartoum, Horatio Herbert Lord

Knutsford, Henry Thurstan Viscount

L

Lamington, Charles Wallace Alexander Napier Lord

Lanesborough, John Vansittart Danvers Earl of. (*Elected for Ireland*)

Langford, Hercules Edward Lord. (*Elected for Ireland*)

Lansdowne, Henry Charles Keith Marquess of

Lathom Edward George Earl of

Lauderdale, Frederick Henry Earl of. (*Elected for Scotland*)

Lawrence, John Hamilton Lord

Leconfield, Henry Lord

Leeds, George Godolphin Duke of

Leicester, Thomas William Earl of

Leigh, William Henry Lord

Leinster, Maurice Viscount. (*Duke of Leinster*)

Leven and Melville, Ronald Ruthven Earl of. (*Elected for Scotland*)

Lichfield, Thomas Francis Earl of

Lichfield, Augustus Bishop of

Lilford, John Lord

Lincoln, Edward Bishop of

Lindley, Nathaniel Lord. (*A Lord of Appeal in Ordinary*)

Lindsey, Montagu Peregrine Albemarle Earl of

Lingen, Ralph Robert Wheeler Lord

Lister, Joseph Lord

Llandaff, Henry Viscount

Llandaff, Richard Bishop of

Llangattock, John Allan Lord

Loch, Henry Brougham Lord

Loftus, John Henry Lord. (*Marquess of Ely*)

Londesborough, William Henry Forester Earl of

London, Mandell Bishop of

Lonsdale, Hugh Cecil Earl of

Lovat, Simon Joseph Lord

Lovelace, Ralph Gordon Earl of

Lovel and Holland, Augustus Arthur Lord. (*Earl of Egmont*)

Lucan, George Earl of. (*Elected for Ireland*)

Ludlow, Henry Ludlow Lord

Lurgan, William Lord

Lytton, Victor Alexander George Robert Earl of

Lyveden, FitzPatrick Henry Lord

M

Macclesfield, George Loveden William Henry Earl of

Macnaghten, Edward Lord. (*A Lord of Appeal in Ordinary*)

Magheramorne, James Douglas Lord

Malcolm of Poltalloch, John Wingfield Lord

Malmesbury, James Edward Earl of

Manchester, William Angus Drogo Duke of

Manchester, James Bishop of

Manners of Haddon, Henry John Brinsley Lord. (*Marquess of Granby*)

Manners, John Thomas Lord

Mansfield, William David Earl of

Manvers, Charles William Sydney Earl.

Mar, John Francis Erskine Earl of (*Elected for Scotland*)

Mar and Kellie, Walter John Francis Earl of. (*Elected for Scotland*)

Marlborough, Charles Richd. John Duke of

Masham, Samuel Lord

Massy, John Thomas William Lord. (*Elected for Ireland*)

Mayo, Dermot Robert Wyndham Earl of. (*Elected for Ireland*)

Meldrum, Charles Lord. (*Marquess of Huntly*)

Melville, Henry Viscount

Mendip, Thomas Charles Lord. (*Viscount Clifden*)

Meredyth, James Herbert Gustavus Meredyth Lord. (*Lord Athlumney*)

Methuen, Paul Sanford Lord

Middleton, Digby Wentworth Bayard Lord

Minster, Victor George Henry Francis Lord. (*Marquess Conyngham*)

Minto, Gilbert John Earl of

Monck, Henry Power Charles Stanley Lord. (*Viscount Monck*)

Monckton, George Edmund Milnes Lord. (*Viscount Galway*)

Moncreiff, Henry James Lord

Monk Bretton, John William Lord

Monkswell, Robert Lord

Monson, Debonnaire John Lord

Montagu of Beaulieu, Henry John Lord

Monteagle, John Thomas Lord. (*Marquess of Sligo*)

Monteagle of Brandon, Thomas Spring Lord

Morley, Albert Edmund Earl of

Morris, Michael Lord.

Morton, Sholto George Watson Earl of. (*Elected for Scotland*)

Mostyn, Llewelyn Nevill Vaughan Lord

Mount Edgcumbe, William Henry Earl of

Mount Stephen, George Lord

Mowbray, Charles Botolph Joseph Lord

Muncaster, Josslyn Francis Lord

Munster, William George Earl of

Muskerry, Hamilton Matthew Fitzmaurice Lord. (*Elected for Ireland*)

N

Napier, Robert William Lord

Nelson, Horatio Earl

Newcastle, Henry Pelham Archibald Douglas Duke of

Newlands, William Wallace Lord

Newton, Thomas Wodehouse Lord

Norfolk, Henry Duke of. (*Earl Marshal of England*)

Normanby, Constantine Charles Henry Marquess of

North, William Henry John Lord

Northampton, William George Spencer Scott Marquess of

Northbourne, Walter Henry Lord

Northbrook, Thomas George Earl of

Northcote, Henry Stafford Lord

Northesk, David John Carnegie Earl of. (*Elected for Scotland*)

Northington, Frederick Lord. (*Lord Henley*)

Northumberland, Henry George Duke of

Norton, Charles Bowyer Lord

Norwich, John Bishop of

O

O'Hagan, Thomas Towneley Lord

O'Neill, Edward Lord

Onslow, William Hillier Earl of

Oranmore and Browne, Geoffrey Dominick Augustus Frederick Lord. (*Elected for Ireland*)

Orford, Robert Horace Earl of

Oriel, Clotworthy John Eyre Lord. (*Viscount Massereene*)

Ormathwaite, Arthur Lord

Ormonde, James Edward William Theobald Lord. (*Marquess of Ormonde*)

Overtoun, John Campbell Lord

Oxenfoord, John Lord. (*Earl of Stair*)

Oxford, William Bishop of

P

Pauncefote, Julian Lord

Peel, Arthur Wellesley Viscount

Pembroke and Montgomery, Sidney Earl of. (*Lord Steward of the Household*)

Penrhyn, George Sholto Gordon Lord

Petre, Bernard Henry Philip Lord

Pirbright, Henry Lord

Playfair, George James Lord

Plunket, William Lee Lord

Poltimore, Augustus Frederick George Warwick Lord

Polwarth, Walter Hugh Lord.

Ponsonby, Walter William Brabazon Lord. (*Earl of Bessborough*)

Portland, William John Arthur Charles James Duke of

Portman, Wm. Henry Berkeley Viscount

Portsmouth, Newton Earl of

Poulett, ———— Earl

Powerscourt, Mervyn Edward Viscount. (*Elected for Ireland*)

Powerscourt, Mervyn Edward Lord. (*In another place as Viscount Powerscourt*)

Powis, George Charles Earl of

R

Radnor, William Earl of

Raglan, George Fitz-Roy Henry Lord

Ramsay, Arthur George Maule Lord. (*Earl of Dalhousie*)

Ranfurly, Uchter John Mark Lord. (*Earl of Ranfurly*)

Rathdonnell, Thomas Kane Lord, (*Elected for Ireland*)

Rathmore, David Robert Lord

Ravensworth, Henry George Earl of

Rayleigh, John William Lord

Reay, Donald James Lord

Rendel, Stuart Lord

Revelstoke, John Lord

Ribblesdale, Thomas Lord

Richmond, Charles Henry Duke of

Ripon, George Fredk. Samuel Marquess of

Ripon, William Boyd Bishop of

Roberts of Kandahar, Frederick Sleigh Lord

Robertson, James Patrick Bannerman Lord. (*A Lord of Appeal in Ordinary*)

Rodney, George Bridges Harley Dennett Lord

Romilly, John Gaspard Le Marchant Lord

Romney, Charles Earl of

Rookwood, Henry John Lord

Rosebery, Archibald Philip Lord. (*Earl of Rosebery*)

Rosmead, Hercules Arthur Temple Lord

Rosse, Lawrence Earl of. (*Elected for Ireland*)

Rosslyn, James Francis Harry Earl of

Rossmore, Derrick Warner William Lord

Rothschild, Nathaniel Mayer Lord

Rowton, Montagu William Lord

Russell, John Francis Stanley Earl

Rutland, John James Robert Duke of

S

Sackville, Lionel Sackville Lord

Saint Albans, Charles Victor Albert Aubrey De Vere Duke of

St. Albans, John Wogan Bishop of

St. Asaph, Alfred George Bishop of

St. Germans, Henry Cornwallis Earl of

St. John of Bletso, Beauchamp Moubray Lord

Saint Leonards, Edward Burtenshaw Lord

Saint Levan, John Lord

Saint Oswald, Rowland Lord

St. Vincent, Carnegie Parker Viscount

Salisbury, Robert Arthur Talbot Marquess of

Salisbury, John Bishop of

Saltersford, James George Henry Lord. (*Earl of Courtown*)

Saltoun, Alexander William Fredk. Lord. (*Elected for Scotland*)

Sandhurst, William Lord

Sandwich, Edward George Henry Earl of

Sandys, Augustus Frederick Arthur Lord

Savile, John Savile Lord

Saye and Sele, John Fiennes Lord

Scarbrough, Aldred Frederick George Beresford Earl of

Scarsdale, Alfred Nathaniel Holden Lord

Seaton, John Reginald Upton Lord

Sefton, Charles William Hylton Philip Lord. (*Earl of Sefton*)

Selborne, William Waldegrave Earl of

Shaftesbury, Anthony Earl of

Shand, Alexander Burns Lord

Sheffield, Henry North Lord. (*Earl of Sheffield*)

Sherborne, Edward Lennox Lord

Shrewsbury, Charles Henry John Earl of

Shute, Percy Lord. (*Viscount Barrington*)

Sidmouth, William Wells Viscount

Silchester, Thomas Lord. (*Earl of Longford*)

Sinclair, Charles William Lord. (*Elected for Scotland*)

Somerhill, Hubert George Lord. (*Marquess of Clanricarde*)

Somers, Arthur Herbert Tennyson Lord

Somerset, Algernon Duke of

Somerton, Sidney James Lord. (*Earl of Normanton*)

Sondes, George Edward Earl

Southampton, Charles Henry Lord

Southwell, George Bishop of

Spencer, John Poyntz Earl

Stafford, Fitzherbert Lord

Stalbridge, Richard de Aquila Lord

Stamford, William Earl of

Stanhope, Arthur Philip Earl

Stanley of Alderley, Henry Edward John Lord

Stanmore, Arthur Lord

Stewart of Garlies, Alan Plantagenet Lord. (*Earl of Galloway*)

Stradbroke, George Edward John Mowbray Earl of

Strafford, Francis Edmund Cecil Earl of

Strange, John James Hugh Henry Earl. (*Duke of Atholl*)

Strathcona and Mount Royal, Donald Alexander Lord

Stratheden, Hallyburton George Lord

Strathspey, James Lord. (*Earl of Seafield*)

Stuart of Castle Stuart, Edmund Archibald Lord. (*Earl of Moray*)

Sudeley, Charles Douglas Richard Lord

Sudley, Arthur Saunders William Charles Fox Lord. (*Earl of Arran*)

Suffield, Charles Lord

Suffolk and Berkshire, Henry Molyneux Paget Earl of

Sutherland, Cromartie Duke of

Swansea, Ernest Ambrose Lord

T

Talbot de Malahide, Richard Wogan Lord

Tankerville, George Montagu Earl of

Temple of Stowe, William Stephen Earl

Templemore, Henry Spencer Lord

Templetown, Henry Edward Montagu Dorington Clotworthy Viscount. (*Elected for Ireland*)

Tennyson, Hallam Lord

Tenterden, Charles Stuart Henry Lord

Teynham, Henry John Philip Sidney Lord

Thring, Henry Lord

Thurlow, Thomas John Lord

Tollemache, Wilbraham Frederic Lord

Torphichen, James Walter Lord. (*Elected for Scotland*)

Torrington, George Master Viscount

Townshend, John James Dudley Stuart Marquess

Tredegar, Godfrey Charles Lord

Trevor, Arthur William Lord

Truro, John Bishop of

Tweeddale, William Montagu Lord. (*Marquess of Tweeddale*)

Tweedmouth, Edward Lord

Tyrone, Henry De La Poer Lord. (*Marquess of Waterford*)

V

Vane, Charles Stewart Earl. (*Marquess of Londonderry*)

Vaux of Harrowden, Hubert George Charles Lord

Ventry, Dayrolles Blakeney Lord. (*Elected for Ireland*)

Vernon, George Francis Augustus Lord

Verulam, James Walter Earl of

Vivian, George Crespigny Brabazon Lord

W

Wales, His Royal Highness the Prince of

Waldegrave, William Frederick Earl

Walsingham, Thomas Lord

Wandsworth, Sydney James Lord

Wantage, Robert James Lord

Welby, Reginald Earle Lord

Wellington, Henry Duke of

Wemyss, Francis Richard Lord. (*Earl of Wemyss*)

Wenlock, Beilby Lord

Wentworth, Ralph Gordon Lord. (*In another place as Earl of Lovelace*)

Westbury, Richard Luttrell Pilkington Lord

Westminster, Hugh Richard Arthur Duke of

Westmorland, Anthony Mildmay Julian Earl of

Wharncliffe, Francis John Earl of

Wigan, James Ludovic Lord. (*Earl of Crawford*)

Willoughby de Broke, Henry Lord

Wilton, Arthur George Earl of

Wimborne, Ivor Bertie Lord

Winchester, Henry William Montagu Marquess of

Winchester, Randall Thomas Bishop of

Winchilsea and Nottingham, Henry Stormont Earl of

Windsor, Robert George Lord

Winton, George Arnulph Earl of. (*Earl of Eglintoun*)

Wolseley, Garnet Joseph Viscount

Wolverton, Frederick Lord

Worcester, John James Stewart Bishop of

Worlingham, Archibald Brabazon Sparrow Lord. (*Earl of Gosford*)

Wrottesley, Arthur Lord

Wynford, Henry Molyneux Lord

Y

Yarborough, Chas. Alfred Worsley Earl of

York, His Royal Highness George Frederick Ernest Albert Duke of

York, William Dalrymple Archbishop of

Z

Zetland, Lawrence Marquess of

Zouche of Haryngworth, Robert Nathaniel Cecil George Lord

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF MEMBERS

IN THE

FIRST SESSION OF THE TWENTY-SEVENTH PARLIAMENT OF
THE UNITED KINGDOM
AND THE FIFTEENTH OF QUEEN VICTORIA.

(*Compiled at the Opening of the Session.*)

A

Abraham, William (Glamorgan, Rhondda)
Abraham, William (Cork Co., N. East)
Acland-Hood, Capt. Sir A., Bt. (Somerset, Wellington)
Agg-Gardner, James T. (Cheltenham)
Agnew, Sir Andrew N., Bt. (Edinburgh, South)
Aird, John (Paddington, N.)
Allan, William (Gateshead)
Allen, Charles P. (Gloucester, Stroud)
Allhusen, Aug. Henry E. (Hackney, Central)
Allsopp, Hon. George H. (Worcester)
Ambrose, Robert (Mayo, West)
Anson, Sir William R., Bt. (Oxford University)
Anstruther, Henry T. (St. Andrews Burghs)
Archdale, Edward M. (Fermanagh, N.)
Arkwright, John S. (Hereford)
Arnold-Forster, Hugh O. (Belfast, West)
Arrol, Sir William (Ayrshire, South)
Asher, Alexander (Elgin Burghs)
Ashmead-Bartlett, Sir Ellis (Sheffield, Ecclesall)
Ashton, Thomas Gair (Beds, Luton)
Asquith, Rt. Hon. Herbert H. (Fife, East
Atherley-Jones, Llewellyn (Durham, N.W.)
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John (Londonderry North)
Austin, Sir John, Bt. (York, W.R., Osgoldcross)

B

Bagot, Capt. Josceline F. (Westmoreland, Kendal)
Bailey, James (Newington, Walworth)
Bain, James Robert (Cumberland, Egremont)
Baird, John G. A. (Glasgow, Central)
Balcarres, Lord (Lancashire, Chorley)
Baldwin, Alfred (Worcester, Bewdley)
Balfour, Rt. Hon. Arthur J. (Manchester, East)
Balfour, Capt. Charles B. (Middlesex, Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt. Hon. Gerald William (Leeds, Central)

Balfour, Major K. R. (Christchurch)

Banbury, Fred. George (Camberwell, Peckham)

Banes, Major George E. (West Ham, South)

Barker, John (Maidstone)

Barlow, John Emmott (Somerset, Frome)

Barratt, F. L. (Devon, Torquay)

Barry, Edward (Cork Co., South)

Barry, Sir Francis Tress, Bt. (Windsor)

Bartley, George C. T. (Islington, N.)

Bathurst, Hon. Allen B. (Gloucester, Cirencester)

Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire, Chesterfield)

Beach, Rt. Hon. Sir M. H., Bt. (Bristol, W.)

Beach, Rt. Hon. William W. B. (Hants, Andover)

Beaumont, Wentworth C. B. (Northumberland, Hexham)

Beckett, Ernest W. (York, N.R., Whitby)

Bell, Richard (Derby)

Bentinck, Lord Henry C. (Nottingham, S.)

Bhownaggree, Sir M. M. (Bethnal Green, N.E.)

Bignold A. (Wick Burghs)

Bigwood, James (Middlesex, Brentford)

Bill, Charles (Staffordshire, Leek)

Black, Alexander W. (Banffshire)

Blake, Edward (Longford, S.)

Blundell, Col. H. B. H. (Lancashire, Ince)

Boland, John (Kerry, South)

Bolton, Thomas Dolling (Derbyshire, N. East)

Bond, Edward (Nottingham, E.)

Boscawen, Capt. A. S. T. Griffith (Kent, Tunbridge)

Boulnois, Edmund (Marylebone, E.)

Bousfield, William R. (Hackney, N.)

Bowles, Colonel Henry F. (Middlesex, Enfield)

Bowles, Thomas Gibson (Lynn Regis)

Boyle, James (Donegal, West)

Brand, Hon. Arthur G. (Cambridge, Wisbech)

Brassey, Albert (Oxon, Banbury)

Brigg, John (York, W.R., Keighley)

Broadhurst, Henry (Leicester)

Brodrick, Rt. Hon. W. St. John F. (Surrey, Guildford)

Brookfield, Lieut.-Col. Arthur M. (Sussex, Rye)

Brown, Alex. Hargreaves (Shropshire, Wellington)

Brown, George M. (Edinburgh, Central)

Brunner, Sir John T., Bt. (Cheshire, Northwich)

Bryce, Rt. Hon. James (Aberdeen, South)

Brymer, Col. Wm. Ernest (Dorset, South)

Bull, William James (Hammersmith)

Bullard, Sir Harry (Norwich)

Burdett-Coutts, W. L. A. B. (Westminster)

Burke, E. Haviland (King's County, Tullamore)

Burns, John (Battersea)

Burt, Thomas (Morpeth)

Butcher, John George (York)

Buxton, Sydney C. (Tower Hamlets, Poplar)

C

Caine, W. S. (Cornwall, Camborne)

Caldwell, James (Lanark, Mid)

Cameron, Robert (Durham, Houghton-le-Spring)

Campbell, Rt. Hon. James A. (Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities)

Campbell, J. (Armagh, South)

Campbell-Bannerman, Rt. Hon. Sir H. (Stirling Burghs)

Carew, J. Laurence (Meath, South)

Carlile, William Walter (Bucks, N.)

Carson, Rt. Hon. Edward H. (Dublin University)

Carvill, Patrick G. H. (Newry)

Causton, Richard Knight (Southwark, West)

Cautley, Henry S. (Leeds, East)

Cavendish, Richard F. (Lancashire, North Lonsdale)

Cavendish, Victor C. W. (Derbyshire, West)

Cawley, Frederick (Lancs, Prestwich)

Cayzer, Sir Charles Wm. (Barrow-in Furness)

Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)

Cecil, Lord Hugh Richard H. (Greenwich)

Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. (Birmingham, W.)

Chamberlain, J. Austen (Worcestershire, East)

Chamberlayne, T. (Southampton)

Channing, Francis A. (Northampton, East)

Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry (Lincolnshire, Sleaford)

Chapman, Edward (Cheshire, Hyde)

Charrington, Spencer (Tower Hamlets, Mile End)

Churchill, Winston L. S. (Oldham)

Clancy, John J. (Dublin Co., North)

Clare, Octavius Leigh (Lancashire, Eccles)

Clive, Capt. Percy Archer (Herefordshire, Ross)

Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. (Ayrshire, North)

Coddington, Sir William, Bt. (Blackburn)

Cogan, Denis J. (Wicklow, East)

Coghill, Douglas H. (Stoke-upon-Trent)

Cohen, Benjamin L. (Islington, E.)

Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse (Birmingham, Bordesley)

Colomb, Sir John C. R. (Great Yarmouth)

Colston, Chas. Edw. H. A. (Gloucester, Thornbury)

Colville, John (Lanark, N.E.)

Compton, Lord Alwyne F. (Beds, Biggleswade)

Condon, Thomas J. (Tipperary, E.)

Cook, Frederick Lucas (Lambeth, Kennington)

Corbett, Arch. Cameron (Glasgow, Tradeston)

Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)

Cox, Irwin Edward B. (Middlesex, Harrow)

Craig, Robert H. (Lanark, Govan)

Cranborne, Viscount (Rochester)

Crean, Eugene (Cork, S.E.)

Cremer, William R. (Shoreditch, Haggerston)

Crombie, John William (Kincardineshire)

Cross, Alexander (Glasgow, Camlachie)

Cross, Herbert Shepherd (Bolton)

Crossley, Sir Savile B., Bt. (Halifax)

Cubitt, Hon. Henry (Surrey, Reigate

Cullinan, J. (Tipperary, South)

Cust, Henry J. C. (Southwark, Bermondsey)

D

Dalkeith, Earl of (Roxburgh)

Dalrymple, Sir Charles, Bt. (Ipswich)

Daly, James (Monaghan, South)

Dalziel, James H. (Kirkcaldy Burghs)

Davenport, William Bromley (Cheshire, Macclesfield)

Davies, A. (Carmarthen Boroughs)

Davies, Col. Sir Horatio David (Chatham)

Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan)

Delany, William (Queen's Co., Ossory)

Denny, Col. John M. (Kilmarnock Burghs)

Dewar, John A. (Inverness)

Dewar, Thomas R. (Tower Hamlets, St. George's)

Dickinson, Robt. E. (Somerset, Wells)

Dickson, Charles Scott (Glasgow, Bridgton)

Dickson-Poynder, Sir J., Bt. (Wilts, Chippenham)

Digby, J. Kenelm Wingfield- (Dorset, North)

Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir C. W., Bt. (Gloucester, Forest of Dean)

Dillon, John (Mayo, East)

Dimsdale, Sir Joseph C. (London)

Disraeli, Coningsby R. (Cheshire, Altrincham)

Dixon-Hartland, Sir F. D., Bt. (Middlesex, Uxbridge)

Donelan, Capt. A. J. C. (Cork, East)

Doogan, P. C. (Tyrone, East)

Dorington, Sir John E., Bt. (Gloucester, Tewkesbury)

Doughty, George (Great Grimsby)

Douglas, Rt. Hon. Aretas Akers (Kent, St. Augustine's)

Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark, North-West)

Doxford, Sir William T. (Sunderland)

Duffy, William J. (Galway, South)

Duke, H. E. (Plymouth)

Duncan, James H. (Yorks, W.R., Otley)

Dunn, Sir William, Bt. (Paisley)

Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin, Bt. (Cornwall, Truro)

Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir W. H., Bt. (Kent, Dartford)

E

Edwards, Francis (Radnor)

Egerton, Hon. Alan de Tatton (Cheshire, Knutsford)

Elliot, Hon. Arthur R. D. (Durham)

Ellis, John Edward (Nottingham, Rushcliffe)

Emmott, Alfred (Oldham)

Esmonde, Sir T. Grattan, Bt. (Wexford, North)

Evans, Samuel Thomas (Glamorgan, Mid)

F

Faber, G. Denison (York)

Fardell, Sir T. George (Paddington, S.)

Farquharson, Dr. Robert (Aberdeenshire, West)

Farrell, James P. (Longford, North,

Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn E. (Hunts, Ramsey)

Fenwick, Charles (Northumberland, Wansbeck)

Ferguson, Ronald C. Munro (Leith Burghs)

Fergusson, Rt. Hon Sir J., Bt. (Manchester, N.E.)

Ffrench, Peter (Wexford, South)

Field, William (Dublin, St. Patrick)

Fielden, Edward B. (Lancashire, Middleton)

Finch, George H. (Rutland)

Finlay, Sir Robert B. (Inverness Burghs)

Firbank, Joseph Thomas (Hull, East)

Fisher, William Hayes (Fulham)

Fison, Frederick William (York, W.R., Doncaster)

FitzGerald, Sir Robt. U. P., Bt. (Cambridge)

Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond G. Petty (Wilts, Cricklade)

Fitzroy, Hon. E. Algernon (Northants, South)

Flannery, Sir J. Fortescue (Yorkshire, Shipley)

Flavin, Michael Joseph (Kerry, North)

Fletcher, Sir Henry, Bt. (Sussex, Lewes)

Flower, Ernest F. S. (Bradford, W.)

Flynn, James C. (Cork, North)

Forster, Henry Wm. (Kent, Sevenoaks)

Foster, Sir B. Walter (Derby, Ilkeston)

Foster, Sir Michael (London University)

Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir H. H. (Wolverhampton, East)

Fuller, J. M. F. (Wilts, Westbury)

Furness, Sir Christopher, Bt. (Hartlepool)

G

Galloway, William Johnson (Manchester, S.W.)

Garfit, William (Boston)

Gibbs, Hon. Alban George H. (London)

Gibbs, Hon. Vicary (Herts, St. Albans)

Gilhooly, James (Cork Co., West)

Gladstone, Rt. Hon. Herbert J. (Leeds, West)

Goddard, Daniel Ford (Ipswich)

Godson, Sir Augustus F. (Kidderminster)

Gordon, Hon. John Edward (Elgin and Nairn)

Gordon, John (Londonderry, S.)

Gordon, Major W. E. (Tower Hamlets, Stepney)

Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir J. Eldon (Cambridge University)

Goschen, George J., jun. (Sussex, East Grinstead)

Goulding, Edward A. (Wilts, Devizes)

Graham, Henry R. (St. Pancras, West)

Grant, J. C. (Warwickshire, Rugby)

Gray, Ernest (West Ham, North)

Green, Walford Davis (Wednesbury)

Greene, Sir E. Walter, Bt. (Bury St. Edmunds)

Greene, Henry David (Shrewsbury)

Greene, Walter Raymond (Cambs., Chesterton)

Grenfell, Major William H. (Bucks, Wycombe)

Gretton, John (Derbyshire, South)

Greville, Capt. Hon. Ronald H. F. (Bradford, East)

Grey, Sir Edward, Bt. (Northumberland, Berwick)

Griffith, Ellis J. (Anglesey)

Groves, James G. (Salford, South)

Guest, Hon. Ivor C. (Plymouth)

Gully, Rt. Hon. William C. (Carlisle)

Gunter, Col. Robert (York, W.R., Barkston Ash)

Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton (Norfolk, North)

Guthrie, Walter Murray (Tower Hamlets, Bow, etc.)

H

Hain, Edward (Cornwall (St. Ives)

Haldane, Richard B. (Haddington)

Hall, E. Marshall (Lancashire, Southport)

Halsey, Thomas F. (Herts, Watford)

Hambro, C. Eric (Surrey, Wimbledon)

Hamilton, Rt. Hon. Lord George (Middlesex, Ealing)

Hamilton, Captain the Marquess of (Londonderry)

Hammond, John (Carlow)

Hanbury, Rt. Hon. Robert W. (Preston)

Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Sir W. G. Vernon (Monmouthshire, W.)

Hardie, James Keir (Merthyr Tydvil)

Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford)

Hare, Thomas L. (Norfolk, S.W.)

Harmsworth, R. Leicester (Caithness)

Harrington, Timothy (Dublin, Harbour)

Harris, Frederick L. (Tynemouth)

Harris, Dr. F. Rutherfoord (Monmouth Boroughs)

Harwood, George (Bolton)

Haslam, Sir Alfred Seale (Newcastle-under-Lyme)

Haslett, Sir James H. (Belfast, North)

Hatch, Ernest F. George (Lancashire, Gorton)

Hay, Hon. Claude G. D. (Shoreditch, Hoxton)

Hayden, John P. (Roscommon, South)

Hayne, Rt. Hon. Chas. Seale- (Devon, Ashburton)

Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir A. D., Bt. (Walsall)

Healy, Timothy M. (Louth, North)

Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley)

Heath, James (Staffordshire, N.W.)

Heaton, J. Henniker (Canterbury)

Helder, Augustus (Whitehaven)

Helme, Norval W. (Lancashire, Lancaster)

Hemphill, Rt. Hon. C. Hare (Tyrone, North)

Henderson, Alexander (Staffordshire, West)

Hermon-Hodge, Robert T. (Oxon, Henley)

Hickman, Sir Alfred (Wolverhampton, West)

Higginbottom, S. W. (Liverpool, West Derby)

Hill, Capt. Arthur (Down, West)

Hoare, Edw. Brodie (Hampstead)

Hoare, Sir Samuel, Bt. (Norwich)

Hobhouse, Charles E. H. (Bristol, East)

Hobhouse, Henry (Somerset, East)

Hogg, Lindsay (Sussex, Eastbourne)

Holland, William H. (York, W.R., Rotherham)

Hope, J. D. (Fife, West)

Hope, J. Fitzalan (Sheffield, Brightside)

Hornby, Sir William Henry, Bt. (Blackburn)

Horner, Frederick W. (Lambeth, North)

Horniman, Frederick John (Penryn and Falmouth)

Houldsworth, Sir Wm. Henry, Bt. (Manchester, N.W.)

Hoult, Joseph (Cheshire, Wirral)

Houston, Robert P. (Liverpool, West Toxteth)

Howard, Joseph (Middlesex, Tottenham)

Howard, Capt. J. (Kent, Faversham)

Hozier, Hon. James H. C. (Lanark, South)

Hudson, George B. (Herts, Hitchin)

Hughes, Col. Edwin (Woolwich)

Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C. (Montgomery)

Hutton, Alfred E. (York, W.R., Morley)

Hutton, John (Yorkshire, Richmond)

J

Jackson, Rt. Hon. William L. (Leeds, North)

Jacoby, James Alfred (Derbyshire, Mid)

Jameson, Major J. Eustace (Clare, West)

Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse (Cambridge University)

Jeffreys, Arthur F. (Hants, North)

Jessel, Capt. Herbert M. (St. Pancras, South)

Johnston, William (Belfast, South)

Johnstone, John Heywood (Sussex, Horsham)

Joicey, Sir James, Bt. (Durham, Chester-le-Street)

Jones, David Brynmor (Swansea District)

Jones, William (Carnarvon, Arfon)

Jordan, Jeremiah (Fermanagh, South)

Joyce, M. (Limerick)

K

Kay-Shuttleworth, Rt. Hon. Sir U., Bt. (Lancashire, Clitheroe)

Kearley, Hudson E. (Devonport)

Kemp, George (Lancashire, Heywood)

Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir J. H., Bt. (Devon, Honiton)

Kennedy, Patrick J. (Westmeath, North)

Kenyon, Hon. G. T. (Denbigh)

Kenyon, James (Bury, Lancashire)

Kenyon-Slaney, Col. Wm. (Shropshire, Newport)

Keswick, William (Surrey, Epsom)

Kimber, Henry (Wandsworth)

King, Sir H. Seymour (Hull, Central)

Kinloch, Sir John G. S., Bt. (Perthshire, East)

Kitson, Sir James, Bt. (York, W.R., Colne Valley)

Knowles, Lees (Salford, West)

L

Labouchere, Henry (Northampton)

Lambert, George (Devon, South Molton)

Lambton, Hon. F. W. (Durham, South-East)

Langley, Batty (Sheffield, Attercliffe)

Laurie, Lieut.-Gen. John W. (Pembroke and Haverfordwest)

Law, Andrew B. (Glasgow, Blackfriars)

Lawrence, William F. (Liverpool, Abercromby)

Lawson, John Grant (York, N.R., Thirsk)

Leamy, Edmund (Kildare, North)

Lecky, Rt. Hon. William E. H. (Dublin University)

Lee, Lieut.-Col. A. H. (Hants, Fareham)

Lees, Sir Elliott, Bt. (Birkenhead)

Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Lancashire, Accrington)

Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage (St. George's, Hanover Square)

Leigh, Sir Joseph (Stockport)

Leigh-Bennett, Henry C. (Surrey, Chertsey)

Leighton, Stanley (Shropshire, Oswestry)

Leng, Sir John (Dundee)

Leveson-Gower, F. S. (Sutherland)

Levy, M. (Leicestershire, Loughborough)

Lewis, John Herbert (Flint Boroughs)

Llewellyn, Evan Henry (Somerset, North)

Lloyd-George, David (Carnarvon, etc.)

Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. Amelius (Essex, Epping)

Loder, Gerald W. E. (Brighton)

Logan, John William (Leicester, Harborough)

Long, Col. Charles W. (Worcestershire, Evesham)

Long, Rt. Hon. Walter H. (Bristol, South)

Lonsdale, John B. (Armagh, Mid)

Lough, Thomas (Islington, W.)

Lowe, Francis W. (Birmingham, Edgbaston)

Lowther, Claude N. W. (Cumberland, Eskdale)

Lowther, Rt. Hon. James William (Cumberland, Penrith)

Lowther, Rt. Hon. James (Kent, Thanet)

Loyd, Archie Kirkman (Berks, Abingdon)

Lucas, Col. Francis A. (Suffolk, Lowestoft)

Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth)

Lundon, W. (Limerick, East)

Lyttelton, Hon. Alfred (Warwick and Leamington)

M

Macaleese, Daniel (Monaghan, North)

Macartney, W. Ellison (Antrim, South)

Macdona, J. Cumming (Southwark, Rotherhithe)

MacDonnell, Dr. Mark A. (Queen's County, Leix)

MacIver, David (Liverpool, Kirkdale)

Maclure, Sir John W., Bt. (Lancashire, Stretford)

Macnamara, Thomas J. (Camberwell, North)

MacNeill, J. G. Swift (Donegal, South)

Maconachie, A. W. (Aberdeenshire, East)

McArthur, Charles (Liverpool, Exchange)

McArthur, William A. (Cornwall, St. Austell)

McCalmont, Harry L. B. (Cambridge, Newmarket)

McCalmont, Col. James (Antrim, East)

McCann, J. (Dublin, St. Stephen's Green)

McCartan, Michael (Down, South)

McCrae, George (Edinburgh, East)

McDermott, Patrick (Kilkenny, N.)

McFadden, Edward (Donegal, East)

McGovern, T. (Cavan, West)

M'Hugh, Patrick A. (Leitrim, North)

McIver, Sir Lewis, Bt. (Edinburgh, West)

McKenna, Reginald (Monmouth, North)

M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)

McKillop, W. (Sligo, North)

McLaren, Charles P. Bright (Leicester, Bosworth)

Majendie, James H. A. (Portsmouth)

Malcolm, Ian Z. (Suffolk, Stowmarket)

Manners, Lord Cecil R. J. (Leicestershire, Melton)

Mansfield, H. (Lincoln, Spalding)

Maple, Sir J. Blundell, Bt. (Camberwell, Dulwich)

Mappin, Sir Frederick T., Bt. (York, W.R., Hallamshire)

Markham, A. B. (Notts, Mansfield)

Martin, Richard Biddulph (Worcester, Droitwich)

Massey-Mainwaring, Hon. W. F. B. (Finsbury, Central)

Mather, William (Lancashire, Rossendale)

Maxwell, Rt. Hon. Sir Herbert E., Bt. (Wigton)

Maxwell, William Jardine (Dumfriesshire)

Mellor, Rt. Hon. John W. (York, W.R., Sowerby)

Melville, Beresford Valentine (Stockport)

Meysey-Thompson, Sir H., Bt. (Stafford, Handsworth)

Middlemore, John T. (Birmingham, North)

Mildmay, Francis B. (Devon, Totnes)

Milner, Rt. Hon. Sir Fred G., Bt. (Notts, Bassetlaw)

Milton, Viscount (Wakefield)

Milward, Col. Victor (Warwick, Stratford-upon-Avon)

Minch, Matthew J. (Kildare, South)

Mitchell, William (Burnley)

Molesworth, Sir Lewis W., Bt. (Cornwall, Bodmin)

Montagu, George C. (Hunts, Huntingdon)

Montagu, Hon. John Scott- (Hants, New Forest)

Moon, Edward Robert P. (St. Pancras, North)

Mooney, John J. (Dublin Co., South)

Moore, William (Antrim, North)

More, Robert Jasper (Shropshire, Ludlow)

Morgan, David John (Essex, Walthamstow)

Morgan, Col. Hon. Fred. C. (Monmouthshire, South)

Morgan, John Lloyd (Carmarthenshire, West)

Morley, Charles (Brecknock)

Morley, Rt. Hon. John (Montrose, etc.)

Morrell, George Herbert (Oxon, Woodstock)

Morris, Hon. Martin H. F. (Galway)

Morrison, Lieut. James A. (Wiltshire, Wilton)

Morton, Arthur H. A. (Deptford)

Morton, Edward J. C. (Devonport)

Moss, Samuel (Denbighshire, East)

Moulton, John Fletcher (Cornwall, Launceston)

Mount, William A. (Berks, Newbury)

Mowbray, Sir Robt. G. C., Bt. (Lambeth, Brixton)

Muntz, Philip Albert (Warwickshire, Tamworth)

Murnaghan, George (Tyrone, Mid)

Murphy, John (Kerry, East)

Murray, Rt. Hon. Andrew Graham (Buteshire)

Murray, Hon. A. W. C. O. (Edinburgh, Midlothian)

Murray, Charles James (Coventry)

Murray, Col. C. Wyndham (Bath)

Myers, William Henry (Winchester)

N

Nannetti, Joseph P. (Dublin, College Green)

Newdigate, Francis Alex. (Warwickshire, Nuneaton)

Newnes, Sir George, Bt. (Swansea Town)

Nicholson, William G. (Hants, Petersfield)

Nicol, Donald N. (Argyllshire)

Nolan, Col. J. P. (Galway, North)

Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)

Norman, Henry (Wolverhampton, S.)

Norton, Capt. Cecil W. (Newington, West)

Nussey, Thomas Willans (Pontefract)

O

O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)

O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid)

O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)

O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, North)

O'Brien, William (Cork)

O'Connor, James (Wicklow, West)

O'Connor, Thomas P. (Liverpool, Scotland)

O'Doherty, William (Donegal, North)

O'Donnell, John (Mayo, South)

O'Donnell, Thomas (Kerry, West)

O'Dowd, John (Sligo, South)

O'Kelly, C. (Mayo, North)

O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, North)

Oldroyd, Mark (Dewsbury)

O'Malley, William (Galway, Connemara)

O'Mara, James (Kilkenny, South)

O'Neill, Hon. R. Torrens (Antrim, Mid)

Ormsby-Gore, Hon. S. F. (Lincoln, Gainsborough)

Orr-Ewing, Charles Lindsay (Ayr Burghs)

O'Shaughnessy, P. J. (Limerick, West)

P

Palmer, Sir Charles M., Bt. (Durham, Jarrow)

Palmer, George William (Reading)

Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)

Parker, H. Gilbert G. (Gravesend)

Parkes, Ebenezer (Birmingham, Central)

Partington, O. (Derbyshire, High Peak)

Paulton, James M. (Durham, Bishop Auckland)

Pearson, Sir Weetman D., Bt. (Colchester)

Pease, Alfred Edward (Yorkshire, Cleveland)

Pease, Herbert P. (Darlington)

Pease, Sir Joseph W., Bt. (Durham, Barnard Castle)
Peel, Hon. William R. W. (Manchester, South)
Pemberton, John S. G. (Sunderland)
Penn, John (Lewisham)
Percy, Earl (Kensington, South)
Perks, Robert W. (Lincolnshire, Louth)
Philipps, John W. (Pembrokeshire)
Pickard, Benjamin (York, W.R., Normanton)
Pierpoint, Robert (Warrington)
Pilkington, Lt.-Col. Richard (Lancashire, Newton)
Pirie, Duncan Vernon (Aberdeen, North)
Platt-Higgins, Frederick (Salford, North)
Plummer, Walter R. (Newcastle-on-Tyne)
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp, Bt. (Wigan)
Power, Patrick J. (Waterford, East)
Pretyman, Capt. Ernest Geo. (Suffolk, Woodbridge)
Price, Robert John (Norfolk, East)
Priestley, Arthur (Grantham)
Pryce-Jones, Lieut.-Col. Edward (Montgomery Boroughs)
Purvis, Robert (Peterborough)
Pym, C. Guy (Bedford)

Q

Quilter, Sir W. Cuthbert, Bt. (Suffolk, Sudbury)

R

Radcliffe, R. F. (Staffordshire, Burton)
Randles, John S. (Cumberland, Cockermouth)
Rankin, Sir James, Bt. (Herefordshire, Leominster)
Rasch, Major Fred. C. (Essex, Chelmsford)
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Reckitt, Harold James (Lincolnshire, Brigg)
Reddy, M. (King's County, Birr)
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Redmond, William H. K. (Clare, East)
Reed, Sir Edward J. (Cardiff)
Reid, James (Greenock)
Reid, Sir Robert T. (Dumfries Burghs)
Remnant, James F. (Finsbury, Holborn)
Renshaw, Charles B. (Renfrew, West)
Rentoul, James A. (Down, East)
Renwick, George (Newcastle-on-Tyne)
Richards, Henry Chas. (Finsbury, East)
Rickett, J. Compton (Scarborough)
Ridley, Rt. Hon. Sir M. White, Bt. (Lancashire, Blackpool)
Ridley, M. White (Stalybridge)
Ridley, Samuel F. (Bethnal Green, South-West)
Rigg, Richard (Westmoreland, Appleby)
Ritchie, Rt. Hon. Chas. T. (Croydon)
Roberts, John Bryn (Carnarvonshire, Eifion)
Roberts, John Herbert (Denbighshire West)
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Robertson, T. Herbert (Hackney, South)
Robinson, Brooke (Dudley)
Robson, William Snowdon (South Shields)
Roche, John (Galway, East)
Roe, Sir Thomas (Derby)
Rolleston, Sir John F. L. (Leicester)
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye (Islington, South)
Ropner, Col. E. H. O. Robert (Stockton)
Rothschild, Hon. Lionel W. (Bucks, Aylesbury)
Round, James (Essex, Harwich)
Royds, Col. Clement M. (Rochdale)
Russell, Thomas W. (Tyrone, South)
Rutherford, John (Lancashire, Darwen)

S

Sackville, S. G. Stopford (Northants, North)
Sadler, Col. Samuel A. (Middlesbrough)
Samuel, Harry S. (Tower Hamlets, Limehouse)
Samuel, Stuart M. (Tower Hamlets, Whitechapel)
Sandys, Col. Thomas M. (Lancashire, Bootle)
Sassoon, Sir Edward A., Bt. (Hythe)

Saunderson, Col. Rt. Hon. E. J. (Armagh, North)

Schwann, Charles E. (Manchester, North)

Scott, Charles Prestwich (Lancashire, Leigh)

Scott, Sir Samuel E., Bt. (Marylebone, W.)

Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)

Seely, Capt. John E. B. (Isle of Wight)

Seton-Karr, Henry (St. Helens)

Sharpe, Wm. E. Thompson (Kensington, North)

Shaw, T. F. Charles Edward (Stafford)

Shaw, Thomas (Hawick Burghs)

Shaw-Stewart, M. Hugh (Renfrew, East)

Shee, James John (Waterford, West)

Shipman, Dr. John G. (Northampton)

Simeon, Sir J. S. Barrington, Bt. (Southampton)

Sinclair, Capt. John (Forfar)

Sinclair, Louis (Essex, Romford)

Skewes-Cox, Thomas (Surrey, Kingston)

Smith, Abel Henry (Herts, Hertford)

Smith, Hugh C. (Northumberland, Tyneside)

Smith, James Parker (Lanark, Partick)

Smith, Samuel (Flintshire)

Smith, Hon. W. Fred. D. (Strand, Westminster)

Soames, Arthur W. (Norfolk, South)

Soares, Ernest J. (Devon, Barnstaple)

Spear, John W. (Devon, Tavistock)

Spencer, Hon. Charles R. (Northants, Mid)

Spencer, Ernest (West Bromwich)

Stanley, Hon. Arthur (Lancashire, Ormskirk)

Stanley, Edward J. (Somerset, Bridgwater)

Stanley, Lord (Lancs., Westhoughton)

Stevenson, Francis S. (Suffolk, Eye)

Stewart, Sir Mark J. McTaggart, Bt. (Kirkcudbrightshire)

Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M., Bt. (Glasgow, College)

Stock, James Henry (Liverpool, Walton)

Stone, Sir John Benjamin (Birmingham, East)

Strachey, Edward (Somerset, South)

Stroyan, John (Perthshire, West)

Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley (Essex, Maldon)

Sturt, Hon. Humphrey N. (Dorset, East)

Sullivan, Donal (Westmeath, South)

T

Talbot, Rt. Hon. John G. (Oxford University)

Talbot, Lord Edmund (Sussex, Chichester)

Tanner, Charles K. Deane (Cork Co., Mid)

Taylor, Theodore C. (Lancashire, Radcliffe)

Tennant, Harold John (Berwickshire)

Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.)

Thomas, Alfred (Glamorgan, E.)

Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr Tydvil)

Thomas, Captain Freeman F. (Hastings)

Thomas, J. A. (Glamorgan, Gower)

Thomson, F. W. (York, W.R., Skipton)

Thorburn, Sir Walter (Peebles and Selkirk)

Thornton, Percy M. (Clapham)

Tollemache, Henry J. (Cheshire, Eddisbury)

Tomkinson, James (Cheshire, Crewe)

Tomlinson, William E. M. (Preston)

Trevelyan, Charles P. (York, W.R., Elland)

Tritton, Charles E. (Lambeth, Norwood)

Tufnell, Col. Edward (Essex, South-East

Tuke, Sir John Batty (Edinburgh and St. Andrews Universities)

Tully, Jasper (Leitrim, South)

U

Ure, Alexander (Linlithgowshire)

V

Valentia, Viscount (Oxford)

Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. Howard (Sheffield, Central)

Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)

W

Walker, Col. William H. (Widnes)

Wallace, Robert (Perth)

Walrond, Rt. Hon. Sir Wm. H., Bt. (Devon, Tiverton)

Walton, John Lawson (Leeds, South)

Walton, Joseph (York, W.R., Barnsley)

Wanklyn, Jas. Leslie (Bradford, Central)

Warde, Lt.-Col. Charles E. (Kent, Medway)

Warner, T. Courtenay T. (Stafford, Lichfield)

Warr, Augustus F. (Liverpool, East Toxteth)

Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan and Kinross)

Wason, John C. (Orkney and Shetland)

Webb, Col. William G. (Staffordshire, Kingswinford)

Weir, James Galloway (Ross and Cromarty)

Welby, Lieut.-Col. A. C. Earle (Taunton)

Welby, Sir Charles G. E., Bt. (Notts, Newark)

Wentworth, Capt. B. C. Vernon- (Brighton)

Wharton, Rt. Hon. J. Lloyd (York, W.R., Ripon)

White, George (Norfolk, North-West)

White, L. (York, E.R., Buckrose)

White, Patrick (Meath, North)

Whiteley, George (York, W.R., Pudsey)

Whiteley, Herbert (Ashton-under-Lyne)

Whiteley, J. H. (Halifax)

Whitmore, Charles A. (Chelsea)

Whittaker, Thomas P. (York, W.R., Spen Valley)

Williams, Arthur O. (Merionethshire)

Williams, Rt. Hon. Joseph Powell- (Birmingham, South)

Williams, Lieut.-Col. Robert (Dorset, West)

Willoughby de Eresby, Lord (Lincolnshire, Horncastle)

Willox, Sir John Archibald (Liverpool, Everton)

Wills, Sir Frederick (Bristol, North)

Wilson, Arthur S. (York, E.R., Holderness)

Wilson, Charles H. (Hull, West)

Wilson, Frederick W. (Norfolk, Mid)

Wilson, Henry Joseph (York, W.R., Holmfirth)

Wilson, John (Falkirk Burghs)

Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)

Wilson, John William (Worcestershire, North)

Wilson, J. (Glasgow, St. Rollox)

Wilson-Todd, William H. (York, E.R., Howdenshire)

Wodehouse, Hon. A. (Essex, Saffron Walden)

Wodehouse, Rt. Hon. Edmond R. (Bath)

Wolff, Gustavus Wilhelm (Belfast, East)

Woodhouse, Sir James T. (Huddersfield)

Wortley, Rt. Hon. Charles B. Stuart- (Sheffield, Hallam)

Wrightson, Sir Thomas, Bt. (St. Pancras, East)

Wylie, Alexander (Dumbartonshire)

Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George (Dover)

Wyndham-Quin, Maj. W. H. (Glamorgan, South)

Y

Yerburgh, Robert A. (Chester)

Young, Commander Oliver (Berks, Wokingham)

Young, Samuel (Cavan, East)

Younger, William (Lincolnshire, Stamford)

Yoxall, James Henry (Nottingham, West)

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF CONSTITUENCIES,

WITH

NAMES OF MEMBERS.

(Compiled at the opening of the Session.)

ENGLAND—COUNTIES (234 Members).

Bedfordshire (2)	
North, or Biggleswade	Compton, Lord Alwyne F.
South, or Luton	Ashton, T. Gair.
Berkshire (3)	
East, or Wokingham	Young, Capt. Oliver.
North, or Abingdon	Loyd, A. K.
South, or Newbury	Mount, W. A.
Buckinghamshire (3)	
Mid, or Aylesbury	Rothschild, Hon. L. W.
North, or Buckingham	Carlile, W. W.
South, or Wycombe	Grenfell, Major W. H.
Cambridgeshire (3)	
East, or Newmarket	M‘Calmont, H. L. B.
North, or Wisbech	Brand, Hon. A. G.
West, or Chesterton	Greene, W. R.
Cheshire (8)	
Altrincham	Disraeli, Coningsby R.
Crewe	Tomkinson, J.
Eddisbury	Tollemache, H. J.
Hyde	Chapman, E.
Knutsford	Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton.
Macclesfield	Davenport, W. B.
Northwich	Brunner, Sir J. T.
Wirral	Hoult, J.
Cornwall (6)	
Mid, or St. Austell	M‘Arthur, W. A.
North-East, or Launceston	Moulton, J. F.
North-West, or Camborne	Caine, W. S.
South-East, or Bodmin	Molesworth, Sir L., Bt.
Truro	Durning-Lawrence, Sir E., Bt.
West, or St. Ives	Hain, E.

Cumberland (4)

Cockermouth	Randles, J. S.
Mid, or Penrith	Lowther, Rt. Hon. J. W.
North, or Eskdale	Lowther, C. W. H.
West, or Egremont	Bain, J. R.

Derbyshire (7)

Chesterfield	Bayley, Thomas.
High Peak	Partington, O.
Ilkeston	Foster, Sir B. W.
Mid	Jacoby, J. A.
North-East	Bolton, T. D.
South	Gretton, J.
West	Cavendish, Victor C. W.

Devonshire (8)

East, or Honiton	Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir J. H., Bt.
Mid, or Ashburton	Hayne, Rt. Hon. C. Seale-
North-East, or Tiverton	Walrond, Col. Rt. Hon. Sir W. H.
North, or South Molton	Lambert, G.
North-West, or Barnstaple	Soares, E. J.
South, or Totnes	Mildmay, F. Bingham.
Torquay	Barratt, F. L.
West, or Tavistock	Spear, J. W.

Dorsetshire (4)

East	Sturt, Hon. H. N.
North	Digby, J. K. W.
South	Brymer, W. E.
West	Williams, Col. R.

Durham (8)

Barnard Castle	Pease, Sir Joseph W., Bt.
Bishop Auckland	Paulton, J. M.
Chester-le-Street	Joicey, Sir James, Bt.
Houghton-le-Spring	Cameron, Robert.
Jarrow	Palmer, Sir C. Mark, Bt.
Mid	Wilson, John.
North-West	Atherley-Jones, L.
South-East	Lambton, Hon. F. W.

Essex (8)

East, or Maldon	Strutt, Hon. C. H.
Mid, or Chelmsford	Rasch, Major F. C.
North-East, or Harwich	Round, J.
North, or Saffron Walden	Wodehouse, Hon. A.
South-East	Tufnell, Col. E.
South, or Romford	Sinclair, Louis.
South-West, or Walthamstow	Morgan, D. J.
West, or Epping	Lockwood, Lt.-Col. A. R. M.

Gloucestershire (5)

East, or Cirencester	Bathurst, Hon. A. B.
Forest of Dean	Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir C. W., Bt.
Mid, or Stroud	Allen, C. P.
North, or Tewkesbury	Dorington, Sir J. E., Bt.
South, or Thornbury	Colston, C. E. H. A.

Hampshire (5)

East, or Petersfield	Nicholson, W. G.
New Forest	Montagu, Hon. J. W. E. D. Scott-

Hampshire (5)—*cont.*	
North, or Basingstoke	Jeffreys, A. F.
South, or Fareham	Lee, Lt.-Col. A. H.
West, or Andover	Beach, Rt. Hon. W. W. Bramston.
Herefordshire (2)	
North, or Leominster	Rankin, Sir Jas., Bart.
South, or Ross	Clive, Capt. P. A.
Hertfordshire (4)	
East, or Hertford	Smith, A. H.
Mid, or St. Albans	Gibbs, Hon. Vicary.
North, or Hitchin	Hudson, G. B.
West, or Watford	Halsey, T. F.
Huntingdonshire (2)	
North, or Ramsey	Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn E.
South, or Huntingdon	Montagu, G. C.
Isle of Wight (1)	Seely, Capt. J. E. B.
Kent (8)	
East, or St. Augustine's	Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers.
Isle of Thanet	Lowther, Rt. Hon. James.
Mid, or Medway	Warde, Lt.-Col. C. E.
North-East, or Faversham	Howard, Capt. J.
North-West, or Dartford	Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir W. Hart, Bt.
South, or Ashford	Hardy, Laurence.
South-West, or Tunbridge	Boscawen, A. Griffith-.
West, or Sevenoaks	Forster, H. W.
Lancashire, North (4)	
Blackpool	Ridley, Rt. Hon. Sir M. W., Bt.
Chorley	Balcarres, Lord.
Lancaster	Helme, N. W.
North Lonsdale	Cavendish, Richd. F.
Lancashire, North-East (4)	
Accrington	Leese, Sir J. F.
Clitheroe	Kay-Shuttleworth. Rt. Hon. Sir U. J.
Darwen	Rutherford, John.
Rossendale	Mather, W.
Lancashire, South-East (8)	
Eccles	Clare, O. L.
Gorton	Hatch, E. F. G.
Heywood	Kemp, G.
Middleton	Fielden, E. B.
Prestwich	Cawley, F.
Radcliffe-cum-Farnworth	Taylor, T. C.
Stretford	Maclure, Sir J. W., Bt.
Westhoughton	Stanley, Lord.
Lancashire, South-West (7)	
Bootle	Sandys, Col. T. M.
Ince	Blundell, Col. H. B. Hollinshed.
Leigh	Scott, C. P.
Newton	Pilkington, Lt.-Col. R.
Ormskirk	Stanley, Hon. Arthur.
Southport	Hall, E. M.
Widnes	Walker, Col. W. H.

LEICESTERSHIRE (4)	
East, or Melton	Manners, Lord C. R. J.
Mid, or Loughborough	Levy, M.
South, or Harborough	Logan, J. W.
West, or Bosworth	M'Laren, C. B. B.
LINCOLNSHIRE (7)	
East Lindsey, or Louth	Perks, R. W.
Holland, or Spalding	Mansfield, H. R.
North Kesteven, or Sleaford	Chaplin, Rt. Hon. H.
North Lindsey, or Brigg	Reckitt, H. J.
South Kesteven, or Stamford	Younger, W.
South Lindsey, or Horncastle	Willoughby de Eresby, Lord.
West Lindsey, or Gainsborough	Ormsby-Gore, Hon. S. F.
MIDDLESEX (7)	
Brentford	Bigwood, J.
Ealing	Hamilton, Rt. Hon. Lord George.
Enfield	Bowles, Captain H. F.
Harrow	Cox, J. E. Bainbridge.
Hornsey	Balfour, Capt. C. B.
Tottenham	Howard, J.
Uxbridge	Dixon-Hartland, Sir F. D., Bt.
MONMOUTHSHIRE (3)	
North	M'Kenna, R.
South	Morgan, Col. Hon. F. C.
West	Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Sir W. Vernon.
NORFOLK (6)	
East	Price, R. J.
Mid	Wilson, F. W.
North	Gurdon, Sir W. B.
North-West	White, G.
South	Soames, A. W.
South-West	Hare, T. L.
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE (4)	
East	Channing, F. A.
Mid	Spencer, Hon. C. R.
North	Sackville, S. G. S.
South	Fitzroy, Hon. J. G.
NORTHUMBERLAND (4)	
Berwick-upon-Tweed	Grey, Sir Edward, Bt.
Hexham	Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Tyneside	Smith, H. C.
Wansbeck	Fenwick, C.
NOTTINGHAMSHIRE (4)	
Bassetlaw	Milner, Rt. Hon. Sir F. G., Bt.
Mansfield	Markham, A. B.
Newark	Welby, Sir C. G. E., Bt.
Rushcliffe	Ellis, J. E.
OXFORDSHIRE (3)	
Mid, or Woodstock	Morrell, G. H.
North, or Banbury	Brassey, Albert.
South, or Henley	Hermon-Hodge, R. T.
RUTLAND (1)	Finch, G. H.

SHROPSHIRE (4)

Mid, or Wellington	Brown, A. H.
North, or Newport	Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W.
South, or Ludlow	More, R. J.
West, or Oswestry	Leighton, Stanley.

SOMERSETSHIRE (7)

Bridgwater	Stanley, E. J.
East	Hobhouse, Henry.
Frome	Barlow, J. E.
North	Llewellyn, Evan H.
South	Strachey, E.
Wells	Dickinson, R. E.
West, or Wellington	Acland-Hood, Capt. Sir A. F.

STAFFORDSHIRE (7)

Burton	Radcliffe, R. F.
Handsworth	Meysey-Thompson, Sir H., Bt.
Kingswinford	Webb, Col. W. G.
Leek	Bill, Charles.
Lichfield	Warner, T. Courtenay T.
North-West	Heath, James.
West	Henderson, Alexander.

SUFFOLK (5)

North-East, or Eye	Stevenson, F. S.
North, or Lowestoft	Lucas, Col. F. A.
North-West, or Stowmarket	Malcolm, Ian.
South-East, or Woodbridge	Pretyman, Capt. E. G.
South, or Sudbury	Quilter, Sir Cuthbert, Bart.

SURREY (6)

Kingston	Skewes-Cox, T.
Mid, or Epsom	Keswick, W.
North-East, or Wimbledon	Hambro, C. E.
North-West, or Chertsey	Leigh-Bennett, H. C.
South-East, or Reigate	Cubitt, Hon. Henry.
South-West, or Guildford	Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John.

SUSSEX (6)

East, or Rye	Brookfield, A. M.
Mid, or Lewes	Fletcher, Sir Hy., Bt.
North, or East Grinstead	Goschen, G. J., jun.
North-West, or Horsham	Johnstone, J. H.
South, or Eastbourne	Hogg, L.
South-West, or Chichester	Talbot, Lord Edmund.

WARWICKSHIRE (4)

North-East, or Nuneaton	Newdigate, F. A.
North, or Tamworth	Muntz, P. A.
South-East, or Rugby	Grant, J. C.
South-West, or Stratford-on-Avon	Milward, Col. Victor.

WESTMORELAND (2)

North, or Appleby	Rigg, R.
South, or Kendal	Bagot, Capt. J. F.

WILTSHIRE (5)

East, or Devizes	Goulding, E. A.
North, or Cricklade	Fitzmaurice, Lord E. G. Petty.
North-West, or Chippenham	Dickson-Poynder, Sir J. P., Bt.
South, or Wilton	Morrison, Lt. J. A.
West, or Westbury	Fuller, J. M. F.

Worcestershire (5)	
East	Chamberlain, J. Austen.
Mid, or Droitwich	Martin, R. Biddulph.
North	Wilson, J. W.
South, or Evesham	Long, Col. C. Wigram.
West, or Bewdley	Baldwin, Alfred.

Yorkshire, East Riding (3)	
Buckrose	White, L.
Holderness	Wilson, A. S.
Howdenshire	Wilson-Todd, W. H.

Yorkshire, North Riding (4)	
Cleveland	Pease, A. E.
Richmond	Hutton, John.
Thirsk and Malton	Lawson, J. Grant.
Whitby	Beckett, E. W.

Yorkshire, West Riding (N.) (5)	
Elland	Trevelyan, C. P.
Keighley	Brigg, John.
Shipley	Flannery, Sir J. Fortescue.
Skipton	Thomson, F. W.
Sowerby	Mellor, Rt. Hon. J. W.

Yorkshire, West Riding (S.) (8)	
Barnsley	Walton, Joseph.
Colne Valley	Kitson, Sir J. B., Bt.
Doncaster	Fison, F. W.
Hallamshire	Mappin, Sir F. T., Bt.
Holmfirth	Wilson, H. J.
Morley	Hutton, A. E.
Normanton	Pickard, B.
Rotherham	Holland, H. W.

Yorkshire, West Riding (E.) (6)	
Barkston Ash	Gunter, Col. R.
Osgoldcross	Austin, Sir John, Bt.
Otley	Duncan, J. H.
Pudsey	Whiteley, G.
Ripon	Wharton, Rt. Hon. J. Lloyd.
Spen Valley	Whittaker, T. P.

ENGLAND—METROPOLITAN BOROUGHS (62 Members).

Battersea and Clapham (2)	
Battersea	Burns, John.
Clapham	Thornton, Percy M.

Bethnal Green (2)	
North-East	Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
South-West	Ridley, S. F.

Camberwell (3)	
Dulwich	Maple, Sir J. Blundell
North	Macnamara, T. J.
Peckham	Banbury, F. G.

Chelsea (1)	Whitmore, C. A.

Croydon (1)	Ritchie, Rt. Hon. C. T.
Deptford (1)	Morton, A. H. A.
Finsbury (3)	
Central	Massey-Mainwaring, Hon. W. F. B.
East	Richards, H. C.
Holborn	Remnant, J. R.
Fulham (1)	Fisher, W. Hayes
Greenwich (1)	Cecil, Lord Hugh R. H.
Hackney (3)	
Central	Allhusen, A. H. E.
North	Bousfield, W. R.
South	Robertson, T. H.
Hammersmith (1)	Bull, W. J.
Hampstead (1)	Hoare, E. Brodie.
Islington (4)	
East	Cohen, B. L.
North	Bartley, G. C. T.
South	Rollit, Sir A. K.
West	Lough, Thomas.
Kensington (2)	
North	Sharpe, W. E. T.
South	Percy, Earl.
Lambeth (4)	
Brixton	Mowbray, Sir R. G., Bt.
Kennington	Cook, F. L.
North	Horner, F. W.
Norwood	Tritton, C. E.
Lewisham (1)	Penn, John
London, City (2)	Dimsdale, Sir J. C. Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Marylebone (2)	
East	Boulnois, Edmund
West	Scott, Sir S. E., Bt.
Newington (2)	
Walworth	Bailey, Jas.
West	Norton, Capt. C. W.
Paddington (2)	
North	Aird, John.
South	Fardell, Sir T. G.
St. George's, Hanover Square (1)	Legge, Col. Hon. H.
St. Pancras (4)	
East	Wrightson, Sir Thos., Bt.
North	Moon, E. R. P.
South	Jessel, Capt. H. M.
West	Graham, H. R.
Shoreditch (2)	
Haggerston	Cremer, W. R.
Hoxton	Hay, Hon. C. G. D.

SOUTHWARK (3)	
Bermondsey	Cust, H. J. C.
Rotherhithe	Macdona, J. Cumming.
West	Causton, R. K.
STRAND (1)	Smith, Hon. W. F. D.
TOWER HAMLETS (7)	
Bow and Bromley	Guthrie, W. M.
Limehouse	Samuel, Harry S.
Mile End	Charrington, Spencer.
Poplar	Buxton, Sydney C.
St. George's	Dewar, T. R.
Stepney	Gordon, Major W. E. E.
Whitechapel	Samuel, S. M.
WANDSWORTH (1)	Kimber, Hy.
WEST HAM (2)	
North	Gray, Ernest.
South	Banes, Major G. E.
WESTMINSTER (1)	Burdett-Coutts, W. L. Ashmead B.
WOOLWICH (1)	Hughes, Col. Edwin.

ENGLAND—PROVINCIAL CITIES AND BOROUGHS (164 Members).

ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE (1)	Whiteley, H. J.
ASTON MANOR (1)	Cecil, E.
BARROW-IN-FURNESS (1).	Cayzer, Sir C. W.
BATH, CITY (2)	Murray, Col. C. Wyndham. Wodehouse, Rt. Hon. E. R.
BEDFORD (1)	Pym, C. Guy.
BIRKENHEAD (1)	Lees, Sir Elliott, Bt.
BIRMINGHAM, CITY (7)	
Bordesley	Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse.
Central	Parkes, Ebenezer.
East	Stone, Sir J. Benjamin.
Edgbaston	Lowe, F. W.
North	Middlemore, J. T.
South	Williams, J. Powell-.
West	Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. Joseph.
BLACKBURN (2)	Hornby, Sir W. H., Bt. Coddington, Sir W., Bt.
BOLTON (2)	Cross, H. S. Harwood, G.
BOSTON (1)	Garfit, W.
BRADFORD, CITY (3)	
Central	Wanklyn, J. L.
East	Greville, Capt. Hon. R. H. Fulke.
West	Flower, Ernest S. F.
BRIGHTON (2)	Loder, Gerald W. E. Wentworth, Bruce C. Vernon-.

Bristol, City (4)	
East	Hobhouse, C. E. H.
North	Wills, Sir F.
South	Long, Rt. Hon. W. H.
West	Beach, Rt. Hon. Sir M. H., Bt.
Burnley (1)	Mitchell, W.
Bury (1)	Kenyon, Jas.
Bury St. Edmunds (1)	Greene, Sir E. W., Bt.
Cambridge (1)	FitzGerald, Sir R. Penrose-, Bt.
Canterbury, City (1)	Heaton, J. Henniker.
Carlisle, City (1)	Gully, Rt. Hon. W. C. (Speaker)
Chatham (1)	Davies, Sir Horatio D.
Cheltenham (1)	Agg-Gardner, J, T.
Chester, City (1)	Yerburgh, R. A.
Christchurch (1)	Balfour, Major K. R.
Colchester (1)	Pearson, Sir Weetman D., Bt.
Coventry (1)	Murray, C. J.
Darlington (1)	Pease, Herbt. P.
Derby (2)	Roe, Sir T. Bell, R.
Devonport (2)	Kearley, H. E. Morton, E. J. C.
Dewsbury (1)	Oldroyd, Mark.
Dover (1)	Wyndham, George.
Dudley (1)	Robinson, Brooke.
Durham, City (1)	Elliot, Hon. Arthur R. D.
Exeter, City (1)	Vincent, Sir E.
Gateshead (1)	Allan, William.
Gloucester, City (1)	Rea, R.
Grantham (1)	Priestley, A.
Gravesend (1)	Parker, H. G. G.
Grimsby, Great (1)	Doughty, G.
Halifax (2)	Crossley, Sir S. B. Whiteley, J. H.
Hanley (1)	Heath, A. H.
Hartlepool (1)	Furness, Sir C.
Hastings (1)	Thomas, Capt. F. F.
Hereford, City (1)	Arkwright, J. S.
Huddersfield (1)	Woodhouse, Sir J. T.

Hull, City (3	
Central	King, Sir H. Seymour.
East	Firbank, J. T.
West	Wilson, C. H.
Hythe (1)	Sassoon, Sir Edward A., Bt.
Ipswich (2)	Goddard, D. F. Dalrymple, Sir Chas., Bt.
Kidderminster (1)	Godson, Sir Augustus F.
Leeds, City (5)	
Central	Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W.
East	Cautley, H. S.
North	Jackson, Rt. Hon. W. L.
South	Walton, John Lawson
West	Gladstone, Rt. Hon. Herbert J.
Leicester (2)	Broadhurst, Henry. Rolleston, Sir J. F. L.
Lincoln, City (1)	Seely, C. H.
Liverpool, City (9)	
Abercromby	Lawrence, W. F.
East Toxteth	Warr, A. F.
Everton	Willox, Sir J. A.
Exchange	M'Arthur, Charles.
Kirkdale	MacIver, David.
Scotland	O'Connor, T. P.
Walton	Stock, J. H.
West Derby	Higginbottom, S. W.
West Toxteth	Houston, R. P.
Lynn Regis (1)	Bowles, T. Gibson.
Maidstone (1)	Barker, J.
Manchester, City (6)	
East	Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J.
North	Schwann, C. E.
North-East	Fergusson, Rt. Hon. Sir J., Bt.
North-West	Houldsworth, Sir W. H., Bt.
South	Peel, Hon. W. R. W.
South-West	Galloway, W. J.
Middlesbrough (1)	Sadler, Col. S. A.
Monmouth District (1)	Harris, Dr. Rutherfoord.
Morpeth (1)	Burt, Thomas.
Newcastle-under-Lyme (1)	Haslam, Sir A. S.
Newcastle-upon-Tyne, City (2)	Plummer, W. R. Renwick, G.
Northampton (2)	Labouchere, Henry. Shipman, Dr. J. G.
Norwich, City (2)	Hoare, Sir Samuel,Bt Bullard, Sir Harry.

Nottingham, City (3)	
East	Bond, Edward.
South	Bentinck, Lord H. C.
West	Yoxall, J, H.
Oldham (2)	Emmott, Alfred. Churchill, W. L. S.
Oxford, City (1)	Valentia, Viscount.
Penryn and Falmouth (1)	Horniman, F. J.
Plymouth (2)	Duke, H. E. Guest, Hon. I. C.
Pontefract (1)	Nussey, T. Willans.
Portsmouth (2)	Majendie, J. H. A. Lucas, R. J.
Preston (2)	Hanbury, Rt. Hon. R. W. Tomlinson, W. E. M.
Reading (1)	Palmer, G. W.
Rochdale (1)	Royds, Col. C. M.
Rochester, City (1)	Cranborne, Viscount.
St. Helens (1)	Seton-Karr, Henry.
Salford (3)	
North	Platt-Higgins, F.
South	Groves, J. G.
West	Knowles, Lees.
Salisbury, City (1)	Palmer, W.
Scarborough (1)	Rickett, J. Compton.
Sheffield, City (5)	
Attercliffe	Langley, Batty.
Brightside	Maddison, F.
Central	Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. Howard.
Ecclesall	Ashmead-Bartlett, Sir Ellis.
Hallam	Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-.
Shrewsbury (1)	Greene, H. D.
Southampton (2)	Simeon, Sir J. S. Barrington, Bt. Chamberlayne, T.
South Shields (1)	Robson, W. S.
Stafford (1)	Shaw, T. F. C. E.
Stalybridge (1)	Ridley, M. White.
Stockport (2)	Leigh, Sir Joseph. Melville, B. V.
Stockton (1)	Ropner, Col. E. H. O. R.
Stoke-upon-Trent (1)	Coghill, D. H.
Sunderland (2)	Doxford, Sir W. T. Pemberton, J. S. G.

Taunton (1)	Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E.
Tynemouth (1)	Harris, F. L.
Wakefield, City (1)	Milton, Viscount.
Walsall (1)	Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir A. D., Bt.
Warrington (1)	Pierpoint, Robert.
Warwick and Leamington (1)	Lyttelton, Hon. Alfred.
Wednesbury (1)	Green, W. D.
West Bromwich (1)	Spencer, J. Ernest.
Whitehaven (1)	Helder, Augustus.
Wigan (1)	Powell, Sir F. S., Bt.
Winchester, City (1)	Myers, W. H.
Windsor (1)	Barry, Sir F. T., Bt.
Wolverhampton (3)	
East	Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir H. H.
South	Norman, H.
West	Hickman, Sir Alfred
Worcester, City (1)	Allsopp, Hon. G. H.
Yarmouth, Great (1)	Colomb, Sir John C. R.
York, City (2)	Butcher, J. G. Faber, G. D.

WALES—COUNTIES (19 Members).

Anglesey (1)	Griffith, Ellis J.
Brecknockshire (1)	Morley, Charles.
Cardiganshire (1)	Davies, M. L. Vaughan.
Carmarthenshire (2)	
East	Thomas, Abel.
West	Morgan, J. Lloyd.
Carnarvonshire (2)	
North or Arfon	Jones, William.
South or Eifion	Roberts, J. Bryn
Denbighshire (2)	
East	Moss, Samuel.
West	Roberts, J. H.
Flintshire (1)	Smith, Samuel.
Glamorganshire (5)	
East	Thomas, Alfred.
Mid	Evans, S. T.
Rhondda	Abraham, William.
South	Wyndham-Quin, Major W. H.
West, or Gower	Thomas, J. A.
Merionethshire (1)	Williams, A. O.

Montgomeryshire (1)	Humphreys-Owen, A. C.
Pembrokeshire (1)	Philipps, J. Wynford.
Radnorshire (1)	Edwards, F.

WALES—BOROUGHS (11 Members).

Cardiff District (1)	Reed, Sir E. J.
Carmarthen District (1)	Davies, Alfred.
Carnarvon District (1)	Lloyd-George, David.
Denbigh District (1)	Kenyon, Hon. G. T.
Flint District (1)	Lewis, J. H.
Merthyr Tydvil (2)	Thomas, D. A. Hardie, J. Keir.
Montgomery District (1)	Pryce-Jones, Lieut.-Col. E.
Pembroke and Haverfordwest District (1)	Laurie, Lieut.-Col. J. W.
Swansea (2)	
District	Jones, D. Brynmor.
Town	Newnes, Sir G.

SCOTLAND—COUNTIES (39 Members).

Aberdeenshire (2)	
East	Maconachie, A. W.
West	Farquharson, Dr. R.
Argyllshire (1)	Nicol, Donald N.
Ayrshire (2)	
North	Cochrane, Hon. T. H.
South	Arrol, Sir William.
Banffshire (1)	Black, A. W.
Berwickshire (1)	Tennant, H. J.
Buteshire (1)	Murray, Rt. Hon. A. Graham.
Caithness-shire (1)	Harmsworth, R. L.
Clackmannan and Kinross (1)	Wason, Eugene.
Dumbartonshire (1)	Wylie, Alexander.
Dumfriesshire (1)	Maxwell, W. J. H.
Edinburgh (Midlothian) (1)	Murray, Hon. A. W. C. O.
Elgin and Nairn (1)	Gordon, Hon. J. E.
Fifeshire (2)	
East	Asquith, Rt. Hon. H. H.
West	Hope, J. D.
Forfarshire (1)	Sinclair, Capt. J.

Haddingtonshire (1)	Haldane, R. B
Inverness-shire (1)	Dewar, J. A.
Kincardineshire (1)	Crombie, J. W.
Kirkcudbrightshire (1)	Stewart, Sir Mark J. McT., Bt.
Lanarkshire (6)	
Govan	Craig, R. H.
Mid	Caldwell, J.
North-East	Colville, J.
North-West	Douglas, C. M.
Partick	Smith, J. Parker.
South	Hozier, Hon. J. H. C.
Linlithgowshire (1)	Ure, Alex.
Orkney and Shetland (1)	Wason, J. C.
Peebles and Selkirk (1)	Thorburn, Sir Walter.
Perthshire (2)	
East	Kinloch, Sir J. G. S., Bt.
West	Stroyan, J.
Renfrewshire (2)	
East	Shaw-Stewart, M. H.
West	Renshaw, C. B
Ross and Cromarty (1)	Weir, J. G.
Roxburghshire (1)	Dalkeith, Earl of.
Stirlingshire (1)	McKillop, J.
Sutherlandshire (1)	Leveson-Gower, F. S.
Wigtonshire (1)	Maxwell, Rt. Hon. Sir H. E., Bt.

SCOTLAND—CITIES AND BURGHS (31 Members).

Aberdeen, City (2)	
North	Pirie, D. V.
South	Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Ayr District (1)	Orr-Ewing, C. L.
Dumfries District (1)	Reid, Sir R. T.
Dundee (2)	Robertson, Edmund. Leng, Sir John.
Edinburgh, City (4)	
Central	Brown, G. M.
East	McCrae, George.
South	Agnew, Sir A. N., Bt.
West	McIver, Sir Lewis, Bt
Elgin District (1)	Asher, Alexander.
Falkirk District (1)	Wilson, John.

Glasgow, City (7)	
Blackfriars and Hutchesontown	Law, A. B.
Bridgeton	Dickson, C. S.
Camlachie	Cross, Alexander.
Central	Baird, J. G. A.
College	Stirling-Maxwell, Sir J. M., Bt.
St. Rollox	Wilson, John.
Tradeston	Corbett, A. Cameron.
Greenock (1)	Reid, James.
Hawick District (1)	Shaw, Thomas.
Inverness District (1)	Finlay, Sir R. B.
Kilmarnock District (1)	Denny, Col. J. McA.
Kirkcaldy District (1)	Dalziel, J. H.
Leith District (1)	Ferguson, R. C. Munro.
Montrose District (1)	Morley, Rt. Hon. J.
Paisley (1)	Dunn, Sir Wm., Bt.
Perth City (1)	Wallace, Robert.
St. Andrews District (1)	Anstruther, H. T.
Stirling District (1)	Campbell-Bannerman, Rt. Hn. Sir H.
Wick District (1)	Bignold, Arthur.

IRELAND—COUNTIES (85 Members).

Antrim (4)	
East	McCalmont, Col. J.
Mid	O'Neill, Hon. R. T.
North	Moore, William.
South	Macartney, W. G. E.
Armagh County (3)	
Mid	Lonsdale, J. B.
North	Saunderson, Col. Rt. Hon. E. J.
South	Campbell, J.
Carlow County (1)	Hammond, John.
Cavan (2)	
East	Young, Samuel.
West	McGovern, Thos.
Clare (2)	
East	Redmond, W. H. K.
West	Jameson, Major J. E.
Cork, County (7)	
East	Donelan, Captain A. J. C.
Mid	Tanner, Dr. C. K. D.
North	Flynn, J. C.
North-East	Abraham, Wm.
South	Barry, Edward.
South-East	Crean, Eugene.
West	Gilhooly, J.

Donegal (4)	
East	McFadden, E.
North	O'Doherty, W.
South	MacNeill, J. G. Swift.
West	Boyle, James.
Down (4)	
East	Rentoul, J. A.
North	Corbett, T. L.
South	M'Cartan, Michael.
West	Hill, Captain Arthur.
Dublin, County (2)	
North	Clancy, J. J.
South	Mooney, J. J.
Fermanagh (2)	
North	Archdale, E. M.
South	Jordan, Jeremiah.
Galway, County (4)	
Connemara	O'Malley, William.
East	Roche, John.
North	Nolan, Col. J. P.
South	Duffy, W. J.
Kerry (4)	
East	Murphy, J.
North	Flavin, M. J.
South	Boland, J. P.
West	O'Donnell, Thos.
Kildare (2)	
North	Leamy, Edmund.
South	Minch, Matthew J.
Kilkenny County (2)	
North	M'Dermott, Patrick.
South	O'Mara, James.
King's County (2)	
Birr	Reddy, Michael.
Tullamore	Burke, E. H.
Leitrim (2)	
North	M'Hugh, Patrick A.
South	Tully, Jasper.
Limerick, County (2)	
East	Lundon, Wm.
West	O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Londonderry, County (2)	
North	Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John.
South	Gordon, J.
Longford, County (2)	
North	Farrell, J. P.
South	Blake, Edward.
Louth (2)	
North	Healy, T. M.
South	Nolan, Joseph.

Mayo (4)	
East	Dillon, John.
North	O'Kelly, Conor.
South	O'Donnell, John.
West	Ambrose, Robert.
Meath (2)	
North	White, Patrick.
South	Carew, J. L.
Monaghan (2)	
North	Macaleese, Daniel.
South	Daly, Jas.
Queen's County (2)	
Leix	MacDonnell, Dr. M. A.
Ossory	Delany, William.
Roscommon (2)	
North	O'Kelly, Jas.
South	Hayden, J. P.
Sligo, County (2)	
North	McKillop, W.
South	O'Dowd, John.
Tipperary (4)	
East	Condon, T. J.
Mid	O'Brien, K. E.
North	O'Brien, P. J.
South	Cullinan, John.
Tyrone (4)	
East	Doogan, P. C.
Mid	Murnaghan, George.
North	Hemphill, Rt. Hon. C. H.
South	Russell, T. W.
Waterford, County (2)	
East	Power, P. J.
West	Shee, J. J.
Westmeath (2)	
North	Kennedy, P. J.
South	Sullivan, Donal.
Wexford (2)	
North	Esmonde, Sir T. H. G.
South	Ffrench, Peter.
Wicklow (2)	
East	Cogan, Denis J.
West	O'Connor, James.

IRELAND—CITIES AND BOROUGHS (16 Members)

Belfast, City (4)	
East	Wolff, G. W.
North	Haslett, Sir Jas. H.
South	Johnston, Wm.
West	Arnold-Forster, H. O.
Cork, City (2)	O'Brien, J. F. X. O'Brien, William.

DUBLIN, CITY (4)	
College Green	Nannetti, J. P.
Dublin Harbour	Harrington, T.
St. Patrick's	Field, William.
St. Stephen's Green	McCann, James.
GALWAY, TOWN (1)	Morris, Hon. M. H. F.
KILKENNY (1)	O'Brien, Patrick.
LIMERICK, CITY (1)	Joyce, Michael.
LONDONDERRY, CITY (1)	Hamilton, Capt. the Marquess of.
NEWRY (1)	Carvill, P. G. H.
WATERFORD (1)	Redmond, J. E.

UNIVERSITIES (9 Members).

ENGLAND :—	
Cambridge University (2)	Jebb, Sir R. C. Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir J. E.
London University (1)	Foster, Sir Michael.
Oxford University (2)	Anson, Sir W. R., Bart. Talbot, Rt. Hon. J. G.
SCOTLAND :—	
Edinburgh and St. Andrews Universities (1)	Tuke, Sir J. Batty.
Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities (1)	Campbell, Rt. Hon. J. A.
IRELAND :—	
Dublin University (2)	Carson, Rt. Hon. E. H. Lecky, Rt. Hon. W. E. H.

SUMMARY.

	No. of Members.	
ENGLAND		
Counties	234	
Metropolitan Boroughs	62	
Provincial Cities and Boroughs	164	
		460
WALES		
Counties	19	
Boroughs	11	
		30
SCOTLAND		
Counties	39	
Cities and Burghs	31	
		70
IRELAND		
Counties	85	
Cities and Boroughs	16	
		101
UNIVERSITIES		
England	5	
Scotland	2	
Ireland	2	
		9
Total number of Members		670

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VOLUME LXXXVIII.

VOLUME OF SESSION 2, 1900.

[DECEMBER 3 to DECEMBER 15.]

HOUSE OF LORDS: MONDAY, 3RD DECEMBER, 1900.

THE FIRST SESSION OF THE FIFTEENTH PARLIAMENT OF HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN, AND THE TWENTY-SEVENTH PARLIAMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, was opened by Commission.

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The Commons (who were sent for) being at the Bar, were directed to proceed to the choice of a Speaker, and to present such person whom they should so choose here to-morrow, at Twelve o'clock, for Her Majesty's Royal Approbation 1

The LORD CHANCELLOR, singly in the first place, took Oath at the Table 2

Certificate of the Election of Sixteen Representative Peers for Scotland —Delivered and read 2

ROLL OF THE LORDS 2

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that he had received from the Registrar in Bankruptcy of the High Court of Justice a certificate under the seal of the said Court, stating, "That the Right Honourable Charles Douglas Richard, Baron Sudeley, of Ormeley Lodge, Ham Common, in the County of Surrey, being a Peer of Parliament, was adjudicated bankrupt on the 13th day of August, 1900": the same was ordered to lie on the Table 2

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that he had received from the Registrar in Bankruptcy of the High Court of Justice a certificate under the seal of the said Court, stating, "That the Most Noble William Angus Drogo, Duke of Manchester, of No. 45, Portman Square, in the County of London, being a Peer of Parliament, was adjudicated bankrupt on the 18th day of September, 1900": the same was ordered to lie on the Table 3

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SAT FIRST.

The Earl Howe sat first in Parliament after the death of his father ... 3

The Lord Delamere sat first in Parliament after the death of his father 3

Several Lords took the Oath.

House adjourned at Four of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: MONDAY, 3RD DECEMBER, 1900.

Message to attend the Lords Commissioners by Black Rod.

The House went; and a Commission having been read for opening and holding the Parliament, the Lords Commissioners directed the House to proceed to the election of a Speaker, and present him to-morrow, at Twelve of the clock, in the House of Peers, for the Royal Approbation.

The House returned.

ELECTION OF SPEAKER.

Motion made—"That the Right Hon. William Court Gully do take the Chair of this House as Speaker."—(*Sir James Fergusson.*)

DISCUSSION:—

Dr. Farquharson (*Aberdeenshire, W.*) 6

Mr. William Court Gully (*Carlisle*) 8

The House then having again unanimously called Mr. William Court Gully to the Chair, he was taken out of his place and conducted to the Chair by Sir James Fergusson and Dr. Farquharson.

Then the Mace, which before lay under the Table, was placed on the Table.

DISCUSSION:—

The First Lord of the Treasury (*Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester E.*) ... 9

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, (*Stirling Burghs*) 10

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR moved, "That this House do now adjourn."

Mr. SPEAKER ELECT thereupon put the Question, which being agreed to:—

The House adjourned accordingly until To-morrow, and Mr. Speaker Elect went away without the Mace before him.

House adjourned at a quarter before Three of the clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS: TUESDAY, 4TH DECEMBER, 1900.

SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS—The Lords Commissioners being seated in front of the Throne, and the Commons being sent for—

Mr. SPEAKER ELECT presented himself at the Bar of the House to submit himself for Her Majesty's gracious approbation.

December 4.]

Page

The LORD CHANCELLOR having assured Mr. Speaker Elect of Her Majesty's gracious approval,

Mr. SPEAKER then claimed for the Commons all their ancient and undoubted rights and privileges.

The Commons then withdrew.

REPRESENTATIVE PEER FOR IRELAND—Writs and Returns electing the Lord Inchiquin a Representative Peer for Ireland in the room of the Earl of Portarlington deceased, with the Certificate of the Clerk of the Crown in Ireland annexed thereto: Delivered (on oath), and Certificate read ... 14

RE-ELECTION OF MINISTERS—The Commons, who were sent for, being at the Bar with their Speaker, the Lord Chancellor delivered the Speech of the Lords Commissioners to both Houses of Parliament, signifying Her Majesty's pleasure that an opportunity be now given to issue writs for supplying the vacancies occasioned in the House of Commons owing to the acceptance of office from the Crown by Members of that House: Then the Commons withdrew 14

Several Lords took the Oath.

House adjourned at Four of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: TUESDAY, 4TH DECEMBER, 1900.

The House met at Twelve of the clock, Mr. Speaker Elect taking the Chair.

ELECTION OF SPEAKER.

Message to attend the Lords Commissioners by Black Rod.

The House went; and, being returned,

Mr. SPEAKER reported, That the House had been in the House of Peers, where Her Majesty was pleased, by Her Majesty's Commissioners, to approve of the choice the House had made of him to be their Speaker; and that he had in their name and on their behalf, by humble Petition to Her Majesty, made claim to their ancient and undoubted Rights and Privileges, particularly to freedom from arrest and all molestation of their Persons; to freedom of speech in Debate; to free access to Her Majesty when occasion shall require; and that the most favourable construction shall be put upon all their proceedings, which, he said, Her Majesty, by her said Commissioners, had confirmed to them in as full and ample a manner as they have been heretofore granted or allowed by Her Majesty, or any of her Royal predecessors.

Mr. SPEAKER repeated his most respectful acknowledgments to the House for the high honour they had done him.

Mr. SPEAKER then put the House in mind that their first duty was to take and subscribe the Oath required by Law.

Thereupon Mr. SPEAKER first alone, standing upon the upper step of the Chair, took and subscribed the Oath.

Several Members took and subscribed the Oath, and a Member made and subscribed the Affirmation required by Law 15

RE-ELECTION OF MINISTERS.

Message to attend the Lords Commissioners by Black Rod.

The House went; and, being returned,

Mr. SPEAKER reported, That the Lords Commissioners under the Great Seal for opening and holding this Parliament had made a communication to both Houses, which Mr. SPEAKER read to the House.

Several other Members took and subscribed the Oath, and several Members made and subscribed the Affirmation required by Law 16

NEW WRITS.

County of Surrey (South Western or Guildford Division)—in the room of Right Hon. William St. John Freemantle Brodrick, Secretary of State.

Borough of Preston—in the room of Right Hon. Robert William Hanbury, President of the Board of Agriculture.

Borough of Dover—in the room of George Wyndham, esquire, Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

County of Suffolk (South Eastern or Woodbridge Division)—in the room of Ernest George Pretyman, esquire, one of the Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

County of Derby (Western Division)—in the room of Victor Christian Cavendish, esquire, Treasurer of Her Majesty's Household.

County of Somerset (Western or Wellington Division)—in the room of Captain Sir Alexander Fuller Acland-Hood, baronet, Vice-Chamberlain of Her Majesty's Household.—(*Sir William Walrond.*) 16

Several other Members took and subscribed the Oath, and several other Members made and subscribed the Affirmation required by Law.

ADJOURNMENT.—Motion made, and Question, "That this House do now adjourn"—(*Sir William Walrond*)—put, and agreed to.

Adjourned accordingly at five minutes after Four of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: WEDNESDAY, 5TH DECEMBER, 1900.

Several other Members took and subscribed the Oath, and several other Members made and subscribed the Affirmation required by Law ... 17

ADJOURNMENT—Motion made, and Question, "That this House do now adjourn"—(*Sir William Walrond*)—put, and agreed to 18

Adjourned accordingly at Four of the clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS: THURSDAY, 6TH DECEMBER, 1900.

HER MAJESTY'S SPEECH—The Commons being at the Bar, with their Speaker, the LORD CHANCELLOR delivered Her Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament; Then the Commons withdrew 19

House adjourned during pleasure.

House resumed.

REPRESENTATIVE PEERS FOR SCOTLAND—The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had received (by post) from the Lord Clerk Register of Scotland Minutes of the meeting held on the 5th of October last of the Peers of Scotland for the election of their representatives to sit and vote in the ensuing Parliament of the United Kingdom; and also, Return by the Lord Clerk Register of Scotland concerning Titles of Peerages called at the said meeting, in right of which respectively no vote had been received and counted for fifty years last past as at the date of the said meeting: Ordered that the said Minutes of Election, etc., be printed. (No. 1.) 19

His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, singly, took the Oath.

His Royal Highness the Duke of York, singly, took the Oath.

Edward Stuart Lord Bishop of Rochester was (in the usual manner) introduced.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, singly, took the Oath.

Several Lords took the Oath.

SELECT VESTRIES—Bill, pro formâ, read 1^a 19

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

Moved—"That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty in reply to the Gracious Speech from the Throne."—(*The Earl of Lathom.*)

Lord Monk Bretton 21

DISCUSSION:—

The Earl of Kimberley ... 23

The Prime Minister and Lord Privy Seal (The Marquess of Salisbury) 32

The Earl of Rosebery 38

The Lord President of the Council (The Duke of Devonshire) ... 49

Lord Tweedmouth 53

On Question, agreed to; Address ordered to be presented to Her Majesty by the Lords with White Staves.

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF SAXE-COBURG AND GOTHA.—The Lord Chancellor acquainted the House that he had (after the close of the last Session of Parliament) received a letter from Her Royal and Imperial Highness, Marie, Duchess of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, Duchess of Edinburgh, containing an Answer to the Message of Condolence of this House of the 2nd of August last.

Ordered that the said letter be entered on the Journals 54

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COMMITTEES.

The EARL OF MORLEY appointed, *nemine dissentiente*, to take the Chair in all Committees of this House for this Session.

Committee for Privileges appointed.

Committee for the Journals appointed.

Stoppages in the Streets, Order to prevent, renewed.

Appeal Committee appointed.

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS (RECESS).

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that the following Papers having been commanded to be presented to this House by Her Majesty had been so presented on the following dates by delivery to the Clerk of the Parliaments, pursuant to Order of the House of the 17th February, 1896, namely :—

INDIA—(Statistical Abstract). Statistical Abstract relating to British India from 1889-90 to 1898-99. Thirty-fourth Number. (10th August.) (Trade.) Review of the Trade of India in 1899-1900. (12th September.) (Sanitary Measures.) Report on Sanitary Measures in India in 1898-99. (1st November.) 55

LUNACY (SCOTLAND) ACT—Forty-second Annual Report of the General Board of Commissioners in Lunacy for Scotland. (11th August.) ... 55

TRADE REPORTS.—Annual Series : Diplomatic and Consular Reports on Trade and Finance—No. 2504. Switzerland (Swiss Trade in Textiles, 1898). No. 2505. Russia (Riga). No. 2506. United States (San Francisco). No. 2507. Portugal (Trade of Northern Portugal). No. 2508. Portugal (District of Inhambane). No. 2509. Egypt (Port Said and Suez). No. 2510. United States (Oregon, etc.) (15th August). No. 2511. Corea. No. 2512. China (Canton). 2513. France (Madagascar). No. 2514. Dutch and French Guiana. (18th August). No. 2515. Belgium (Trade, Finances., etc., for the year 1899). (21st August). No. 2516. Germany (Dantzig, Konisberg, and Memel). No. 2517. Portugal (Madeira). No. 2518. Siam (Chiengmai). No. 2519. Italy (Rome). (25th August). No. 2520. Trade of Zanzibar for 1899. (29th August.) No. 2521. Austria-Hungary (Fiume). No. 2522. Russia (Odessa). No. 2523. Germany. No. 2524. Italy (South Italy—Supplementary). No. 2525. Japan (North Formosa). (15th September.) No. 2526. Argentine Republic (Finances for the years 1899–1900). (18th September.) No. 2527. Mexico. No. 2528. Siam (Bangkok). (22nd September.) No. 2529. Italy (Trade of Sicily for 1899). No. 2530. Denmark (Trade of Iceland for the years 1897-99). No. 2531. Abyssinia (Adis Abbaba and Harrar). No. 2532. Germany (Wurtemberg). No. 2533. Persia (Khorassan). No. 2534. Russia (Agriculture in the Transcaucasus) (2nd November). No. 2535. Russia (Consular District of St. Petersburg). No. 2536. Africa (East Africa Protectorate). No. 2537. Dominica Republic. (10th November.) No. 2538. Uruguay (Trade for 1899 and part of 1900). (22nd November.) No. 2539. Mexico (Trade of Vera Cruz for the years 1898-99 and part of 1900). (28th November) 55

Miscellaneous Series : Reports on Subjects of General and Commercial Interest :—No. 535. Germany (German East Africa). (18th August.) No. 536. Germany (Extension of German Subsidised Mail Steamers to South Africa). No. 537. United States (Cattle Trade in Kansas). 30th

August.) No. 538. Spain (Mining Interest in the Province of Galicia). No. 539. Japan (Agriculture and Horse and Cattle Breeding in Kagoshima Prefecture). (2nd November.) No. 540. Germany (Carbide of Calcium and Acetylene Gas). No. 541. United States (Mining and Metallurgical Industry in Butte District, Montana). (20th November.) No. 542. British Trade with Switzerland for the year 1899. (22nd November.) ... 56

Africa—No. 7. (1900)—Report by the Mombasa-Victoria (Uganda) Railway Committee on the Progress of the Works 1899-1900. [With a Map and Section.] (15th August.) No. 8. (1900)—Maps illustrative of the Preliminary Report by Her Majesty's Special Commissioner on the Protectorate of Uganda. [See Africa, No. 6, 1900.] (2nd November.) ... 56

Irish Land Commission—Judicial Rents: Return for January, 1900. (17th August.) Proceedings: Return for March, 1900. Proceedings: Return for April, 1900. (1st September.) Judicial Rents: Return for February, 1900. (10th September.) Proceedings: Return for May, 1900. (18th September.) Proceedings: Return for June, 1900. (24th September.) Proceedings: Return for July, 1900. Proceedings: Return for August, 1900. (7th November.) Judicial Rents: Return for March, 1900. (17th November.) 57

South Africa—Correspondence relating to recent political situation in South Africa. (22nd August) 57

Treaty Series—No. 17. (1900). Convention between the United Kingdom and the United States of America relative to the disposal of real and personal property; signed at Washington, 2nd March, 1899. [Ratifications exchanged at Washington, 28th July, 1900.] No. 18. (1900). Convention between the United Kingdom and France and the British Colonies of Ceylon, Hong Kong, and the Straits Settlements; signed at Paris, 4th April, 1900. [Ratifications exchanged at Paris, 27th July, 1900.] (25th August.) No. 19. (1900). Convention between the United Kingdom and the Republic of Costa Rica for the reciprocal protection of trade marks, etc.; signed at Guatemala, 5th March, 1898. [Ratifications exchanged at London, 29th September, 1900.] No. 20. (1900). Additional Convention, supplementary to the Convention of 7th September, 1888, respecting the exchange of parcels by parcel post between France and Mauritius; signed at Paris, 16th May, 1900. [Ratifications exchanged at Paris, 27th July, 1900.] (2nd November.) No. 21. (1900). Agreement between the United Kingdom and Siam relative to taxation on land held or owned by British subjects in Siam; 20th September, 1900. (13th November) 57

West Indies—Correspondence relating to the hurricanes on 7th August and 8th September, 1899, and the relief of distress caused thereby. (28th August.) Further papers relating to cost of local excise restrictions on the production of spirits. (7th November.) 58

Colonies (Annual) Reports) 1899—No. 294. Barbados. (29th August.) No. 295. Malta. (5th September.) No. 296. Fiji. (15th September.) No. 297. Turks and Caicos Islands. (1st November). No. 298. Bahamas. (1st November.) No. 299. Sierra Leone. (1st November.) No. 300. Gambia. (1st November.) No. 301. Seychelles. (1st November.) No. 302. Mauritius and Rodriguez. (1st November.) No. 303. Trinidad and Tobago. (2nd November.) No. 304. Straits Settlements. (8th November.) No. 305. Gibraltar. (16th November.) No. 306. Gold Coast. (27th November.) No. 307. Ceylon. (1st December.) 58

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EXPLOSIVES—(Explosion at Blackbeck Gunpowder Factory.)—Report to the Secretary of State for the Home Department by Captain M. B. Lloyd, Her Majesty's Inspector of Explosives, on the circumstances attending the destruction by explosion of a press house at the gunpowder factory of Messrs. F. C. Dickson and Co., at Blackbeck, Haverthwaite, Lancashire, on the 26th May, 1900. (29th August.)

(Fire at Fuze Works at Camborne.)—Report to the Secretary of State for the Home Department by Major A. Cooper-Key, Her Majesty's Inspector of Explosives, on the circumstances attending a fire at the fuze works of Messrs. William Bennett, Sons, and Company, at Camborne, on the 2nd July, 1900. (September 6.)

(Explosion of Picric Acid at Huddersfield.)—Report to the Secretary of State for the Home Department by Captain J. H. Thomson, Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Explosives, on the circumstances attending an explosion of picric acid at the factory of Messrs. Read, Holliday and Sons, Limited, at Huddersfield, on 30th May, 1900. (September 11.)

(Explosions at Eley's Ammunition Factory at Edmonton.)—Report to the Secretary of State for the Home Department by Major A. Cooper-Key, Her Majesty's Inspector of Explosives, on the circumstances attending two explosions which occurred at the ammunition factory of Messrs. Eley Brothers, Limited, at Edmonton, on the 24th July, 1900. (November 10.)

(Explosion at Eley's Factory at Gray's Inn Road.)—Report to the Secretary of State for the Home Department by Captain J. H. Thomson, Her Majesty's Inspector of Explosives, on the circumstances attending the explosion of percussion caps which occurred at the factory of Messrs. Eley Brothers, Limited, at Gray's Inn Road, London, on the 10th September, 1900. (10th November.) 58

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METROPOLITAN POLICE COURT DISTRICT—Report of the Departmental Committee appointed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department to inquire into the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan police magistrates and county justices respectively in the Metropolitan Police Court District. (5th September.)... 59

POST OFFICE—Agreement, dated 21st July, 1900, between Great Britain and Roumania, for a reduction in telegraph rates. (6th September.)... ... 60

PRISONS (ENGLAND AND WALES)—Report of the Commissioners of Prisons and the Directors of Convict Prisons, with appendices, for the year ended 31st March, 1900. (11th September.) 60

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS—Reports on the Federated Malay States for 1899. (12th September.) 60

LOCAL TAXATION (ROYAL COMMISSION)—Minutes of Evidence. Volume V. —Ireland. (14th September.) 60

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No. 5 (1900)—Summary of information received from Her Majesty's Consuls upon the docks and cargo arrangements in the chief ports of France and Northern Europe. (2nd November.) 60

WELSH SETTLEMENT AT CHUBUT—Reports on the Welsh Settlement at Chubut in the Argentine Republic. (24th September.) 60

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II. A light railway in the North Riding of the county of York from Sinnington to Rosedale.

III. A light railway in the county of Carnarvon from Snowdon Station to Beddgelert.

IV. Light railways in the borough of Barnsley and the urban districts of Worsborough and Monk Bretton in the West Riding of the county of York.

V. Light railways in the borough of Wolverhampton and Wednesbury and the urban districts of Willenhall, Darlaston, Coseley, and Bilston, in the county of Stafford.

VI. Light railways in the urban districts of Bilston, Willenhall, and Coseley, in the county of Stafford.

VII. Light railways in the municipal and county borough of Gateshead and the urban district of Wickham in the county of Durham.

VIII. Light railways in the county of Worcester between Bromsgrove Railway Station, Bromsgrove Town, and Lickey End.

IX. Light railways in the county of Northampton, in the city of Peterborough, and the parishes of Walton and Peterborough Without, in the rural district of Peterborough. (25th September.) 60

TELEGRAPH MONEY ORDERS—Additional Articles for the carrying out of the Convention of the 4th March, 1872, relative to the exchange of money orders between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the Kingdom of Italy. (1st November.) 61

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EVICTIONS (IRELAND)—Return of Evictions in Ireland for the quarter ended 30th September, 1900. (1st November.) 61

ARMY (MILITARY PRISONS)—Report of the discipline and management of the military prisons for 1899. (1st November.) 61

AGRARIAN OUTRAGES (IRELAND)—Return for the quarter ended 30th September, 1900. (2nd November.) 61

HONG KONG—Report on new territory at Hong Kong. (5th November.) ... 61

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MINES (FIRE-DAMP EXPLOSION AT CWM PIT, MERTHYR TYDVIL)—Report of a Committee appointed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department to investigate and report on the causes and circumstances of an explosion of fire-damp which took place at Cwm Pit, Merthyr Tydvil, on 14th May, 1900. (8th November) 61

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REFORMATORY AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS (GREAT BRITAIN)—Forty-third Report for the year 1899 of Her Majesty's Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools. (9th November) 62

METEOROLOGICAL COUNCIL—Report for the year ending 31st March, 1900, to the President and Council of the Royal Society. (13th November) ... 62

PETERHEAD HARBOUR—Reports respecting Peterhead Harbour Works (in continuation of [C.–20.]). (13th November) 62

MERCHANT SHIPPING (MERCANTILE MARINE FUND) ACT, 1898 (LIGHT DUES)—Report of a Committee appointed by the Board of Trade to examine the claims and suggestions received for exemption from light dues, or for alteration of the existing scale or rules. I.—Report. (15th November) 62

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I. Volume 4. Educational systems of the chief colonies of the British Empire (Dominion of Canada, Newfoundland, West Indies).

II. Volume 5. Educational systems of the chief colonies of the British Empire (Commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand, Ceylon, Malta).

III. Volume 6. Preparatory schools, their place in English secondary education.

Report on Technical and Commercial Education in East Prussia, Poland, Galicia, Silesia, and Bohemia; by James Baker, F.R.G.S. (29th November.)

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SOUTH AFRICA—Further correspondence relating to affairs in South Africa (in continuation of [C.–261] and [C.–264], July, 1900) 63

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BANK OF ENGLAND—Return of the amount of notes issued more than forty years which have not been presented for payment, and which have been written off from the total amount of notes issued from the Issue Department of the Bank of England 63

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SUPERANNUATION—I. Treasury Minutes declaring that professional or other peculiar qualifications, not ordinarily to be acquired in the public service, are required for the due and efficient discharge of the duties of: 1. Assistant Inspector of Railways, Board of Trade. 2. Medical Inspector to the Local Government Board for Scotland. 3. Legal Adviser to the Local Government Board for Ireland. 4. Junior Inspector, Scotch Education Department. II. Treasury Minutes declaring that the following persons were appointed without a civil service certificate through inadvertence on the part of the heads of their departments, namely: 1. Edmund Sterriker, rural postman, Malton Post Office (15th August, 1900). 2. Mrs. Eliza Thomas, postmistress, Kidwelly Post Office (14th September, 1900). 3. Robert Black, rural postman, Newton Stewart Post Office (3rd October, 1900). 4. John Hales, postman, Stanmore Post Office (27th October, 1900). 5. Thomas Spittle, turner, Royal Gun Factory, War Office (14th November, 1900). 6. Charles Dennis, artificer, Royal Small Arms Factory, War Office (21st November, 1900) 63

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AGRICULTURE AND TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION (IRELAND) ACT, 1899.—1. Rules under Section 3 of the Act. 2. Amended rules for the administration of loans under the Sea and Coast Fisheries Fund (Ireland) Act, 1884 64

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP (PERIOD OF EMPLOYMENT) WAREHOUSES IN FACTORIES OR WORKSHOPS WHERE BRIGHT OR BURNISHED METAL GOODS ARE MADE.—Order, dated 6th September, 1900, made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department in pursuance of Section 65 of the Factory and Workshop Act, 1878, and Section 39 of the Factory and Workshop Act, 1895, permitting the warehouses in factories where bright or burnished metal goods are made to be treated as separate factories or workshops as far as regards the period of employment of children, young persons and women 64

WINTER ASSIZES (IRELAND)—Four Orders in Council, dated 2nd November, 1900, for holding Winter Assizes in Ireland 65

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INEBRIATE ACTS, 1879 TO 1899, RULES FOR RETREATS—Rules for Retreats licensed under the Inebriates Acts, 1879 to 1899, dated 18th October, 1900, approved by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, in substitution for the rules dated 10th August, 1888 65

POLLING DISTRICTS (COUNTY OF MERIONETH)—1. Order made by the County Council constituting a new polling district, to be called the Llwyngwril Polling District. 2. Order made by the County Council of Southampton, altering certain polling districts in the county 65

PENAL SERVITUDE ACTS, 1853 TO 1891, CONDITIONAL LICENCES—1. Licence granted by Her Majesty to Frederica Furneaux, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting the said Frederica Furneaux to be at large on condition that she enter the Elizabeth Fry Refuge, Hackney. 2. Licences to be at large, to which are annexed conditions other than those contained in Schedule A of the Penal Servitude Act, 1867, granted to: 1. Patrick Greenan; 2. Charles Costello; 3. Licence to be at large granted by Her Majesty to Joseph Drinkwater under the provisions of the Penal Servitude Acts, 1853 to 1891, to which are annexed conditions other than those contained in Schedule A of the Penal Servitude Act, 1864. 4. Licence granted by Her Majesty to Fanny Wroughton, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting the said Fanny Wroughton to be at large on condition that she enter the Elizabeth Fry Refuge ... 65

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FOREIGN JURISDICTION ACT, 1890—Order in Council of the 17th September, 1900, entitled "The Cyprus Coinage Order, 1900" 66

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACT, 1894—Orders in Council: 1. Of the 12th November, 1900, approving certain new byelaws made by the Gloucestershire Pilotage Board. 2. Of the 9th August, 1900, confirming new byelaws made by the Cardiff Pilotage Board. 3. Of the 12th November, 1900, approving certain byelaws made by the Clyde Pilot Board relating to the Pilotage Fund of the Clyde Pilotage District. 4. Of the 17th day of September, 1900, making certain rules concerning the lights or signals to be carried and concerning the steps for avoiding collisions to be taken by vessels navigating the River Mersey and the sea channels or approaches thereto, between the Rock Lighthouse and the furthest point seawards to which such sea channels or approaches respectively are for the time being buoyed on both sides 66

WINTER ASSIZES ACT, 1876—Seven Orders in Council of 7th August, 1900, relating to the ensuing winter assizes 67

UNIVERSITIES (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1889—University Court Ordinance No. 2 (Edinburgh, No. 2). University of Edinburgh; Foundation of the Sir William Fraser Chair of Ancient History and Palæography. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act) and to be printed. (No. 2.)... 67

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UNIVERSITIES OF OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE ACT, 1877—1. Statutes made by the Governing Body of Jesus College, Oxford, on the 16th day of March, 1900, amending the schedule to the statutes of the college relating to King Charles the First's Trust. 2. Statute made by the Governing Body of St. John's College, Oxford, on 9th December, 1899, amending Statutes III. 1., III. 14., V. 4 (*a*), and XV. 2 of the statutes of the College. 3. Statute made by the Governing Body of New College, Oxford, on the 21st day of March, 1900, and sealed on the 24th day of March, 1900, amending Statute III., clause 18, of the statutes of the college, relating to the residence of probationer fellows. 4. Statutes made by the Governing Body of Exeter College, Oxford, on the 16th day of March, 1900, amending Statutes II. and V. of the statutes of the college. 5. Statute made by the Governing Body of Worcester College, Oxford, on the 24th day of January, 1900, amending Statute III. 16 of the statutes of the College. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act) and to be printed. (No. 3.) ... 67

INDIAN EXPENDITURE (ROYAL COMMISSION)—Return respecting; Laid before the House (pursuant to Address of the 20th July last), and to be printed. (No. 4.) 68

MERSEY DOCKS AND HARBOUR BOARD—Accounts for the year ending 1st July, 1900 68

MARGATE PIER AND HARBOUR COMPANY—Report and Statement of Accounts for the year ended 5th April, 1900. Delivered (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table 68

JOHN WILLIAM EARL—Petition for redress of grievances of John William Earl; read, and ordered to lie on the Table... 68

House adjourned at a quarter before Seven of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: THURSDAY, 6TH DECEMBER, 1900.

The House met at Two of the clock.

Message to attend the Lords Commissioners.

The House went; and, being returned,

Several other Members took and subscribed the Oath, and several other Members made and subscribed the Affirmation required by Law.

ELECTIONS—Ordered, That all Members who are returned for two or more places in any part of the United Kingdom do make their Election for which of the places they will serve, within one week after it shall appear that there is no question upon the Return for that place; and if anything shall come in question touching the Return or Election of any Member, he is to withdraw during the time the matter is in debate; and that all Members returned upon double Returns do withdraw till their Returns are determined.

Resolved, That no Peer of the Realm, except such Peers of Ireland as shall for the time being be actually elected, and shall not have declined to serve, for any county, city, or borough of Great Britain, hath any right to give his vote in the Election of any Member to serve in Parliament.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That it is a high infringement of the liberties and privileges of the Commons of the United Kingdom for any Lord of Parliament, or other Peer or Prelate, not being a Peer of

Ireland at the time elected, and not having declined to serve for any county, city, or borough of Great Britain, to concern himself in the election of Members to serve for the Commons in Parliament, except only any Peer of Ireland, at such elections in Great Britain respectively where such Peer shall appear as a candidate, or by himself, or any others, be proposed to be elected; or for any Lord Lieutenant or Governor of any county to avail himself of any authority derived from his Commission, to influence the Election of any Member to serve for the Commons in Parliament."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

Amendment proposed—

> "To leave out from the word 'Kingdom' in line 2, to the word 'for' in line 8."—(*Mr. James Lowther.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Discussion :—

Mr. Wharton (Yorkshire, Ripon) 72
The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) 73
Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (Stirling Burghs) 76

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 326; Noes, 68. (Division List No. 1.)

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Resolved, That it is a high infringement of the liberties and privileges of the Commons of the United Kingdom for any Lord of Parliament, or other Peer or Prelate, not being a Peer of Ireland at the time elected, and not having declined to serve for any county, city, or borough of Great Britain, to concern himself in the election of Members to serve for the Commons in Parliament, except only any Peer of Ireland, at such Elections in Great Britain respectively where such Peer shall appear as a candidate, or by himself, or any others, be proposed to be elected; or for any Lord Lieutenant or Governor of any county to avail himself of any authority derived from his Commission, to influence the election of any Member to serve for the Commons in Parliament.

Resolved, That if it shall appear that any person hath been elected or returned a Member of this House, or endeavoured so to be, by bribery, or any other corrupt practices, this House will proceed with the utmost severity against all such persons as shall have been wilfully concerned in such bribery or other corrupt practices.

Witnesses—Resolved, That if it shall appear that any person hath been tampering with any witness, in respect of his evidence to be given to this House, or any Committee thereof, or directly or indirectly hath endeavoured to deter or hinder any person from appearing or giving evidence, the same is declared to be a high crime or misdemeanour: and this House will proceed with the utmost severity against such offender. Resolved, That if it shall appear that any person hath given false evidence in any case before this House, or any Committee thereof, this House will proceed with the utmost severity against such offender ... 81

Metropolitan Police—Ordered, That the Commissioners of the Police of the Metropolis do take care that, during the Session of Parliament, the passages through the streets leading to this House be kept free and open, and that no obstruction be permitted to hinder the passage of Members

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to and from this House, and that no disorder be allowed in Westminster Hall, or in the passages leading to this House, during the Sitting of Parliament, and that there be no annoyance therein or thereabouts; and that the Sergeant at Arms attending this House do communicate this Order to the Commissioners aforesaid 81

VOTES AND PROCEEDINGS—Ordered, That the Votes and Proceedings of this House be printed, being first perused by Mr. Speaker; and that he do appoint the printing thereof; and that no person but such as he shall appoint do presume to print the same 82

PRIVILEGE —Ordered, That a Committee of Privileges be appointed 82

Outlawries Bill—"For the more effectual preventing Clandestine Outlawries," read the first time: to be read the second time 82

JOURNAL—Ordered, That the Journal of this House, from the end of the last Session to the end of the present Session, with an Index thereto, be printed.

Ordered, That 500 Copies of the said Journal and Index be printed by the appointment and under the direction of Archibald John Scott Millman, esquire, C.B., the Clerk of this House.

Ordered, That the said Journal and Index be printed by such person as shall be licensed by Mr. Speaker, and no other person do presume to print the same 82

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS (RECESS).

The following Papers, presented by Command of Her Majesty during the Recess, were delivered to the Librarian of the House of Commons during the Recess, pursuant to the Standing Order of the 14th August, 1896:—

1. Lunacy (Scotland).—Copy of Forty-second Annual Report of the General Board of Commissioners of Lunacy for Scotland.

2. Judicial Statistics (Scotland).—Copy of Report on the Judicial Statistics of Scotland for the year 1899.

3. East India (Statistical Abstract).—Copy of Statistical Abstract relating to British India from 1889-90 to 1898-9, Thirty-fourth Number.

4. East India (Trade).—Copy of Review of the Trade in India in 1899-1900, by J. E. O'Connor, C.I.E., Director-General of Statistics to the Government of India.

5. East India (Sanitary Measures).—Copy of Report on Sanitary Measures in India in 1898-9, Volume XXXII.

6. Irish Land Commission (Judicial Rents).—Copy of Returns of Judicial Rents fixed during January, 1900.

7. Irish Land Commission (Judicial Rents).—Copy of Returns of Judicial Rents fixed during February, 1900.

8. Irish Land Commission (Judicial Rents).—Copy of Returns of Rents fixed during March, 1900.

9. Irish Land Commission (Proceedings).—Copy of Returns of Proceedings of the Commission during the month of March, 1900.

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10. Irish Land Commission (Proceedings).—Copy of Return of Proceedings of the Commission during the month of April, 1900.

11. Irish Land Commission (Proceedings).—Copy of Return of Proceedings of the Commission during the month of May, 1900.

12. Irish Land Commission (Proceedings).—Copy of Return of Proceedings of the Commission during the month of June, 1900.

13. Irish Land Commission (Proceedings).—Copy of Return of Proceedings of the Commission during the month of July, 1900.

14. Irish Land Commission (Proceedings).—Copy of Return of Proceedings of the Commission during the month of August, 1900.

15. Evictions (Ireland).—Copy of Return for the quarter ended 30th September, 1900.

16. Agrarian Outrages (Ireland).—Copy of Return for the quarter ended 30th September, 1900.

17. Explosions (Explosion at Blackbeck Gunpowder Factory).—Copy of Report to the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Home Department, by Captain M. B. Lloyd, Her Majesty's Inspector of Explosives, on the circumstances attending the destruction by explosion of a Press House at the gunpowder factory of Messrs. F. C. Dickson and Company, at Blackbeck, Haverthwaite, Lancashire, on 26th May, 1900.

18. Explosions (Fire at Fuze Works at Camborne).—Copy of Report by Major A. Cooper-Key, R.A., Her Majesty's Inspector of Explosives, to the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Home Department, on the circumstances attending a fire at the Fuze Works of Messrs. William Bennett, Sons, and Company, at Camborne, on 2nd July, 1900.

19. Explosions (Explosion of Picric Acid at Huddersfield).—Copy of Report by Captain J. H. Thomson, R.A., Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Explosives, to the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Home Department, on the circumstances attending an explosion of picric acid at the factory of Messrs. Read, Holiday, and Sons, Limited, at Huddersfield, on 30th May, 1900.

20. Explosions (Explosion at Eley's Factory at Gray's Inn Road).—Copy of Report by Captain J. H. Thomson, R.A., Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Explosives, to the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Home Department, on the circumstances attending the explosion of percussion caps which occurred at the factory of Messrs. Eley Brothers, Limited, at Gray's Inn Road, London, on 10th September, 1900.

21. Explosions (Explosion at Eley's Ammunition Factory at Edmonton).—Copy of Report by Major A. Cooper-Key, R.A., Her Majesty's Inspector of Explosives, to the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Home Department, on the circumstances attending two explosions which occurred at the ammunition factory of Messrs. Eley Brothers, Limited, at Edmonton, on 24th July, 1900.

22. Mines (Fire-damp Explosion at Cwm Pit, Merthyr Tydvil).—Copy of a Report of a Committee appointed by the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Home Department to investigate and report on the causes and circumstances of an explosion of fire-damp which took place at Cwm Pit, Merthyr Tydvil, on 14th May, 1900.

23. Mines and Quarries.—Copy of General Report and Statistics for the year 1899; Part II., Labour; General Reports and Statistics relating to persons employed and Accidents at Mines and Quarries in the United Kingdom, and to the enforcement of the Mines and Quarries Acts.

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24. Mines and Quarries.—Copy of General Report and Statistics for the year 1899; Part III., Output; General Report and Statistics relating to the Output and Value of the Minerals raised in the United Kingdom, the amount and value of the metals produced, and the exports and imports of Minerals.

25. Metropolitan Police Court District (Jurisdiction of the Police Magistrates and County Justices respectively).—Copy of Report of the Departmental Committee appointed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department to inquire into the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Police Magistrates and County Justices, respectively, in the Metropolitan Police Court District.

26. Prisons (England and Wales).—Copy of Report of the Commissioners of Prisons and the Directors of Convict Prisons, with Appendices, for the year ended 31st March, 1900.

27. Local Taxation (Royal Commission).—Copy of Minutes of Evidence, Vol. V., Ireland.

28. Police (Metropolis).—Copy of Report of the Commissioners of Police for the Metropolis for 1899.

29. Reformatory and Industrial Schools (Great Britain).—Copy of Forty-third Report of Her Majesty's Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools for 1899.

30. Army (Military Prisons).—Copy of Report on the Discipline and Management of Military Prisons, 1899.

31. Merchant Shipping (Mercantile Marine Fund Act, 1898 (Light Dues).—Copy of Report of a Committee appointed by the Board of Trade to examine the claims and suggestions received for exemption from Light Dues, or for alteration of the existing Scale or Rules; I. Report.

32. Light Railways Act, 1896.—Copy of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of Light Railways in the Municipal and County Borough of Gateshead and the Urban District of Whickham, in the county of Durham (Gateshead and District Light Railway Order, 1900).

33. Light Railways Act, 1896.—Copy of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of Light Railways in the county of Worcester, between Bromsgrove Railway Station, Bromsgrove Town, and Lickey End (Bromsgrove Light Railways Order, 1900).

34. Light Railways Act, 1896.—Copy of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of Light Railways in the urban districts of Bilston, Willenhall, and Coseley, in the county of Stafford (South Staffordshire Light Railway (Extensions) Order, 1900).

35. Light Railways Acts, 1896.—Copy of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of Light Railways in the borough of Barnsley and the urban districts of Worsborough and Monk Bretton, in the West Riding of the county of York (Barnsley and District Light Railway Order, 1900).

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36. Light Railways Act, 1896.—Copy of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of Light Railways in the county of Northampton, in the city of Peterborough and the parishes of Walton and Peterborough Without, in the rural district of Peterborough (Peterborough and District Light Railways Order, 1900).

37. Light Railways Act, 1896.—Copy of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of a Light Railway in the county of Carnarvon, from Snowdon Station to Beddgelert (North Wales Narrow Gauge Railways (Beddgelert Light Railway Extension) Order, 1900).

38. Light Railways Act, 1896.—Copy of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of a Light Railway in the North Riding of the county of York, from Sinnington to Rosedale (Lastingham and Rosedale Light Railway Order, 1900).

39. Light Railways Act, 1896.—Copy of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of Light Railways in the boroughs of Wolverhampton and Wednesbury and the urban districts of Willenhall, Darlaston, Coseley, and Bilston, in the county of Stafford (South Staffordshire Light Railway Order, 1900).

40. Post Office (Telegraph Rates with Roumania).—Copy of Agreement, dated 21st July 1900, between Great Britain and Roumania, for a reduction in Telegraph Rates.

41. Telegraph Money Orders (Italy).—Copy of Additional Articles to the detailed Regulations of the 24th-31st of May, 1872, and the Articles of the 7th-15th of December, 1875, the 5th-24th November, 1881, and 29th July-4th August, 1889, for the carrying out of the Convention of the 4th March, 1872, relative to the exchange of Money Orders between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the Kingdom of Italy.

42. Peterhead Harbour.—Copy of Reports, etc., respecting Peterhead Harbour Works (in continuation of [C. 20]).

43. Meteorology.—Copy of Report of the Meteorological Council to the Royal Society for the year ending 31st March, 1900.

44. South Africa.—Copy of correspondence relating to the recent political situation in South Africa.

45. South Africa.—Copy of further correspondence relating to affairs in South Africa.

46. West Indies.—Copy of correspondence relating to the hurricanes on 7th August and 8th September, 1899, and the relief of distress caused thereby.

47. Straits Settlements (Federated Malay States).—Copy of Reports of the Federated Malay States for 1899.

48. Welsh Settlement at Chubut.—Copy of Reports on the Welsh Settlement at Chubut, in the Argentine Republic (in continuation of [C. 8361], February, 1897).

49. Colonial Produce of Spirits (Restrictions).—Copy of Further Papers relating to cost of local excise Restrictions on the Production of Spirits (West Indies) (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper No. 3, of Session 2, 1899).

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50. Hong Kong.—Copy of the Report on the New Territory at Hong Kong.

51. Colonial Reports (Miscellaneous).—Copy of Report, No. 14 (Bahamas), Notes on Planting of Pita Plant (Agave Sisalana) and the extraction and preparation of the Fibre.

52. Colonial Reports (Annual).—Copies of Reports Nos. 294 (Barbados, Annual Report for 1899), 295 (Malta, Annual Report for 1899), 296 (Fiji, Annual Report for 1899), 297 (Turks and Caicos Islands, Annual Report for 1899), 298 (Bahamas, Annual Report for 1899), 299 (Sierra Leone, Annual Report for 1899), 300 (Gambia, Annual Report for 1899), 301 (Seychelles, Annual Report for 1899), 302 (Mauritius and Rodrigues, Annual Report for 1899) 303 (Trinidad and Tobago, Annual Report for 1899), 304 (Straits Settlements, Annual Report for 1899), 305 (Gibraltar, Annual Report for 1899), 306 (Gold Coast, Annual Report for 1899), 307 (Ceylon, Annual Report for 1899).

53. Africa (No. 7, 1900).—Copy of Report by the Mombassa-Victoria (Uganda) Railway Committee on the Progress of the Works, 1899–1900 (with a Map and Section).

54. Africa (No. 8, 1900).—Copy of Maps illustrative of the Preliminary Report by Her Majesty's Special Commissioner on the Protectorate of Uganda.

55. Treaty Series (No. 17, 1900).—Copy of Convention between the United Kingdom and the United States of America relative to the disposal of real and personal property. Signed at Washington, 2nd March, 1899. Ratifications exchanged at Washington, 28th July, 1900.

56. Treaty Series (No. 18, 1900).—Copy of Convention between the United Kingdom and France for the establishment of a Parcel Post Service between France and the British Colonies of Ceylon, Hong Kong, and the Straits Settlements. Signed at Paris, 4th April, 1900. Ratifications exchanged at Paris, 27th July, 1900.

57. Treaty Series (No. 19, 1900).—Copy of Convention between the United Kingdom and the Republic of Costa Rica for the reciprocal protection of Trade Marks, etc. Signed at Guatemala, 5th March, 1898. Ratifications exchanged at London, 29th September, 1900.

58. Treaty Series (No. 20, 1900),—Copy of additional Convention supplementary to the Convention of 7th September, 1888, respecting the exchange of Parcels by Parcels Post between France and Mauritius. Signed at Paris, 16th May, 1900. Ratifications exchanged at Paris 27th July, 1900.

59. Treaty Series (No. 21, 1900).—Copy of Agreement between the United Kingdom and Siam relative to Taxation on Land held or owned by British subjects in Siam, 20th September, 1900.

60. Trade Marks (Foreign Countries) (Commercial, No. 4, 1900).—Copy of Reports from Her Majesty's Representatives Abroad on Trade Marks Laws and Regulations; Part II.

61. Docks and Cargo Arrangements (Commercial, No. 5, 1900).—Copy of Summary of information received from Her Majesty's Consuls upon the Docks and Cargo Arrangements in the Chief Ports of France and Northern Europe.

62. Trade Reports (Annual Series).—Copies of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Nos. 2,504 to 2,539.

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63. Trade Reports (Miscellaneous Series).—Copy of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Nos. 535 to 542.

Ordered, That the said Papers do lie upon the Table 82

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

ARMY (SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES)—Estimates presented, of the further Amount required in the year ending 31st March, 1901, to meet additional Expenditure due to the War in South Africa and to Affairs in China [by Command]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 378] ... 89

ARMY—Copy presented, of Return of Military Forces in South Africa, 1899–1900 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 89

DISEASES OF ANIMALS ACTS, 1894 AND 1896—Copies presented, of two Orders, dated the 8th November, 1900, entitled respectively the Liverpool (Birkenhead) Foreign Animals Wharf Revocation Order of 1900 and the Liverpool (Birkenhead) Foreign Animals Wharf Order of 1900 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 90

EAST INDIA (LOANS RAISED IN ENGLAND)—Copy presented, of Return of all Loans raised in England, chargeable on the Revenues of India, outstanding at the commencement of the half-year ending on the 30th September, 1900, etc. [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 379.] 90

TRADE UNIONS—Copy presented, of Report by the Chief Labour Correspondent of the Board of Trade on Trade Unions in 1899, with Comparative Statistics for 1892–8 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 90

NAVAL EXPENDITURE AND MERCANTILE MARINE (GREAT BRITAIN, ETC.)—Return presented, relative thereto (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper No. 310, of Session 1899) [ordered 8th February; *Sir John Colomb*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 380.] 90

POST OFFICE (DISTRICT MESSENGERS COMPANY)—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 7th August; *Mr. Gibson Bowles*]; to lie upon the Table... 90

POST OFFICE (TELEPHONE SERVICE)—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 7th August; *Mr. Gibson Bowles*]; to lie upon the Table... ... 90

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1884—Copies presented, of Treasury Minutes declaring that the undermentioned persons were appointed to the offices set against their names without a Civil Service Certificate through inadvertence on the part of the heads of their Departments, viz.:—Charles Dennis, Artificer, Royal Small Arms Factory, War Office Department, dated 21st November, 1900. Thomas Spittle, Turner, Royal Gun Factory, War Office Department, dated 14th November, 1900. John Hales, Postman, Stanmore, Post Office Department, dated 27th October, 1900. Robert Black, Rural Postman, Newton Stewart, Post Office Department, dated 3rd October, 1900. Eliza Thomas, Postmistress, Kidwelly, Post Office Department, dated 14th September, 1900. Edmund Sterriker, Rural Postman, Malton, Post Office Department, dated 15th August, 1900. [By Act]; to lie upon the Table 91

SUPERANNUATIONS—Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 22nd August, 1900, declaring that for the due and efficient discharge of the duties of the office of Assistant Inspector of Railways, Board of Trade, professional or other peculiar qualifications not ordinarily to be acquired in the public service are required [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

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Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 12th September, 1900, declaring that for the due and efficient discharge of the duties of the office of Medical Inspector to the Local Government Board for Scotland, professional or other peculiar qualifications not ordinarily to be acquired in the public service are requisite [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 25th September, 1900, declaring that for the due and efficient discharge of the duties of the office of Legal Adviser to the Local Government Board for Ireland, professional or other peculiar qualifications not ordinarily to be acquired in the public service are requisite [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 7th November, 1900, declaring that for the due and efficient discharge of the duties of the office of Junior Inspector, Scotch Education Department, professional or other peculiar qualifications not ordinarily to be acquired in the public service are requisite [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 91

POST OFFICE TELEGRAPHS—Copy presented, of Telegraph (Foreign Written Telegram) Regulations, 1900, dated 10th October, 1900 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 91

BANK OF ENGLAND.—Copy presented, of Return of the amount of Notes issued more than forty years which have not been presented for payment, and which have been written off from the total amount of Notes issued from the Issue Department of the Bank of England [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 92

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES ACT, 1889.—Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 26th November, 1900, directing the Comptroller and Auditor-General to examine and audit the Account of Fees taken in Ireland under Section 19 (2) of The Weights and Measures Act, 1899 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 92

POLLING DISTRICTS (MERIONETH).—Copy presented, of Order made by the County Council of Merioneth constituting a new polling District, to be called the Llwyngwril Polling District [by Act]; to lie upon the Table ... 92

POLLING DISTRICTS (SOUTHAMPTON).—Copy presented, of Order made by the County Council of Southampton, altering certain polling districts in the county [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 92

PENAL SERVITUDE ACTS (CONDITIONAL LICENCE).—Copy presented, of licence granted to Fanny Wroughton, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the Elizabeth Fry Refuge, Hackney [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of licence granted to Frederica Furneaux, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the Elizabeth Fry Refuge, Hackney [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of a licence to be at large granted to Joseph Drinkwater, to which are annexed conditions other than those contained in Schedule A of the Penal Servitude Act, 1864 [by Act] to lie upon the Table 92

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP ACTS (PERIOD OF EMPLOYMENT) (WAREHOUSES IN FACTORIES OR WORKSHOPS WHERE BRIGHT OR BURNISHED METAL GOODS ARE MADE).—Copy presented, of Order dated 6th September, 1900, made

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by the Secretary of State for the Home Department in pursuance of Section 65 of the Factory and Workshop Act, 1878, and Section 39 of the Factory and Workshop Act, 1895, permitting the warehouses in factories and workshops where bright or burnished metal goods are made to be treated as separate factories or workshops, as far as regards the period of employment of children, young persons, and women [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 93

INEBRIATES ACTS, 1879 TO 1899 (RULES FOR RETREATS)—Copy presented, of Rules for Retreats licensed under the Inebriates Acts, 1879 to 1899, dated 18th October, 1900, approved by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, in substitution for the Rules dated 10th August, 1888 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 93

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (IRELAND)—Copy presented, of Time Table of Examinations for 1901 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 93

BANKRUPTCY (IRELAND)—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 17th July; *Mr. Field*]; to lie upon the Table 93

AGRICULTURE AND TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION (IRELAND) ACT, 1889 (RULES)—Copy presented, of Rules made under the Act for the execution of the Judicial duties in the Fisheries (Ireland) Acts, 1842 to 1898 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 93

Copy presented, of Amended Rules for the Administration of Loans under the Sea and Coast Fisheries Fund (Ireland) Act, 1884 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 93

PHARMACY ACTS (IRELAND)—Copy presented, of Order in Council, dated 13th August, 1900, approving of a Regulation made by the Pharmaceutical Society of Ireland [by Act]; to lie upon the Table... 93

WINTER ASSIZES (IRELAND)—Copy presented, of Four Orders in Council, dated 2nd November, 1900, for holding Winter Assizes in Ireland [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 94

UNIVERSITIES (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1889 (ORDINANCE)—Copy presented, of Ordinance No. 2 of the University Court of the University of Edinburgh (Foundation of the Sir William Frazer Chair of Ancient History and Palæography) [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 94

PENAL SERVITUDE ACTS (CONDITIONAL LICENCE)—Copy presented, of a licence to be at large granted to Patrick Greenan, to which are annexed conditions other than those contained in Schedule A of the Penal Servitude Act, 1864 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of a licence to be at large granted to Charles Costello, to which are annexed conditions other than those contained in Schedule A of the Penal Servitude Act, 1864 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table ... 94

BOARD OF EDUCATION (SPECIAL REPORTS)—Copy presented, of Special Reports on Educational Subjects, Vol. 4. Educational Systems of the Chief Colonies of the British Empire (Dominion of Canada, Newfoundland, West Indies) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of Special Reports on Educational Subjects, Vol. 5. Educational Systems of the Chief Colonies of the British Empire (Commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand, Ceylon, Malta) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

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Copy presented, of Special Reports on Educational Subjects, Vol. 6. Preparatory Schools; their place in English Secondary Education [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 94

BOARD OF EDUCATION—Copy presented, of Report on Technical and Commercial Education in East Prussia, Poland, Galicia, Silesia, and Bohemia, by James Baker, F.R.G.S. [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 94

UNIVERSITIES OF OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE ACT, 1877 (OXFORD)—Copy presented, of a Statute made by the Governing Body of St. John's College, Oxford, on 9th December, 1899, amending Statutes III. 1, III. 14, V. 4a, and XV. 2, of the Statutes of the College [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of a Statute made by the Governing Body of Worcester College, Oxford, on 24th January, 1900, amending Statute III. 16 of the Statutes of the College [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of a Statute made by the Governing Body of Exeter College, Oxford, on 16th March, 1900, amending Statutes II. and V. of the Statutes of that College [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of a Statute made by the Governing Body of Jesus College, Oxford, on 16th March, 1900, amending the Schedule to the Statutes of that College [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of a Statute made by the Governing Body of New College, Oxford, on 24th March, 1900, amending Statute III., Clause 18, of the Statutes of that College [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 95

WINTER ASSIZES ACTS, 1876 AND 1877—Copy presented, of Seven Orders in Council of the 7th August, 1900, relating to the ensuing Winter Assizes [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 95

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACT, 1894—Copy presented, of Order in Council of 7th August, 1900, confirming new Bye-laws made by the Cardiff Pilotage Board [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of Order in Council of 12th November, 1900, approving certain new Bye-laws made by the Gloucester Pilotage Board [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of Order in Council of 12th November, 1900, approving certain Bye-laws made by the Clyde Pilot Board, relating to the Pilotage Fund of the Clyde Pilotage District [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 95

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACT, 1894, AND MERSEY CHANNELS ACT, 1897—Copy presented, of Order in Council of 17th September, 1900, making certain Rules concerning the lights or signals to be carried, and concerning the steps for avoiding collisions to be taken by vessels navigating the River Mersey and the sea channels or approaches thereto, between the Rock Lighthouse and the furthest point seawards to which such sea channels or approaches respectively are for the time being buoyed on both sides [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 96

DOCKYARD PORTS REGULATION ACT, 1865—Copy presented, of Order in Council of 17th September, 1900, amending an Order in Council of 26th February, 1897, relating to the Dockyard Port of Portsmouth [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 96

FOREIGN JURISDICTION ACT, 1890—Copy presented, of Order in Council of 17th September, 1900, entitled The Cyprus Coinage Order in Council, 1900 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 96

TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION ACT, 1889—Copies presented, of Minutes sanctioning the Subjects to be taught under Clause 8 of the Act for the following Counties, &c.:—County Borough of St. Helens (Third Minute), dated 17th October, 1900; City and County Borough of Birmingham (Sixth Minute), dated 17th October, 1900; County of Essex (Third Minute), dated 17th October, 1900; County of Wilts (Fifteenth Minute), dated 23rd October, 1900 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 96

PAPERS LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE—1. Public Records (Supreme Court of Judicature).—Copy of Schedule containing a List and Particulars of Classes of Documents existing or in ordinary course about to exist in the Central Office, and in the District Registries, which are not considered of sufficient public value to justify their preservation in the Public Record Office [by Act].

2. Lunacy.—Copy of Rule in Lunacy, dated 29th October, 1900 [by Act].

3. Mersey Docks and Harbour Board.—Accounts of the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board for the year ending 1st July, 1900 [by Act]. ... 97

QUEEN'S SPEECH—Mr. Speaker reported Her Majesty's Speech and read it to the House 97

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH. [First Day's Debate.]

Mr. Gordon (Elgin and Nairn) 101

Mr. J. F. Hope (Sheffield, Brightside) 101

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, as followeth:—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Gordon.*)

DISCUSSION:—

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (Stirling Burghs) ... 104

The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) ... 122

Sir Charles Dilke (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean) ... 138

Major Rasch (Essex, Chelmsford) 143

Mr. Broadhurst (Leicester)... 145

The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Viscount Cranborne, Rochester) 150

Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis) 153

Mr. E. J. C. Morton (Devonport) 156

Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett (Sheffield, Ecclesall) 160

Mr. John Ellis (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe) 168

The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. J. Chamberlain, Birmingham, W.) 177

Debate adjourned till to-morrow.

Adjourned at five minutes before Twelve of the clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS: FRIDAY, 7TH DECEMBER, 1900.

BARONIES OF DARCY DE KNAYTH, MEYNILL, AND FAUCONBERG—Petition of Marcia Amelia Mary, in her own right, Baroness Convers, the wife of Charles Alfred Worsley, Earl of Yarborough, one of Her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, and of Violet Ida Evelyn, the wife of George Charles, Earl of Powis, Her Majesty's Lieutenant for the county of Salop, the daughters and co-heirs of Sackville George, Lord Conyers Darcy and Meynill, deceased, to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty (1) to terminate in favour of the said Violet Ida Evelyn, Countess of Powis, one of Her Majesty's Petitioners, the abeyance now existing in some one of the three Baronies of Darcy de Knayth, Meynill, and Fauconberg, together with the rights, privileges, pre-eminencies, immunities, and advantages, and the place and precedence due and belonging thereto, to hold the same for her and the heirs of her body lawfully begotten, and to be begotten for ever; and (2) to terminate in favour of the said Marcia Amelia Mary, Countess of Yarborough and Baroness Conyers, the other of Her Majesty's Petitioners, the abeyances now existing in the remaining two of the said three Baronies, together with the rights, privileges, pre-eminencies, immunities, and advantages, and the places and precedence due and belonging thereto, to hold the same to her and the heirs of her body lawfully begotten, and to be begotten for ever; together with Her Majesty's reference thereof to this House, and the report of the Attorney General thereon, thereunto annexed: Presented (by Command), read, and referred to the Committee for Privileges to consider and report 199

LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE—Petition of Geoffrey Henry, Baron of Oranmore and Browne, in the Peerage of Ireland, claiming a right to vote at the elections of Representative Peers for Ireland; read, and referred to the Lord Chancellor to consider and report thereupon to the House ... 199

House adjourned at Four of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: FRIDAY, 7TH DECEMBER, 1900.

Several other Members took and subscribed the Oath.

ADJOURNMENT—Resolved, That this House, at its rising this day, do adjourn till Monday next.—(*Mr. Fellowes.*) 200

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LICENSED PREMISES (HOURS OF SALE) (SCOTLAND)—Petition from Selkirk, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table 200

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY—Petition frem Blakeney, for prohibition; to lie upon the Table... 200

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

POST OFFICE (DISTRICT MESSENGERS' COMPANY)—Return (presented 6th December) to be printed. [No. 381.] 200

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POST OFFICE (TELEPHONE SERVICE)—Return (presented 6th December) to be printed. [No. 382.] 200

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1884—Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 17th November, 1900, declaring that Mr. Alexander MacDonald, Commander of the cruiser "Vigilant," under the Fishery Board for Scotland, was appointed without a Civil Service Certificate, through inadvertence on the part of the Head of his Department [by Act]; to lie upon the Table... 200

COMMERCIAL TRAVELLERS (INDIA AND THE COLONIES)—Copy presented, of Reports as to the Indian and Colonial Regulations respecting Commercial Travellers [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 200

IRISH LAND COMMISSION (JUDICIAL RENTS)—Copy presented, of Return of Judicial Rents fixed during the month of April, 1900 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table... 201

IRISH LAND COMMISSION (PROCEEDINGS)—Copy presented, of Return of Proceedings of the Commission during the month of September, 1900 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 201

RESTRICTIONS UPON BRITISH INDIAN SUBJECTS IN BRITISH COLONIES AND DEPENDENCIES—Return presented, relative thereto. [Address 11th May, 1899; *Sir William Wedderburn*); to lie upon the Table 201

QUESTIONS.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—NOTIFICATION TO FOREIGN POWERS OF THE ANNEXATION OF THE REPUBLICS—Question, Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis); Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Viscount Cranborne, Rochester) 201

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REPORT OF THE INTELLIGENCE DEPARTMENT—Question, Mr. Dalziel (Kirkcaldy Burghs); Answer, Mr. J. Powell-Williams 202

COURT-MARTIAL PROCEDURE—Question, Colonel Nolan (Galway, N.); Answer, Mr. J. Powell-Williams 202

THE WAIMA INCIDENT—ARBITRATION—Question, Sir Charles Dilke (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean); Answer, Viscount Cranborne 203

CONSULAR TRADE REPORTS—Question, Mr. Brigg (Yorkshire, W.R., Keighley); Answer, Viscount Cranborne 203

MALTESE COURTS OF LAW—OFFICIAL LANGUAGE—Question, Mr. Weir (Ross and Cromarty); Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. J. Chamberlain, Birmingham, W.) 203

POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANKS—LOSS ON TRADING—ASSETS AND LIABILITIES—Questions, Mr. Gibson Bowles; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir M. Hicks Beach, Bristol, W.) 204

METROPOLITAN POLICE PAY—Question, Captain Norton (Newington, W.); Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Ritchie, Croydon) 205

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RAILWAY RE-BOOKING CHARGES—Question, Col. Nolan; Answer, The President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Gerald Balfour, Leeds, Central) ... 205

DELETERIOUS MATTER IN BEER—Question, Mr. Frederick Wilson (Norfolk, Mid); Answer, The Secretary to the Local Government Board (Mr. Grant Lawson, Yorkshire, N.R., Thirsk) 206

POST OFFICE TELEPHONES—BREAKING UP OF LONDON STREETS—Question, Mr. Bartley (Islington, N.); Answer, The Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E.) 206

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS—APPEALS AGAINST DISMISSAL—Question, Sir Joseph Leese (Lancashire, Accrington); Answer, The Vice-President of the Board of Education (Sir John Gorst, Cambridge University) 207

SCOTTISH CROFTERS—ISLAND OF BARRA—Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, The Solicitor-General for Scotland (Mr. C. Scott Dickson, Glasgow, Bridgeton) 207

SMALL HOLDINGS IN GALWAY AND MAYO—Question, Col. Nolan; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Atkinson, Londonderry, N.) ... 209

MINISTERS AND PUBLIC COMPANIES—POSITION OF MR. G. W. BALFOUR—Question, Mr. Wharton (Yorkshire, W.R., Ripon); Answer, Mr. G. W. Balfour) 209

LICENSING COMMISSION—PROPOSED LEGISLATION—Question, Mr. Tritton (Lambeth, Norwood); Answer, The First of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) 209

THE PRIME MINISTER'S SALARY—Question, Mr. Dalziel (Kirkcaldy Burghs); Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 210

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S SPEECH OF YESTERDAY—PERSONAL EXPLANATION BY MR. DALZIEL.

Mr. Dalziel 210

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Question, Mr. James Lowther (Kent, Thanet).

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That, during the Winter Sittings, no Motions for leave to bring in Bills be given except by a Minister of the Crown; that on every day Government Business do have precedence, and that at the conclusion thereof Mr. Speaker do adjourn the House without Question put; and that the provisions of Standing Order No. 56 be extended to all the days of the week."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

DISCUSSION :—

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (Stirling Burghs) ... 211
Mr. T. M. Healy (Louth, N.) ... 211
Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis) 212

Amendment proposed—

"In line 4, to leave out the words from the word 'precedence' to the word 'and' in line 5."—(*Mr. Dalziel.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

DISCUSSION :—

Mr. Herbert Lewis (*Flint Boroughs*) 215
The First Lord of the Treasury (*Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.*) 215
Mr. Edmund Robertson (*Dundee*) 216
Mr. T. M. Healy (*Louth, N.*) ... 216

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 215 ; Noes, 100. (Division List No. 2.)

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Ordered, That, during the Winter Sittings, no Motions for leave to bring in Bills be given except by a Minister of the Crown ; that on every day Government Business do have precedence, and that at the conclusion thereof Mr. Speaker do adjourn the House without Question put ; and that the provisions of Standing Order No. 56 be extended to all the days of the week.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH—[Second Day's Debate].

Order read, for resuming adjourned Debate on Question [6th December], "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, as followeth :—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Gordon.*)

Question again proposed. Debate resumed—

Mr. Labouchere (*Northampton*) 221

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—TERMS OF SETTLEMENT.

Mr. Emmott (*Oldham*) ... 235
Mr. Trevelyan (*Yorkshire, W.R., Elland*) 243

Amendment proposed—

"At the end of the Question to add the words, 'And we humbly represent to Your Majesty that it would conduce to the pacification of the conquered territories, and to the future good relations of the European races in South Africa generally, if measures for securing the liberty and property of those now in arms who surrender for the settlement of those territories, and for promoting the reconcilement and well-being of their inhabitants, were announced, at the earliest possible date.'"—(*Mr. Emmott.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

DISCUSSION :—

The Secretary of State for the Colonies (*Mr. J. Chamberlain, Birmingham, W.*) 248
Mr. Asquith (*Fifeshire, E.*)... 264
Mr. T. M. Healy (*Louth, N.*) 269
Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (*Stirling Burghs*) ... 280
Mr. John Burns (*Battersea*) ... 282
Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett (*Sheffield, Ecclesall*) 292
Mr. C. P. Scott (*Lancashire, Leigh*) 293
Mr. Keir Hardy (*Merthyr Tydvil*) 298

Amendment by leave withdrawn.

Main Question again proposed.

BRITISH INTERESTS IN CHINA.

Mr. Joseph Walton (*Yorkshire, W.R., Barnsley*) 303
Mr. Chas. Hobhouse (*Bristol, E.*) 313

Amendment proposed—

> "At the end of the Question, to add the words, 'And we humbly represent to your Majesty that it is essential that more adequate measures should be taken for the safeguarding of the vast commercial and political interests of the British Empire in China; and we further humbly submit that no demand should be made on the Chinese Government for the punishment of Chinese officials which would not be equally imposed in the case of a European Power, and also that reparation should be sought in increased facilities to trade rather than by a money indemnity.'"—(*Mr. Joseph Walton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

DISCUSSION :—

The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (*Viscount Cranborne, Rochester*) 317
Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett ... 321

It being Midnight, the Debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed upon Monday next.

Whereupon, in pursuance of the Order of the House of this day, Mr. Speaker adjourned the House without Question put.

Adjourned accordingly at one minute after Twelve of the clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS: MONDAY, 10TH DECEMBER, 1900.

VISCOUNT MOUNTGARRET—Petition of Henry Edmund, Viscount Mountgarret, in the Peerage of Ireland, claiming a right to vote at the elections of Representative Peers for Ireland; read, and referred to the Lord Chancellor to consider and report thereupon to the House 323

EARLDOM OF NORFOLK—Petition of Henry, Duke of Norfolk, Earl of Arundel, Earl of Surrey, Earl of Norfolk, Lord Maltravers, Lord Fitzalan of Clun and Oswaldestre, and Earl Marshal and Hereditary Marshal of England, Knight of the Most Honourable Order of the Garter, praying their Lordships that he may be permitted to appear and be heard before this House and before their Lordships' Committee for Privileges by his counsel and agents in opposition to the claim of Charles Botolph Joseph Lord Stourton to the dignity of Earl of Norfolk, and that he may be at liberty to cross-examine such witnesses as the said claimant may produce, and to lodge a printed case and to produce such evidence in contradiction of any evidence that may be produced by the said claimant and also such evidence as will support the Petitioner's right and title to the said dignity, as the Petitioner may be advised to be material for the protection of his rights and interests, and that their Lordships will be pleased to allow the Petitioner reasonable time after the delivery of the case of the said claimant to prepare his case and evidence; read, and referred to the Committee for Privileges 323

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RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION—I. (Proceedings.) Return for the month of September, 1900. II. (Judicial Rents.) Return for the month of April, 1900 323

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SOUTH AFRICA—Proclamations issued by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts in South Africa 324

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CHINA NO. 4 (1900)—Reports from Her Majesty's Minister in China respecting events at Peking 324

Presented (by Command) and ordered to lie on the Table.

AUGMENTATION OF BENEFICES ACT, 1863—Return of proceedings under the Lord Chancellor's Augmentation Act, from 15th August, 1892, to 6th December, 1900. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and to be printed. (No. 5.) 324

SUPERANNUATION—Treasury Minute, dated 17th November, 1900, declaring that Mr. Alexander Macdonald, Commander of the Cruiser "Vigilant," under the Fishery Board for Scotland, was appointed without a civil service certificate through inadvertence on the part of the head of his Department 324

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TREATMENT OF INVALIDED COLONIAL SOLDIERS.

DISCUSSION:—

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The Under Secretary of State for War (Lord Raglan) 329
Lord Monkswell 330
Lord Tweedmouth 330
The Earl of Aberdeen 332
The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (The Marquess of Lansdowne) 332
Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal 334

House adjourned at a quarter past Five of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: MONDAY, 10TH DECEMBER, 1900.

Several other Members took and subscribed the Oath, and one other Member made and subscribed the Affirmation required by Law.

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CHINA (NO. 4, 1900)—Copy presented, of Reports from Her Majesty's Minister in China respecting events in Peking [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 338

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2. Lunacy.—Copy of Report to the Lord Chancellor of the number of visits made, the number of patients seen, and the number of miles travelled by the Visitors of Lunatics between 1st April, 1900, and 30th September, 1900 [by Act].

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3. Augmentation of Benefices.—Copy of Return of Proceedings under the Augmentation of Benefices Act, 1863, from 15th August, 1892, to 6th December, 1900 [by Act]; to be printed. [No. 385.] 338

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ROYAL INNISKILLING FUSILIERS—DRAFTS FOR SOUTH AFRICA—Question, Mr. Bartley (Islington, N.); Answer, Mr. J. Powell-Williams 341

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Sittings of the House (Exemption from the Standing Order)—Motion made, and Question put, "That the Proceedings on the Address in answer to Her Majesty's Speech, if under discussion at Twelve o'clock this night, be not interrupted under the Standing Order, Sittings of the House."—(*Mr. Balfour.*)

The House divided :—Ayes, 214 ; Noes, 98. (Division List No. 3.)

Ordered, That the Proceedings on the Address in Answer to Her Majesty's Speech, if under discussion at Twelve o'clock this night, be not interrupted under the Standing Order, Sittings of the House.

Address in Answer to Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech.—[Third Day's Debate].

British Interests in China.

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment [7th December] to Question [6th December], "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, as followeth—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to your Majesty for the gracious Speech which your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Gordon.*)

And which Amendment was—

> "At the end of the Question to add the words 'And we humbly represent to your Majesty that it is essential that more adequate measures should be taken for the safeguarding of the vast commercial and political interests of the British Empire in China ; and we further humbly submit that no demand should be made on the Chinese Government for the punishment of Chinese officials which would not be equally imposed in the case of a European Power, and also that reparation should be sought in increased facilities to trade rather than by a money indemnity.'"—(*Mr. Joseph Walton.*)

Question again proposed, "That these words be there added."

Debate resumed.

Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett (*Sheffield, Ecclesall*) ... 361
Mr. Wylie (*Dumbartonshire*) 365
Mr. Joseph Walton (*Yorkshire, W.R., Barnsley*) 367

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Main Question again proposed.

Cabinet and Government Appointments.

Mr. Bartley (*Islington, N.*) 367
Mr. Schwann (*Manchester, N.*) ... 378

Another Amendment proposed—

> "At the end of the Question to add the words, 'But we humbly express our regret at the advice given to Your Majesty by the Prime Minister in recommending the appointment of so many of his own family to offices in the Cabinet and Government, as being calculated to diminish the responsibility of Your Majesty's Ministers to Parliament, and gravely to impair the efficiency of the public service.'"—(*Mr. Bartley.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

DISCUSSION :—

The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) 378
Mr. Bryn Roberts (Carnarvonshire, Eifion) 384
Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis)... 385

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 128; Noes, 230. (Division List No. 4.)

Main Question again proposed.

MINISTERS OF THE CROWN AND MEMBERS HOLDING OFFICE (INTEREST IN CONTRACTS).

Mr. Lloyd-George (Carnarvon Borough) 397
Mr. Soames (Norfolk, S.) ... 418

Amendment proposed—

> "At the end of the Question to add the words, 'And we humbly beg to represent to Your Majesty that Ministers of the Crown and Members of either House of Parliament holding subordinate office in any public Department ought to have no interest direct or indirect in any firm or company competing for contracts with the Crown, unless, the nature and extent of such interest being first declared, Your Majesty shall have sanctioned the countenance thereof, and when necessary shall have directed such precautions to be taken as may effectually prevent any suspicion of influence or favouritism in the allocation of such contracts.' "—(*Mr. Lloyd-George.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

DISCUSSION :—

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Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (Stirling Burghs) 459
Mr. A. J. Balfour 464
Mr. John Burns (Battersea) ... 467

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 127; Noes, 269. (Division List No. 5.)

Main Question again proposed.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The House divided :—Ayes, 253; Noes, 106. (Division List No. 6.)

Main Question put accordingly.

The House divided :—Ayes, 265; Noes, 23. (Division List No. 7.)

Resolved, That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, as followeth—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament

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assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."

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SUPPLY—Resolved, That this House will, this day, resolve itself into a Committee to consider of the Supply to be granted to Her Majesty.

Ordered, That the Estimate presented to this House on the 6th inst. be referred to the Committee of Supply.—(*Mr. Austen Chamberlain*) 485

WAYS AND MEANS—Resolved, That this House will, this day, resolve itself into a Committtee to consider of the Ways and Means for raising the Supply to be granted to Her Majesty.—(*Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*)

In pursuance of the Order of the House of the 7th day of this instant December, Mr. Speaker adjourned the House without Question put ... 485

Adjourned accordingly at half after One of the clock.

In pursuance of Standing Order No. 1, "Sittings of the House," I hereby nominate the Right Hon. Charles Beilby Stuart Wortley, Mr. John Edward Ellis, Mr. Edward Blake, Mr. Arthur Fredrick Jeffreys, and Mr. Henry Hobhouse to act during this Session as temporary Chairmen of Committees when requested by the Chairman of Ways and Means.

William Court Gully, Speaker.

10th December, 1900.

HOUSE OF LORDS: TUESDAY, 11TH DECEMBER, 1900.

The Lord Bishop of Lichfield took the Oath.

Lunacy—Report to the Lord Chancellor of the number of visits made, the number of patients seen, and the number of miles travelled by the visitors of lunatics, pursuant to the Lunacy Act, 1890, between 1st April and 30th September: Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table 487

House adjourned at half-past Two of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: TUESDAY, 11TH DECEMBER, 1900.

Several Members took and subscribed the Oath.

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PUBLIC BUSINESS.

SUPPLY.—Considered in Committee.

ARMY (SUPPLEMENTARY) ESTIMATE, 1900-1901.

Mr. JAMES WILLIAM LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith), upon the Motion of Mr. Balfour, took the Chair as Chairman of Ways and Means.

The Secretary of State for War (*Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford*) ... 513

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £16,000,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending 31st day of March, 1901, for Additional Expenditure, due to the War in South Africa and to Affairs in China, in respect of the following Army Services, viz:—

	£
Vote 6. Transport and Remounts	5,300,000
Vote 7. Provisions, Forage, and other Supplies ...	4,250,000
Vote 8. Clothing Establishments and Services ...	750,000
Vote 9. Warlike and other Stores	4,700,000
Vote 10. Works, etc.; Cost (including Staff for Engineer Services)	1,000,000
Total	£16,000,000"

DISCUSSION:—

Sir William Harcourt (*Monmouthshire, W.*)... ... 522
Sir Charles Dilke (*Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean*) ... 530
Sir Howard Vincent (*Sheffield, Central*) ... 534
Mr. Keir Hardie (*Merthyr Tydvil*) 537
Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett (*Sheffield, Ecclesall*) ... 542
Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (*Stirling Burghs*) ... 547
Mr. Seely (*Lincoln*) ... 549
Mr. Brodrick 550
Mr. T. M. Healy (*Louth, N.*) 555
Major Rasch (*Essex, Chelmsford*) 564
Mr. Dalziel (*Kirkcaldy Burghs*).... 566
Mr. Broadhurst (*Leicester*) ... 568
Mr. Samuel Smith (*Flintshire*) ... 572
Mr. Courtenay Warner (*Staffordshire, Lichfield*) 574
Mr. Bayley (*Derbyshire, Chesterfield*) 576
Mr. Cremer (*Shoreditch, Haggerston*) 576
Sir Walter Foster (*Derbyshire, Ilkeston*) 580
Mr. Macnamara (*Camberwell, N.*) 584
Mr. Labouchere (*Northampton*) ... 585
Mr. Brodrick 588
Mr. Kearley (*Devonport*) ... 590
Mr. H. J. Wilson (*Yorkshire, W.R., Holmfirth*) 592
Mr. Weir (*Ross and Cromarty*)... 593

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 284 ; Noes, 8. (Division List No. 8.)

Resolution to be reported To-morrow.

Motion made and Question proposed, " That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

Post Office Savings Bank Finance.

Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis) 597
Mr. Disraeli (Cheshire, Altrincham) 601

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out from the word 'That,' to the end of the Question, in order to add the words 'the yearly loss shown during the four years to the 31st day of December, 1899, on the trading of the Post Office Savings Bank, and the fact that on the 31st day of December, 1899, its balance sheet showed an excess of liabilities over assets of £504,928 1s. 10d., demand the serious attention of Her Majesty's Government, and render it necessary that early steps should be taken to place the Post Office Savings Bank on a more satisfactory footing' instead thereof."—(*Mr. Gibson Bowles.*)

Question proposed, " That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Discussion :—

The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir M. Hicks Beach, Bristol, W.) ... 602
Mr. Bartley (Islington, W.) 603
Mr. Lough (Islington, W.) ... 604
Mr. Vicary Gibbs (Hertfordshire, St. Albans) 605
Mr. Dalziel 606

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Main Question put, and agreed to.

WAYS AND MEANS.—Considered in Committee.

[Mr. J. W. Lowther (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Consolidated Fund.

Resolved, That, towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1901, the sum of £16,000,000 be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.—(*Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*)

Sir M. Hicks Beach 608

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1901, sums not exceeding eleven million pounds may be raised (in addition to any sums already authorised to be raised for the purpose) by all or any of the following methods :—(*a*) By means of the issue of further war stock or war bonds under the War Loan Act, 1900 ; or (*b*) by means of the issue of Treasury bills ; or (*c*) by means of the issue of Exchequer bonds ; and that the principal of, and interest on, any money so raised be charged on the Consolidated Fund. That all expenses incurred in connection with raising the said sums, including any additional remuneration to the Banks of England and Ireland, be charged on the Consolidated Fund."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman 610
Sir Chas. Dilke 610

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Question put, and agreed to.

Resolution to be Reported to-morrow.

In pursuance of the Order of the House of the 7th day of this instant December, Mr. Speaker adjourned the House without Question put.

House adjourned accordingly at ten minutes before Twelve of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: WEDNESDAY, 12TH DECEMBER, 1900.

Several Members took and subscribed the Oath.

NEW MEMBER SWORN—Victor Christian William Cavendish, esquire, for the County of Derby (Western Division) 611

PETITIONS.

INHABITED HOUSE DUTY AND INCOME TAX—Petitions for alterations of law, from Richmond (Surrey); Metropolitan Licensed Victuallers; Norwood; and Kensington; to lie upon the Table 611

LICENSED PREMISES (HOURS OF SALE) (SCOTLAND)—Petition from Helensburgh, for alteration of law; to lie upon the Table... 611

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY—Petition from Redgrave, for prohibition; to lie upon the Table 611

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

INDIAN EXPENDITURE (ROYAL COMMISSION)—Return presented, relative thereto [Address 11th December; *Lord George Hamilton*]; to lie upon the Table 611

SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLICS (MILITARY NOTES)—Copy presented of Military Notes on the Dutch Republics of South Africa [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 611

POLLING DISTRICTS (WARWICK)—Copy presented, of Order made by the County Council of Warwickshire, altering certain Parliamentary Polling Districts in that County [by Act]; to lie upon the Table... 611

POLLING DISTRICTS (LANCASTER)—Copy presented, of Order made by the County Council of the County Palatine of Lancaster, altering the Polling Districts in the following Parliamentary Divisions of the County, viz.: Accrington, Bootle, Clitheroe, Heywood, Ince, Lancaster, Middleton, Ormskirk, and Prestwich [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 612

FLEETS (GREAT BRITAIN AND FOREIGN COUNTRIES)—Return ordered, "showing the Fleets of Great Britain, France, Russia, Germany, Italy, United States of America, and Japan, distinguishing Battleships, built and building; Cruisers, built and building; Coast Defence Vessels, built and building; Torpedo Vessels, Torpedo Boat Destroyers, and Torpedo Boats, built and building."

"Return to show date of launch, displacement, and armaments reduced to one common scale (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper No. 313, of Session 1899)."—(*Sir Charles Dilke*) 612

SUPPLY [11TH DECEMBER].—Resolution reported :—

ARMY (SUPPLEMENTARY), 1900–1901.

"That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £16,000,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1901, for Additional Expenditure, due to the War in South Africa and to Affairs in China, in respect of the following Army Services, namely—

	£
Vote 6. Transport and Remounts	5,300,000
Vote 7. Provisions, Forage, and other Supplies ...	4,250,000
Vote 8. Clothing Establishments and Services ...	750,000
Vote 9. Warlike and other Stores	4,700,000
Vote 10. Works, etc.—Cost (Including Staff for Engineer Services)	1,000,000
	16,000,000."

DISCUSSION :—

Sir Robert Reid (*Dumfries Burghs*)... 613
Mr. Bryce (*Aberdeen, S.*) ... 620
The Secretary of State for War (*Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford*) ... 631
Mr. Pirie (*Aberdeen, N.*) ... 636
Mr. Broadhurst (*Leicester*) 640
Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett (*Sheffield, Ecclesall*) 644
Mr. Black (*Banffshire*) 647
Sir Albert Rollit (*Islington, S.*)... 648
Mr. Channing (*Northamptonshire, E.*) 650
Sir John Leng (*Dundee*) ... 654
Mr. Harwood (*Bolton*) 656
Mr. Edmund Robertson (*Dundee*) 659

Resolution agreed to.

WAYS AND MEANS [11TH DECEMBER].—Resolutions reported :—

CONSOLIDATED FUND.

1. "That, towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1901, the sum of £16,000,000 be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom."

SUPPLEMENTAL WAR LOAN (NO. 2).

2. "That towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the service of the year ending the thirty-first day of March nineteen hundred and one, sums not exceeding eleven million pounds may be raised (in addition to any sums already authorised to be raised for the purpose) by all or any of the following methods :—(*a*) By means of the issue of further war stock or war bonds under the War Loan Act, 1900 ; or (*b*) by means of the issue of Treasury Bills ; or (*c*) by means of the issue of Exchequer bonds ; and that the principal of, and interest on, any money so raised be charged on the Consolidated Fund."

3. "That all expenses incurred in connection with raising the said sums, including any additional remuneration to the Banks of England and Ireland, be charged on the Consolidated Fund."

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Resolutions read a second time.

First Resolution agreed to.

Bill ordered to be brought in by the Chairman of Ways and Means, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Austen Chamberlain.

On the second Resolution,

Motion made and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution."

Sir Chas. Dilke (*Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean*) 661

The Chancellor of the Exchequer (*Sir M. Hicks Beach, Bristol, W.*) ... 664

Question put, and agreed to.

Third Resolution agreed to.

Bill ordered to be brought in by the Chairman of Ways and Means, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Austen Chamberlain.

Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill—"To apply a sum out of the Consolidated Fund to the service of the year ending on the thirty-first day of March one thousand nine hundred and one, and to appropriate the Supplies granted in this Session of Parliament," presented accordingly, and read the first time; to be read a second time To-morrow 666

Supplemental War Loan (No. 2) Bill—"To provide for raising a further Supplemental Loan for the service of the year ending the 31st day of March nineteen hundred and one," presented accordingly, and read the first time; to be read a second time to-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 1.] 666

In pursuance of the Order of the House of the 7th day of this instant December, Mr. Speaker adjourned the House without Question put.

Adjourned accordingly at twenty-five minutes before Five of the clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS: THURSDAY, 13TH DECEMBER, 1900.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

CHINA (No. 5) 1900—Correspondence respecting the Anglo-German Agreement of 16th October, 1900, relating to China 667

TRADE REPORTS—I. Annual Series: No. 2541. Trade of Nagasaki, for the year 1899. II. Miscellaneous Series: No. 544. Education in Chicago. Presented [by Command], and ordered to lie on the Table 667

POLLING DISTRICTS—1. (County Palatine of Lancaster). Orders made by the County Council of the County Palatine of Lancaster, altering the polling districts in the following Parliamentary Divisions of the county, viz., Accrington, Bootle, Clitheroe, Heywood, Ince, Lancaster, Middleton, Ormskirk and Prestwich; 2. (County of Warwick). Order made by the County Council of Warwickshire, altering certain Parliamentary polling districts in that county. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table 667

House adjourned at Four of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: THURSDAY, 13TH DECEMBER, 1900.

Two Members took and subscribed the Oath.

PETITIONS.

INHABITED HOUSE DUTY AND INCOME TAX—Petition from Kensington, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table 667

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY BILL—Petition from Harwich, for prohibition; to lie upon the Table 668

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

INDIAN EXPENDITURE (ROYAL COMMISSION) — Return [presented 12th December] to be printed. [No. 387.] 668

CHINA (No. 5, 1900)—Copy presented, of Correspondence respecting the Anglo-German Agreement of 16th October, 1900, relating to China [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 668

FISHERY BOARD (SCOTLAND)—Copy presented, of Manual of the Sea Fisheries (Scotland) Acts and Statutory Bye-laws in force at 31st December, 1900 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 668

SEA FISHERIES (RESTRICTIVE LEGISLATION IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES)—Address for "Return of the precise position of Foreign Law in regard to Restrictive Legislation affecting Sea Fisheries."—(*Mr. Maconochie.*) 668

QUESTIONS.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—RHODESIAN FIELD FORCE—Question, Col. Pilkington (Lancashire, Newton); Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford) 668

TRANSPORT FOR RETURNING VOLUNTEERS—Question, Sir Barrington Simeon (Southampton); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 669

CROWN APPOINTMENTS AT BLOEMFONTEIN—Question, Mr. Bryn Roberts (Carnarvonshire, Eifion); Answer, Mr. J. Powell-Williams (Birmingham, S.) 669

IMPERIAL YEOMANRY—BEIRA RAILWAY TRANSPORT—Question, Mr. Seton-Karr (St. Helens); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 669

BURNING OF BOER FARMS—Questions, Mr. Trevelyan (Yorkshire, W.R., Elland) and Mr. Humphreys-Owen (Montgomeryshire); Answers, Mr. Brodrick 671

SERVICE HORSES AND MULES—Questions, Mr. Thomas Bayley (Derbyshire, Chesterfield), Mr. Trevelyan, and Mr. T. M. Healy (Louth, N.); Answers, Mr. J. Powell-Williams 671

LORD ROBERTS'S RETURN—THANKSGIVING SERVICE AT ST. PAUL'S—Question, Mr. Goulding (Wiltshire, Devizes); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 671

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RETURN OF THE VOLUNTEERS AND YEOMANRY—DATE OF DISCHARGE—Questions, Mr. Seely (Lincoln), Mr. Thomas Bayley, and Mr. T. M. Healy; Answers, Mr. Brodrick 671

IMPERIAL YEOMANRY—PAY—Question, Sir John Rolleston (Leicester); Answer, Mr. Brodrick... 672

AGE OF SOLDIERS IN SOUTH AFRICA—Question, Mr. Yerburgh (Chester); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 673

LADYSMITH DESPATCHES—Question, Mr. Channing (Northamptonshire, E.); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 673

DEPORTATION OF THE FOREIGNERS FROM THE TRANSVAAL—Question, Mr. Channing; Answer, Mr. Brodrick 674

TREATMENT OF BRITISH PRISONERS AT PRETORIA—Question, General Laurie (Pembroke and Haverfordwest); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 674

MR. MERRIMAN'S LETTER—Question, Mr. Pirie (Aberdeen, N.); Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. J. Chamberlain, Birmingham, W.) 675

NEW SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE—Question, Sir William Harcourt (Monmouthshire, W.); Answer, Mr. J. Chamberlain 675

CONSTITUTION OF THE NEW COLONIES—Question, Mr. Herbert Lewis (Flint Boroughs); Answer, Mr. J. Chamberlain 676

LIQUOR TRAFFIC IN THE NEW COLONIES—Question, Mr. Taylor (Lancashire, Radcliffe); Answer, Mr. J. Chamberlain 676

TRANSVAAL CONCESSIONS COMMISSION—Question, Mr. Holland (Yorkshire, W.R., Rotherham); Answer, Mr. J. Chamberlain 676

MILITIA OFFICERS' PAY—Question, Colonel Blundell (Lancashire, Ince); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 677

AMMUNITION RESERVES—Question, Major Rasch (Essex, Chelmsford) and Mr. Bartley (Islington, W.); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 677

THE RE-ARMING OF THE VOLUNTEERS—Question, Mr. Holland; Answer, Mr. Brodrick 678

UNDER-AGE ENLISTMENTS—Question, Mr. McKenna (Monmouthshire, N.); Answer, Mr. J. Powell-Williams 678

WAR OFFICE CONTRACTS IN BELFAST—Question, Mr. Keir Hardie (Merthyr Tydvil); Answer, Mr. J. Powell-Williams 678

ROYAL MILITARY ACADEMY—CONCESSIONS TO VOLUNTEER OFFICERS' SONS—Question, Mr. Bryn Roberts; Answer, Mr. J. Powell-Williams... ... 679

ENLISTMENT STANDARDS—Question, Mr. Yerburgh; Answer, Mr. J. Powell-Williams 680

CABINET COMMITTEE OF DEFENCE—Question, Major Rasch; Answer, Mr. Brodrick 680

DEPARTMENTAL DECENTRALISATION COMMITTEE—Question, Major Rasch; Answer, Mr. J. Powell-Williams 681

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MILITIA OFFICERS' EXAMINATION—Question, Mr. Strachey (Somersetshire, S.); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 681

ROYAL ARTILLERY LIEUTENANTS—Question, Mr. Newdigate (Warwickshire, Nuneaton); Answer, Mr. J. Powell-Williams 681

SEPARATION ALLOWANCES—Question, Mr. Courtenay Warner (Staffordshire, Lichfield); Answer, Mr. J. Powell-Williams 682

ROYAL RESERVISTS—BOUNTIES, ETC.—Question, Mr. Courtenay Warner; Answer, Mr. J. Powell Williams 682

VOLUNTEERS—DISTRICT SCHOOLS OF INSTRUCTION—Question, Sir Howard Vincent (Sheffield, Central); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 683

NAVAL CONSTRUCTION—Questions, Sir John Colomb (Great Yarmouth), Mr. J. F. Hope (Sheffield, Brightside), and Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis); Answers, The Civil Lord of the Admiralty (Capt. Pretyman, Suffolk, Woodbridge) 683

H.M.S. "HIGHFLYER"—Question, Mr. William Allan (Gateshead); Answer, Capt. Pretyman 684

CANADA AND GERMAN TARIFFS—Questions, Sir Howard Vincent and Lieut.-General Laurie; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Viscount Cranborne, Rochester) 685

PRESERVATION OF BIG GAME IN AFRICA—Question, Mr. Seton-Karr; Answer, Viscount Cranborne... 685

UGANDA RAILWAY—BRITISH AND AMERICAN BRIDGE TENDERS—Questions, Mr. Cremer (Shoreditch, Haggerston), Mr. Thomas Bayley, and Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett (Sheffield, Ecclesall); Answers, Viscount Cranborne 687

CHINA—REPORTED MASSACRES BY RUSSIANS—Question, Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answer, Viscount Cranborne 688

THE NEW HEBRIDES—LAND DISPUTES BETWEEN BRITISH AND FRENCH SUBJECTS—Question, Mr. Parker Smith (Lanarkshire, Partick); Answer, Viscount Cranborne 688

EAST AFRICA—ANGLO-GERMAN BOUNDARY COMMISSION—Question, Mr. Weir (Ross and Cromarty); Answer, Viscount Cranborne 689

TURKISH ARMENIA—CONSULAR REPORTS—Question, Mr. Channing; Answer, Viscount Cranborne 689

INDIA—COLLECTION OF REVENUE IN THE HIMALAYAS—Question, Mr. Caine (Cornwall, Camborne); Answer, The Secretary of State for India (Lord G. Hamilton, Middlesex, Ealing) 689

INDIAN AGRICULTURAL BANKS—Question, Mr. Caine; Answer, Lord G. Hamilton 690

SOMALI EXPEDITION—EMPLOYMENT OF INDIAN TROOPS—Question, Mr. Caine; Answer, Lord G. Hamilton 691

COST OF INDIAN WARS—Question, Mr. Claude Lowther (Cumberland, Eskdale); Answer, Lord G. Hamilton 691

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ASHANTI—ORIGIN OF THE RISING—CASUALTIES, COST, ETC.—Question, Mr. Lough (Islington, W.); Answer, Mr. J. Chamberlain 691

DEFENDERS OF COOMASSIE—GRATUITIES—Question, Sir John Colomb; Answer, Mr. Brodrick 692

SIERRA LEONE—TRADE, FINANCES, ETC.—Question, Mr. Lough; Answer, Mr. J. Chamberlain... 693

METROPOLITAN POLICE—Question, Major Evans-Gordon (Tower Hamlets, Stepney); Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Ritchie, Croydon) 693

TREATMENT OF INEBRIATES—Question, Mr. Henry Hobhouse (Somersetshire, E.); Answer, Mr. Ritchie 694

FREEDOM OF PUBLIC MEETING—LIVERPOOL, ALBERT HALL, AND THE CELTIC LITERARY SOCIETY—Questions, Mr. Labouchere (Northampton) and Mr. T. M. Healy; Answer, Mr. Ritchie 694

LEAD POISONING—SPECIAL RULES—Question, Sir Charles Dilke; Answer, Mr. Ritchie 695

CRICCIETH DOG LICENCES—Question, Mr. Bryn Roberts; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir M. Hicks Beach, Bristol, W.) 695

EDINBURGH SORTING OFFICE REVISION—Question, Sir Lewis MacIver (Edinburgh, W.); Answer, The Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E.) 696

CUSTOMS OFFICERS' GRIEVANCES—Question, Mr. M'Crae (Edinburgh, E.); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 696

POSTAGE RATES TO THE UNITED STATES—Question, Lieut.-Colonel Lee (Hampshire, Fareham); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 696

ROYAL COMMISSION ON LOCAL TAXATION—DISTRIBUTION OF EVIDENCE, ETC., IN IRELAND—Question, Colonel Nolan (Galway, W.); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 697

ROYAL COMMISSION ON LOCAL TAXATION—DATE OF REPORT—Question, Mr. Douglas (Lanarkshire, N.W.); Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) 697

DELETERIOUS MATTER IN BEER—Questions, Mr. Frederick Wilson (Norfolk, Mid) and Colonel Kenyon Slaney (Shropshire, Newport); Answers, Mr. Austen Chamberlain and Mr. Ritchie 698

SCHOOL BOARD QUESTION IN WIMBLEDON—Question, Mr. Trevelyan; Answer, The Vice-President of the Board of Education (Sir John Gorst, Cambridge University) 699

INTER-DEPARTMENTAL EDUCATION COMMITTEE—Question, Mr. Macnamara (Camberwell, N.); Answer, Sir John Gorst... 699

GOVERNMENT DESPATCHES—DISTRIBUTION TO LOCAL AUTHORITIES—Question, Mr. Herbert Lewis; Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 700

IRISH LUNACY REGULATIONS—Question, Col. Nolan; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Wyndham, Dover) 700

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DUTIES ON SPIRITS AND BEER—Question, Col. Nolan; Answer, Sir M. Hicks Beach 701

IRISH TAXATION—Question, Col. Nolan; Answer, Sir M. Hicks Beach ... 702

IRISH COUNTY COUNCIL ELECTIONS—Question, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 702

MANUAL EDUCATION IN IRELAND—Question, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 703

IRISH CONSTABULARY—EXAMINATIONS—Question, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 704

IRISH WORKHOUSES—CLASSIFICATION OF AGED AND DESERVING POOR—Question, Mr. Goulding; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 704

CHILDREN IN IRISH WORKHOUSES—Question, Mr. Goulding; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 705

IRISH LAND PURCHASE—GOVERNMENT CLAIMS—Question, Colonel Nolan; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Atkinson, Londonderry, N.) 705

SCOTTISH SHERIFFS' SALARIES—Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 706

THE ULLAPOOL SCHOOLMASTER—Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. A. Graham Murray, Buteshire) 706

SCOTTISH CONGESTED DISTRICTS—Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, Mr. A. Graham Murray 707

FISHERY REGULATIONS IN ROSS-SHIRE—Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, Mr. A. Graham Murray 707

TRACTION ENGINE TRAFFIC IN ROSS-SHIRE—Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, Mr. A. Graham Murray 708

DEER FORESTS—DESTRUCTION OF CROFTERS' CROPS—Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, Mr. A. Graham Murray 708

MUNICIPAL TAXATION—DISTRAINTS ON CHARITY PROPERTIES—Question, Mr. David MacIver (Liverpool, Kirkdale); Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Long, Bristol, W.) 709

ENGLISH WORKHOUSES—CLASSIFICATION OF PAUPERS—TREATMENT OF PAUPER CHILDREN—Question, Mr. Goulding; Answer, Mr. Long ... 710

ALLOTMENTS—COMPULSORY HIRING OF LANDS—Question, Sir Walter Foster (Derbyshire, Ilkeston); Answer, Mr. Long... 710

SALES OF CORPORATE LANDS—Question, Sir Walter Foster; Answer, Mr. Long 711

FOOD PRESERVATIVES COMMITTEE—REPORT—Question, Mr. Channing; Answer, Mr. Long 711

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FOOD ADULTERATION—PROPOSED NEW COMMITTEE—Question, Sir Mark Stewart (Kirkcudbrightshire); Answer, The President of the Board of Agriculture (Mr. Hanbury, Preston) 711

CENTRAL LONDON RAILWAY—Question, Sir George Fardell (Paddington, S.); Answer, The President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Gerald Balfour, Leeds, Central) 712

TRAINING OF BOYS FOR THE MERCANTILE MARINE—Question, Sir Charles Dilke; Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 712

SLOUGH RAILWAY ACCIDENT—Question, Mr. Kearley (Devonport); Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 714

Supplemental War Loan (No. 2) Bill [SECOND READING].—Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

DISCUSSION :—

Sir William Harcourt (*Monmouthshire, W.*)... ... 714
Mr. Markham (*Nottingham, Mansfield*) 730
Mr. T. M. Healy (*Louth,* N.) 740
Mr. John Wilson (*Falkirk Burghs*) 744
Mr. Channing (*Northamptonshire, E.*) 746
Mr. Beckett (*Yorkshire, N.R., Whitby*) 747
The Chancellor of the Exchequer (*Sir M. Hicks Beach, Bristol, W.*) 749
Mr. Labouchere (*Northampton*) ... 754
Mr. Lough (*Islington, W.*) ... 755
Mr. Keir Hardie (*Merthyr Tydvil*) 757
Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett (*Sheffield, Ecclesall*) 759

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed for To-morrow.

Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill [SECOND READING].—Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

DISCUSSION :—

Mr. Bryn Roberts (*Carnarvonshire, Eifion*) 761
Mr. Bartley (*Islington, N.*) ... 765
Mr. Brynmor Jones (*Swansea District*) 768
Mr. Seton-Karr (*St. Helens*) ... 770
Mr. Labouchere 776
Mr. Yerburgh (*Chester*) 780
Sir J. Fergusson (*Manchester, N.E.*)... 780
Mr. John Burns (*Battersea*) ... 781
The Secretary of State for War (*Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford*) ... 784
Mr. Cawley (*Lancashire, Prestwich*) 789
Mr. Mildmay (*Devonshire, Totnes*) 789
Mr. Keir Hardie 790
Mr. T. M. Healy 793
Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett ... 794
Mr. Brodrick 795
Col. Webb (*Staffordshire, Kingswinford*) 796

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed for To-morrow.

POST OFFICE (WEST INDIA MAIL CONTRACT)—Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Contract, dated the 1st day of September, 1900, entered into with the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company for the conveyance of the West India mails for the period from the 1st day of July, 1900, to the 30th day of June, 1905, be approved."—(*Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*)

DISCUSSION :—

The Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E.) 797

Mr. Edmund Robertson (Dundee) 798

Mr. Alexander Cross (Glasgow, Camlachie) 798

The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) 798

Debate adjourned till To-morrow.

Whereupon, in pursuance of the Order of the House of the 7th day of this instant December, Mr. Speaker adjourned the House without Question put.

Adjourned accordingly at twenty minutes before Twelve of the clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS: FRIDAY, 14TH DECEMBER, 1900.

APPEAL COMMITTEE—First Report from; read and agreed to 799

ADDRESS—The Queen's Answer to the Address of the 6th instant reported, and Address and Answer to be printed and published 799

Several Lords took the Oath.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

FISHERY BOARD FOR SCOTLAND—Manual of the Sea Fisheries (Scotland) Acts and Statutory Byelaws in force at 31st December, 1900 799

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RAILWAY ACCIDENTS—Returns of accidents and casualties as reported to the Board of Trade by the several railway companies in the United Kingdom during the nine months ending 30th September, 1900, in pursuance of the Regulation of Railways Act (1871), 34 and 35th Victoria, chap. 78; together with reports of the inspecting officers and sub-inspectors of the Railway Department to the Board of Trade upon certain accidents which were inquired into 799

Presented [by Command], and ordered to lie on the Table.

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I. Brecon, for uniting the parishes of Aberystruth Brynmawr Urban Llanelly Brynmawr Urban, and Llangattock Brynmawr Urban to form parish of Brynmawr.

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II. Bucks, for transferring part of the parish of Ashley Green from the Amersham Rural District to the parish and urban district of Chesham.

III. Bucks, for transferring parts of the parishes of Upton-cum-Chalvey and Eaton Wick from the Eton Rural District to the parish and urban district of Eton.

IV. Bucks, for transferring parts of the parishes of Upton-cum-Chalvey, Stoke Poges, and Langley Marish from the Eton Rural District to the parish and urban district of Slough.

V. Chester, for adding the parish of Kerridge to the Bollington Urban District and for uniting the parish of Kerridge with the township of Bollington.

VI. Chester, for uniting the parish of Bosden and the townships of Bramhall, Norbury, Offerton, and Torkington to form the parish of Hazel Grove-cum-Bramhall and the Hazel Grove and Bramhall Urban District.

VII. Hertford, for uniting the parishes of All Saints, Bengee Urban, Brickendon Urban, Saint Andrew Urban, and Saint John Urban to form the parish of Hertford.

VIII. Kent, for transferring parts of the parish of Herne from the Blean Rural District to the parish and urban district of Herne Bay.

IX. Pembroke, for the conversion of a portion of the parish of Llanstadwell into the parish and urban district of Neyland.

X. East Suffolk, for the conversion of the parish of Saxmundham into the Saxmundham Urban District.

XI. West Sussex, for transferring parts of the parishes of Bersted and Pagham from the Westhampnett Rural District to the parish and urban district of Bognor 799

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GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1858—Order in Council of the 26th of November, 1900, approving a statement of proposed new and revised appointments, alterations of salaries, and abolition of appointment in the establishment of the Secretary of State for India in Council 800

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SEAMEN'S SAVINGS BANKS, MONEY ORDERS, AND TRANSMISSION OF WAGES—Account of all deposits received and repaid by the Board of Trade, under the authority of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, during the year ended 20th November, 1899, and of the interest thereon. Statement showing the number and amount of seamen's money orders issued and paid, at ports in the United Kingdom and at ports abroad, from 1855 to 31st March, 1900. Also, statement showing the receipts and payments in connection with the transmission of seamen's wages from 1878 to 31st March, 1900 801

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The Under Secretary of State for India (The Earl of Hardwicke) 801
The Earl of Rosebery ... 806
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SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—INVALIDED COLONIAL SOLDIERS.

Lord Burghclere 812
The Under Secretary of State for War (Lord Raglan)... 813
Earl Carrington 816

House adjourned at Twenty-five minutes before Six of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: FRIDAY, 14TH DECEMBER, 1900.

Two Members took and subscribed the Oath.

QUEEN'S SPEECH (ANSWER TO ADDRESS)—The Comptroller of the Household reported Her Majesty's Answer to the Address as followeth:—

"I have received with satisfaction the loyal and dutiful expression of your thanks for the Speech with which I opened the present Parliament" 817

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Railway Accidents—Copy presented, of Returns of Accidents and Casualties as reported to the Board of Trade by the several Railway Companies in the United Kingdom during the nine months ending 30th September, 1900, together with Reports of the Inspecting Officers and Sub-Inspectors of the Railway Department to the Board of Trade upon certain Accidents which were inquired into [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 818

Seamen's Savings Banks (Money Orders and Transmission of Wages)—Accounts presented, of all Deposits received and repaid during the year ended 20th November, 1899, and Statement as to Money Orders issued and paid from 1855 to 31st March, 1900, and of Receipts and Payments in connection with the transmission of Seamen's Wages from 1878 to 31st March, 1900 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 388.] 818

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Uganda Railway (Contracts for Bridges)—Address for "Return of the names of the British and American firms who tendered for the erection of bridges for the Uganda Railway, and the amounts of the various tenders."—(*Mr. Cremer.*) 819

Royal Patriotic Fund—Address for Return for (1) Account of the Net Moneys or Securities paid over or transferred to the Commissioners of the Royal Patriotic Fund on behalf of and for the relief of the Families, or Near Dependents, of the Officers and Men of Her Majesty's Forces, including the Colonial troops, who have lost their lives in, or in consequence of, the war operations in South Africa; (2) Schedule of the Widows, Children, or Near Dependents, or other Cestui-que-trusts,

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ascertainable up to date, entitled to benefit under such Scheme, and the amounts and conditions of their relief in the following form :—

Schedule of Beneficiaries.

Name and rank of husband, father, or deceased.	Name of Widow.	Amount of allowance or other relief.	Names of Children.	Dates of their births.	Amount of allowance.	Name of other Cestui-que-Trusts.

—(*Mr. Kearley.*) 819

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SIR CHAS. DILKE'S SPEECH OF YESTERDAY—PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

Sir Chas. Dilke 865

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE.—Resolved, That this House do meet To-morrow, at Ten of the clock.—(*Mr. Balfour.*)

Supplemental War Loan (No. 2) Bill.—Considered in Committee.

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Clause 1:—

Mr. Edmund Robertson (Dundee) 866
Mr. T. M. Healy (Louth, N.) 867
The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir M. Hicks Beach, Bristol, W.) 868

Clause 1, and remaining clauses agreed to.

Bill reported without amendment; to be read the third time To-morrow.

Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill.—Considered in Committee.

Clause 1.

Mr. T. M. Healy 868

Clause 1 and remaining clauses agreed to.

Bill reported without amendment; to be read the third time To-morrow.

POST OFFICE (WEST INDIA MAIL CONTRACT)—Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [13th December], "That the Contract, dated the 1st day of September, 1900, entered into with the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company for the conveyance of the West India Mails for the period from the 1st day of July, 1900, to the 30th day of June, 1905, be approved.—(*Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*)

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolved, That the Contract, dated the 1st day of September, 1900, entered into with the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company for the conveyance of the West India Mails for the period from the 1st day of July, 1909, to the 30th day of June, 1905, be approved 869

Whereupon, in pursuance of the Order of the House of the 7th day of this instant December, Mr. Speaker adjourned the House without Question put.

Adjourned accordingly at a quarter before Five of the clock.

TEMPORARY EXECUTION OF POWERS OF SPEAKER—By virtue of an Act passed in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of His late Majesty King George the Third, intituled, "An Act to repeal so much of two Acts made in the

tenth and fifteenth years of the reign of His present Majesty, as authorises the Speaker of the House of Commons to issue his Warrant to the Clerk of the Crown for making out Writs for the Election of Members to serve in Parliament, in the manner therein mentioned, and for substituting other provisions for the like purpose," I do hereby nominate, appoint, and authorise—The Right Hon. John William Mellor, Sir John Edward Dorington, baronet, the Right Hon. James Alexander Campbell, Sir Thomas Henry Grattan-Esmonde, baronet, Mr. Henry Hobhouse, and Mr. John Edward Ellis, being Members of the House of Commons, or any one or more of them, to execute all and singular the powers given to the Speaker of the House of Commons for the time being, for issuing Warrants to the Clerk of the Crown, in the cases as in the said Act specified.

Given under my hand and seal, this tenth day of December, in the year of our Lord One thousand nine hundred.

WILLIAM COURT GULLY,
Speaker.

14th December, 1900.

HOUSE OF LORDS: SATURDAY, 15TH DECEMBER, 1900.

LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE—Report made from the Lord Chancellor, that the right of Geoffrey Henry, Baron of Oranmore and Browne, to vote at elections of Representative Peers for Ireland has been established to the satisfaction of the Lord Chancellor; read and ordered to lie on the Table 871

VISCOUNT MOUNTGARRET—Report made from the Lord Chancellor, that the right of Henry Edmund, Viscount Mountgarret, to vote at elections of Representative Peers for Ireland has been established to the satisfaction of the Lord Chancellor; read and ordered to lie on the Table 871

VISCOUNT MOUNTGARRET—LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE—Ordered and directed, by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, that certificates be sent by the Clerk of the Parliaments to the Clerk of the Crown in Ireland, stating that the Lord Chancellor of the United Kingdom has reported to the House of Lords that the right of the Viscount Mountgarret and of the Lord Oranmore and Browne to vote at the elections of Representative Peers for Ireland has been established to the satisfaction of him the said Lord Chancellor; and that the House of Lords has ordered such reports to be sent to the said Clerk of the Crown in Ireland. And it is hereby also ordered, that the said Reports of the said Lord Chancellor be sent to the Clerk of the Crown in Ireland ... 871

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

SOUTH AFRICA—Military Notes on the Dutch Republics of South Africa. Presented [by Command], and ordered to lie on the Table 871

POLLING DISTRICTS (COUNTY OF LONDON)—Order made by the County Council of the County of London, dividing the East Division of Finsbury into Polling Districts. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table 871

Supplemental War Loan (No. 2) Bill; Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill—Brought from the Commons, and read 1ª 872

Business of the House—Standing Order No. XXXIX. considered (according to order), and suspended for this day's sitting 872

Supplemental War Loan (No. 2) Bill; Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill—Standing Order No. XXXIX. having been suspended, Bills read 2ª (The Lord Ashbourne). Committees negatived. Bills read 3ª, and passed 872

House adjourned during pleasure.

House resumed.

Commission—The following Bills received the Royal Assent:—1. Consolidated Fund (Appropriation). 2. Supplemental War Loan (No. 2) 872

Her Majesty's Speech—Delivered by the Lord Chancellor. Commission for proroguing Parliament read, and Parliament prorogued to Thursday, the 14th of February next 872

HOUSE OF COMMONS: SATURDAY, 15TH DECEMBER, 1900.

The House met at Ten of the clock.

A Member took and subscribed the Oath.

PETITIONS.

Officers of the Indian Staff Corps—Petition of F. A. Andrew, F. G. W. Davies, W. A. Hill, George B. Brown, H. W. Davies, D. F. Stuart, and Arundel Begbie, for redress of grievances; to lie upon the Table ... 872

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday—Petition from Balham, for prohibition; to lie upon the Table 873

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

Colonial Reports (Miscellaneous)—Copy presented, of Report No. 15 (Canada, Memorandum on the Legal Status of British North American Indians) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 873

Polling Districts (London)—Copy presented, of Order made by the County Council of London dividing the East Division of Finsbury into Polling Districts [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 873

Papers laid upon the Table by the Clerk of the House—1. Endowed Charities (County of London)—Return relative thereto [ordered 2nd August, 1894; *Mr. Francis Stevenson*]; to be printed. [No. 390.]

2. Endowed Charities (County of Montgomery)—Return relative thereto [ordered 14th February; *Mr. Grant Lawson*]; to be printed. [No. 391] 873

Parliamentary Papers—Mr. Speaker laid upon the Table:—Lists of the Bills, Reports, Estimates, and Accounts and Papers printed by order of the House, and of Papers presented by Command, Session 2, 1900, with a General Alphabetical Index thereto, 27th Parliament, First Session, 64 Vic., 3rd December, 1900, to 15th December, 1900; to be printed. [No. 392.] 873

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QUESTIONS.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—THE NOOITGEDACHT REVERSE—Questions, Mr. Caine (Cornwall, Camborne) and Sir Charles Dilke (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean); Answers, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford) 873

DESTRUCTION OF IRRIGATION DAMS—Questions, Mr. Herbert Lewis (Flint Boroughs) and Mr. Keir Hardie (Merthyr Tydvil); Answers, Mr. Brodrick 875

"SEAT SOLD TO THE BOERS" INCIDENT—MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S TELEGRAM—Questions, Mr. Keir Hardie, Mr. Lloyd-George (Carnarvon Boroughs), Mr. Bryn Roberts (Carnarvonshire, Eifion); Answers, The Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E.), The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir M. Hicks Beach, Bristol, W.), and The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. J. Chamberlain, Birmingham, W.) 876

TAXATION IN THE ANNEXED REPUBLICS—SUGGESTED COMMISSION—Question, Mr. Stroyan (Perthshire, W.); Answer, Sir M. Hicks Beach 877

THE COLONIAL CONTINGENTS—STATISTICS—Question, Sir Charles Dilke; Answer, Mr. J. Powell-Williams (Birmingham, S.)... 877

WAR OFFICE CONTRACTS—BELFAST TENT CONTRACTORS—Question, Mr. Keir Hardie; Answer, Mr. J. Powell-Williams 878

ABERDEEN POST OFFICE BUILDINGS—Question, Mr. Pirie (Aberdeen, N.); Answer, The First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Akers Douglas, Kent, St Augustine's) 879

Supplemental War Loan (No. 2) Bill—Read the third time and passed.

Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill—Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."

DISCUSSION:—

Mr. Pirie (Aberdeen, N.) ... 879
Mr. William Johnston (Belfast, S.) 886
Mr. Herbert Lewis (Flint Boroughs) 886
Mr. Bryn Roberts (Carnarvonshire, Eifion) 890
Mr. Lloyd-George (Carnarvon Boroughs) 894
Mr. Caine (Cornwall, Camborne) 903
The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford) 905
Mr. Channing (Northamptonshire, E.) 908

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read the third time and passed.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS—That they have agreed to—Supplemental War Loan (No. 2) Bill. Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill, without Amendment 910

MESSAGE TO ATTEND THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS—The House went; and the Royal Assent was given to—1. Appropriation Act, 1900 (Session 2). 2. Supplemental War Loan (No. 2) Act, 1900.

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And afterwards Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech was delivered to both Houses of Parliament by the Lord High Chancellor (in pursuance of Her Majesty's Commands) as followeth :—

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"I thank you for the liberal provision which you have made for the expenses incurred by the operations of My Armies in South Africa and China."

Then a Commission for proroguing the Parliament was read.

After which the Lord Chancellor said—

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"By virtue of Her Majesty's Commission, under the Great Seal, to us and other Lords directed, and now read, we do, in Her Majesty's name, and in obedience to her commands, prorogue this Parliament to Thursday the 14th day of February next, to be then here holden; and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Thursday, the 14th day of February next" 911

End of the First Session of the Fifteenth Parliament of Her Majesty.

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THE

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(*AUTHORISED EDITION*)

IN THE

FIRST SESSION OF THE *TWENTY-SEVENTH PARLIAMENT* OF THE
UNITED KINGDOM OF *GREAT BRITAIN* AND *IRELAND*, APPOINTED
TO MEET THE 3RD DECEMBER 1900, IN THE 64TH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF

HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA.

FIRST VOLUME OF SESSION 1900.

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, 3rd December 1900.

THE FIRST SESSION OF THE FIFTEENTH PARLIAMENT of Her Majesty the Queen, and the Twenty-seventh Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, was opened by commission at Two o'clock.

The Lords Commissioners were:—The LORD CHANCELLOR (the Earl of Halsbury), the EARL OF CLARENDON, the EARL OF KINTORE, the EARL OF PEMBROKE AND MONTGOMERY and LORD BELPER.

The Commons (who were sent for) being at the Bar, were directed to proceed to the choice of a Speaker, and to present such person whom they should so choose here to-morrow, at Twelve o'clock, for Her Majesty's Royal Approbation.

The LORD CHANCELLOR, singly in the first place, took Oath at the Table.

Certificate of the Election of Sixteen Representative Peers for Scotland—Delivered and read.

ROLL OF THE LORDS.

NORROY KING OF ARMS attending, delivered at the Table (in the usual manner), a list of the Lords Temporal in the First Session of the Twenty-seventh Parliament of the United Kingdom: The same was ordered to lie on the Table.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that he had received from the Registrar in Bankruptcy of the High Court of Justice a certificate under the seal of the said Court, stating, "That the Right Honourable Charles Douglas Richard, Baron Sudeley, of Ormeley Lodge, Ham Common, in the County of Surrey, being a Peer of Parliament, was adjudicated bankrupt on the 13th day of

August, 1900": the same was ordered to lie on the Table.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that he had received from the Registrar in Bankruptcy of the High Court of Justice, a certificate under the seal of the said Court, stating, "That the Most Noble William Angus Drogo, Duke of Manchester, of No. 45, Portman Square, in the County of London, being a Peer of Parliament, was adjudicated bankrupt on the 18th day of September, 1900": the same was ordered to lie on the Table.

SAT FIRST.

The Earl Howe sat first in Parliament after the death of his father.

The Lord Delamere sat first in Parliament after the death of his father.

Several Lords took the oath.

House adjourned at Four of the clock till To-morrow, half-past Ten of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, 3rd December, 1900.

The House met at Two of the clock; and, it being the first day of the meeting of this Parliament, pursuant to a Proclamation, Archibald John Scott Milman, esquire, C.B., Clerk of the House of Commons, and Francis Broxholm Grey Jenkinson, esquire, C.B., and Arthur William Nicholson, esquire, Clerks Assistant, attending in the House, and the other Clerks attending, according to their duty, Kenneth Augustus Muir Mackenzie, esquire, C.B., Clerk of the Crown in Chancery in Great Britain, delivered to the said Archibald John Scott Milman, esquire, C.B., a Book containing a List of the Names of the Members returned to serve in this Parliament.

Several of the Members repaired to their seats.

Message to attend the Lords Commissioners by Black Rod;

The House went; and a Commission having been read for opening and holding the Parliament, the Lords Commissioners directed the House to proceed to the election of a Speaker, and present him to-morrow, at Twelve of the clock, in the House of Peers, for the Royal Approbation.

The House returned.

ELECTION OF SPEAKER.

The Right Hon. SIR JAMES FERGUSSON, Baronet, K.C.M.G., G.C.S.I. (Member for Manchester, N.E.) stood up, and addressed himself to Mr. Archibald Milman, C.B., the Clerk of the House, who standing up, pointed to him, and then sat down.

*SIR JAMES FERGUSSON: Mr. Milman, in accordance with the gracious message we have just received from the Crown, our first duty will be without delay to elect our Speaker. I am permitted, and it is with great satisfaction I accept the duty, to propose the re-election of the Right Hon. William Court Gully, Member for Carlisle. I feel the greater satisfaction, as I have reason to believe that he will be chosen unanimously by the House of Commons. In the last Parliament in 1895 the re-election of the right hon. Gentleman was proposed by one whose presence here we miss to-day; one of the most respected Members of the House, as he was our senior in point of continuous service. I cannot claim that distinction of most prolonged continuous service, but, nevertheless, I must confess to a certain antiquity, as it is forty-six years, I think, to-day since I was first elected to this House, and I believe that I alone among Members of the House sat in the Parliament of 1852, and I believe I am the oldest Privy Councillor remaining.

Such seniority gives the right, I suppose, few will covet, but I am privileged by the kindness of my friends to take the place of my right hon. friend, now no more, and to propose the re-election of one who has shown himself fully equal to the best traditions of the office of Speaker, who has shown that after so many centuries it is still possible to bring increased weight to the office, and to secure, amid all the fever of modern politics, the most entire deference to the decisions of the Chair. It would ill become me to attempt to analyse the methods of the right hon. Gentleman, but I may be permitted to say that his conspicuous fairness and impartiality have been universally recognised. I believe that to himself these methods are matters of course, but it seems to me that their full development is an admirable quality. All who have had experience as Members of this House are well aware how readily his valuable advice and counsel have been given to all who have had need to resort to him for assistance, and how entirely they could rely upon his advice. In his direction, in his management and control of debate, he has been firm but forbearing, and I think it has been the continuous confidence we have felt in his decisions that has led us one and all gladly to submit to his rulings. In the management of the private business of the House, in which such large interests are involved, the right hon. Gentleman has brought to bear his great legal experience, and on all occasions the decisions of his judicial mind have been of the greatest value and service to the House. I am sure all the new Members who take their seats here for the first time will gladly recognise the traditions of the House in the deference paid to the Speaker in the exercise of an authority which is in reality the best protection for the liberties of the House. There have been times when in various quarters there seemed to be a danger of our falling away from the high standard and traditions of the past, but from such danger we were saved by the judicious rule of the right hon. Gentleman and his predecessor. I am sure that Members of this Parliament, new and old, will be jointly actuated by the desire that nothing in their action shall tend to the falling away from that high respect with which the House of Commons has always been regarded by the country. It is, after all, by the support of the House that the authority of the Chair is maintained. I have heard more than one Speaker declare that in the exercise of his office he was but speaking the sense of the House; the influence of the Speaker and the support of the House react on each other, and between the two is preserved the dignity of the House, which from our hearts we desire to maintain. It is always the source of the greatest pain and grief to us when anything like what is called "a scene" takes place in the House, and this feeling is shared throughout the country. Feeling sure that whatever difficulties may arise in the future the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Carlisle will be fully equal to cope with them, as he has been with those that have occurred in the past, relying with confidence on the generous support of the House, I now move, "That the Right Hon. William Court Gully do take the chair of this House as Speaker."

*DR. FARQUHARSON (Aberdeenshire, W.): I am afraid I am but a comparative novice in the House as compared with the somewhat surprising antiquity the right hon. Gentleman opposite has admitted, and I am bound to say I feel a strangeness in our proceedings to-day. The chair is vacant to which we turn when ambitious of oratorical distinction, and we miss the struggle for the temporary possession of the Speaker's eye. Whether we succeed or fail in our effort we have the conviction that we are treated with perfect impartiality. On an occasion like this there might be a strain of sadness, for we might be parting with an old friend, but happily there is nothing of the kind. We have, I am happy to say, gratitude for past service, but we have also in our hearts that gratitude which has been said to consist of a sense of those favours which are yet to come. We have the opportunity of inviting our late Speaker to again take his place in the chair, and I appreciate the high distinction of being permitted to come to this House and initiate our proceedings by inviting our respected friend to again assume the leading part he has filled with so much dignity. It is one of the most difficult tasks to which a human being can be appointed—that of Speaker in that chair—to maintain order in a mixed assembly, to command obedience from fiery Celts and more phlegmatic Saxons, to maintain order among young Members who might be disposed—I do not say they will be, but they might—to pick holes in our procedure and render the work of the Speaker difficult. Nothing of the kind has happened; the prestige and dignity of the House of Commons have been maintained. Mr. Gully has passed through the ordeal successfully. He has shown himself worthy to take his place after predecessors who have earned our gratitude and respect. When I came into the House, Speaker Brand occupied the chair, and I thought nothing could exceed or equal the dignity with which the office was filled. Then came Speaker Peel, who, I thought, attained the highest possible limit of dignity and eminence of distinction. He, too, passed to a quieter atmosphere, and then came Mr. Gully, and when his turn comes to retire—and it will be long, I hope, before that time comes — I am bound to say it will be difficult to find his successor, because he has presided over us with dignity and distinction, with the well-balanced mind of a judge, the tact and sagacity of a man of the world, the knowledge of a politician, and the easy accessibility of a friend. The House of Commons, not always unanimous, will be unanimous on this occasion in welcoming our friend and counsellor back to the chair, and I have great pleasure and pride in seconding this resolution.

*The House then calling Mr. William Court Gully to the chair, he stood up in his place and said:—Mr. Milman, I am very sensible of the honour which is done me by the proposal just made to the House, that I should for the third time take upon myself the duties and responsibilities which attach to the occupancy of the chair, and I most sincerely thank my right hon. friend opposite, the Member for North-east Manchester, and my hon. friend behind me, the Member for West Aberdeenshire, for the very kind expressions as regards myself personally and as regards my past conduct in the chair which they have used in laying their proposals before the House. As I have now, Sir, held the office of Speaker of this House for many sessions it is impossible for me to plead inexperience, but at the same time I desire to assure the House that I am most fully and entirely conscious of my many shortcomings in that office, and of the great debt of gratitude which I owe to the House for its indulgence and its constant and most generous support of me in the chair. If it should please the House to re-elect me, I shall have still to ask for the renewal of that indulgence and the continuance of that support, and, Mr. Milman, it is in the assurance that the House will accord to me as full a measure of that necessary indulgence and support in the future as I have received in the past that I humbly submit myself to the judgment of the House.

*The House then having again unanimously called Mr. William Court Gully to the chair, he was taken out of his place and conducted to the chair by Sir James Fergusson and Dr. Farquharson, and, standing on the upper step, said: From this place, and before I take the seat to which the House has elected me, I desire once more to tender my grateful thanks to the House for the high honour it has conferred upon me, and to submit myself to the wishes of the House. With the assistance of the House and to the best of my ability I shall always endeavour faithfully and impartially to maintain and administer the rules and orders and ancient discipline of this House, and to uphold to the best of my power the freedom and dignity of debate.

Then the Mace, which before lay under the Table, was placed on the Table.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): Mr. Speaker Elect, it is now my duty, as it is my pleasure, to offer on behalf, I think I may say, of the whole House our warm congratulations upon the dignity to which now for the third time you have been elected. There is surely no greater place to which an inhabitant of these islands may aspire than that of presiding over the debates and being the guardian of the honour of the British House of Commons. Mr. Speaker Elect, I suppose the majority of those here present have had personal experience of the admirable manner in which in times past you have fulfilled the onerous and responsible duties of your post. Even those new Members of the House who have never had the pleasure of having personal experience of our business know by common repute and universal fame how great is the deserved reputation which you have obtained in your present position. The duties which devolve upon the Chair consist not merely in the impartial application of the rules and standing orders of this House as between the contending parties or the different individuals of which this assembly is composed; that impartiality you, like your predecessors, have invariably shown; but, after all, this House is what it is not merely in virtue of the rules of debate which it obeys or the skill and impartiality with which those rules are administered from the Chair. There is a spirit that presides over this assembly which is something more than any rule, which no manipulation of our standing orders would confer if you have it not, and which is sufficient largely to supplement any technical defects which our rules may possess. That spirit has survived the shock of factions, great constitutional changes, immense extensions of the suffrage, great changes—great and inevitable changes—in the political forces which the Empire obeys. That spirit has survived through all these changes, as I think, untouched and untarnished, and I do not believe, if a witness could rise from the grave acquainted with the distant traditions of the past, he would see anything in the debates as we conduct them today, Sir, under your auspices, unworthy of the highest traditions of this House. Of those traditions you are the embodiment and you are the guardian, and it is because you have proved yourself so worthy a guardian in the past that it is with the fullest confidence and with absolute unanimity that this House again elects you to fill the great office which you have just consented to accept. Sir, I beg to tender you, on behalf not only of Members on this side, but of the whole House, our warmest congratulations on the event which has just taken place.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): Mr. Speaker Elect, the First Lord of the Treasury, at the beginning and again at the end of his short speech, has claimed in what he said to represent the feeling of the whole House. On an occasion such as this he is entirely entitled to make that claim, but perhaps it is not wrong and it is usual that I should rise to express, on behalf of all those for whom I am especially entitled to speak, the complete concurrence that we entertain in the opinion and sentiments which have been just expressed by the right hon. Gentleman. Sir, you have been able by your personal qualities, and by the admirable manner in which you have discharged the duties of the Chair, to win for yourself the sincere and complete confidence of all the Members of this House. We have seen that you are able and ready to give due assertion to the rights of the House of Commons, and also that you are able to maintain that regulated freedom of debate which is essential in order that the primary object for which the House of Commons exists should be attained. We have seen that you know how to restrain the individual Member when, as sometimes happens, his zeal in the public interest impels him to run counter to the general and reasonable desire of the whole assembly; and also to save the individual Member on another occasion which not infrequently happens, when the impatience of his colleagues threatens to invade his proper rights of speech. What has happened in the past we are sure will happen in the future. I congratulate you, Mr. Speaker Elect, on your appointment by this House to the chair, to the august office of Speaker, and on receiving from your Parliamentary colleagues the highest honour they can bestow; but not less warmly do I congratulate the House itself in that it has found among its Members a man so eminently qualified to fill that office with dignity, with impartiality, and with wisdom.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR moved, "That this House do now adjourn."

Mr. SPEAKER ELECT thereupon put the Question, which being agreed to:—

The House adjourned accordingly until To-morrow, and Mr. Speaker Elect went away without the Mace before him.

House adjourned at a quarter before Three o'clock until Twelve o'clock to-morrow.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, 4th December, 1900.

SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The LORDS COMMISSIONERS being seated in front of the Throne, and the Commons being sent for—

*MR. SPEAKER ELECT: My Lords, I have to acquaint your Lordships that, in obedience to Her Majesty's commands, Her Majesty's faithful Commons have, in the exercise of their undoubted rights and privileges, proceeded to the election of a Speaker, and that their choice has fallen upon myself. I therefore present myself at your Lordships' bar, and humbly submit myself for Her Majesty's gracious approbation.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: Mr. Gully, we are commanded to assure you that Her Majesty is so fully sensible of your zeal in the public service and of your ample sufficiency to execute the arduous duties which her faithful Commons have selected you to discharge, that she does most readily approve and confirm you as their Speaker.

*MR. SPEAKER: I submit myself with all humility to Her Majesty's gracious commands; and now, my Lords, it is my duty, in the name and on behalf of the Commons of the United Kingdom, to lay claim, by humble petition to Her Majesty, to all their ancient and undoubted rights and privileges, especially to freedom of speech in debate, freedom from arrest, and free access to Her Majesty whenever occasion may require, and that the most favourable construction may be put upon all their proceedings. As to myself, I humbly pray that if, in the discharge of my duty, I should inadvertently fall into any error, the blame may be imputed to myself alone, and not to Her Majesty's most faithful Commons.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: Mr. Speaker, we have it further in command to inform you that Her Majesty does most readily confirm all the rights and privileges which have ever been granted to or conferred upon the Commons by any of Her Royal predecessors. With respect to yourself, Sir, though Her Majesty is sensible that you stand in no need of such assurance, Her Majesty will ever place the most favourable construction upon your words and actions.

REPRESENTATIVE PEER FOR IRELAND.

Writs and Returns electing the Lord Inchiquin a Representative Peer for Ireland in the room of the Earl of Portarlington deceased, with the Certificate of the Clerk of the Crown in Ireland annexed thereto: Delivered (on oath), and Certificate read.

RE-ELECTION OF MINISTERS.

The Commons, who were sent for, being at the Bar with their Speaker, the Lord Chancellor delivered the Speech of the Lords Commissioners to both Houses of Parliament, signifying Her Majesty's pleasure that an opportunity be now given to issue writs for supplying the vacancies occasioned in the House of Commons owing to the acceptance of office from the Crown by Members of that House: Then the Commons withdrew.

Several Lords took the oath.

House adjourned at Four of the clock to Thursday next, Two of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, 4th December, 1900.

The House met at Twelve of the clock, Mr. Speaker Elect taking the Chair.

ELECTION OF SPEAKER.

Message to attend the Lords Commissioners by Black Rod.

The House went — and, being returned—

Mr. SPEAKER reported, That the House had been in the House of Peers, where Her Majesty was pleased, by Her Majesty's Commissioners, to approve of the choice the House had made of him to be their Speaker; and that he had in their name and on their behalf, by humble Petition to Her Majesty made claim to their ancient and undoubted Rights and Privileges, particularly to freedom from arrest and all molestation of their persons; to freedom of speech in debate; to free access to Her Majesty when occasion shall require; and that the most favourable construction shall be put upon all their proceedings, which, he said, Her Majesty, by her said Commissioners, had confirmed to them in as full and ample a manner as they have been heretofore granted or allowed by Her Majesty, or any of her Royal predecessors.

Mr. SPEAKER repeated his most respectful acknowledgments to the House for the high honour they had done him.

Mr. SPEAKER then put the House in mind that their first duty was to take and subscribe the Oath required by Law.

Thereupon Mr. SPEAKER first alone, standing upon the upper step of the Chair, took and subscribed the Oath.

Several Members took and subscribed the Oath, and a Member made and subscribed the Affirmation required by Law.

RE-ELECTION OF MINISTERS.

Message to attend the Lords Commissioners by Black Rod.

The House went — and, being returned—

Mr. SPEAKER reported, That the Lords Commissioners under the Great Seal for opening and holding this Parliament had made a communication to both Houses, which Mr. SPEAKER read to the House, as followeth :—

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"We have it further in command from Her Majesty to acquaint you that, since the time when Her Majesty deemed it right to call you together for the consideration of business, certain vacancies have occurred in the House of Commons owing to the acceptance of office from the Crown by Members of that House; it is therefore Her Majesty's pleasure that an opportunity may now be given to issue Writs for supplying the vacancies so occasioned, and that subsequently you may proceed to the consideration of such matters as are to be laid before you."

Several other Members took and subscribed the Oath, and several Members made and subscribed the Affirmation required by Law.

NEW WRITS.

County of Surrey (South Western or Guildford Division)—in the room of Right Hon. William St. John Freemantle Brodrick, Secretary of State.

Borough of Preston—in the room of Right Hon. Robert William Hanbury, President of the Board of Agriculture.

Borough of Dover—in the room of George Wyndham, esquire, Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

County of Suffolk (South Eastern or Woodbridge Division)—in the room of Ernest George Pretyman, esquire, one of the Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

County of Derby (Western Division) —in the room of Victor Christian Cavendish, esquire, Treasurer of Her Majesty's Household.

County of Somerset (Western or Wellington Division)—in the room of Captain Sir Alexander Fuller Acland-Hood, baronet, Vice-Chamberlain of Her Majesty's Household.—(*Sir William Walrond.*)

Several other Members took and subscribed the oath, and several other Members made and subscribed the affirmation required by law.

ADJOURNMENT.

Motion made, and Question, "That this House do now adjourn"—(*Sir William Walrond*), Put, and agreed to.

Adjourned accordingly at five minutes after Four of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, 5th December, 1900.

Several other Members took and subscribed the Oath, and several other Members made and subscribed the Affirmation required by Law.

ADJOURNMENT.

Motion made, and Question, "That this House do now adjourn"—(*Sir William Walrond*), put, and agreed to.

Adjourned accordingly at Four o'clock until Two o'clock To-morrow.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, 6th December, 1900.

HER MAJESTY'S SPEECH.

The Commons being at the Bar, with their Speaker, the LORD CHANCELLOR delivered Her Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament: Then the Commons withdrew.

House adjourned during pleasure.

House resumed.

REPRESENTATIVE PEERS FOR SCOTLAND.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had received (by post) from the Lord Clerk Register of Scotland, Minutes of the meeting held on the 5th of October last of the Peers of Scotland for the election of their representatives to sit and vote in the ensuing Parliament of the United Kingdom; and also, Return by the Lord Clerk Register of Scotland concerning Titles of Peerages called at the said meeting, in right of which respectively no vote had been received and counted for fifty years last past as at the date of the said meeting: Ordered that the said Minutes of Election, &c., be printed. (No. 1.)

His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, singly, took the Oath.

His Royal Highness the Duke of York, singly, took the Oath.

Edward Stuart Lord Bishop of Rochester was (in the usual manner) introduced.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, singly, took the Oath.

Several Lords took the Oath.

SELECT VESTRIES.

Bill, pro formâ, read 1ª.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

THE EARL OF LATHOM: My Lords, I shall not, I know, appeal in vain for that forbearance and indulgence which is always extended to those who address this House for the first time, and which I feel very greatly in need of. I esteem it a great honour in being permitted to address the House on this occasion—on the commencement of a new Parliament, and at the close of the war in South Africa. I think we can now safely say that the end of the war is in view, though it has lasted a great deal longer than any of us anticipated a year ago. During the whole time the work of the troops has been arduous and continuous, and it has been bravely and willingly borne. For the first time the Volunteers have made their mark upon military history, and, above all, the colonies have come forward in a most marvellous manner. That, I think, is one of the most cheering features of the war; for, whatever else may come out of this war, we know now that the colonies are for all time united with the motherland. We have lately had an opportunity of reading Lord Roberts's farewell to his troops. That farewell is a finer testimony to the good conduct and character of those troops than any that could be uttered by me in this House, and it is an ample reply to the criticisms which have been passed upon their conduct, and upon the disciplinary measures which have been adopted when cases of "sniping," as it is called, or of breaking up the railways have occurred. I cannot see how anything else could have been done in a country which is infested with sedition. The first duty of a general is to his own troops; and if danger to them can be averted by inflicting punishment of this kind upon the enemy, I conceive that it is his duty to inflict that punishment. It is a trite saying that all war is cruel; but I feel confident that the conduct of the war in South Africa will compare very favourably indeed with other wars that have taken place between civilised nations during the past century. I think your Lordships will agree with me that a stern and even justice is the best in the end. It is far more likely to bring about peace—for the time for mediation has long since passed. When peace is established there will come the question of the settlement of the war. Many valuable lives have been lost; but I venture to say that they will not have been spent in vain if a satisfactory settlement is attained. No settlement will be

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

considered satisfactory by this country which does not place the new colonies under a firm British rule, and which does not, above all, make another war in South Africa impossible. I have no doubt that you will receive and pass the enactments referred to in Her Majesty's gracious Speech. In conclusion, my Lords, I would venture to hope that we may soon have the great joy of welcoming home Her Majesty's victorious troops, and that, with the opening of the new year and the new century, peace may be once more established throughout Her Majesty's dominions.

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty in reply to the Gracious Speech from the Throne."

LORD MONK BRETTON: My Lords, in rising to second the Address which has been moved by the noble Earl, I must follow him in asking for the indulgence which your Lordships have always been good enough to extend to those who address the House for the first time. The brevity of Her Majesty's Speech will prevent me standing long between your Lordships and the speeches which you have come to hear. The noble Earl who moved the Address dwelt on the ties between the colonies and the mother country, which have been cemented by the war in South Africa. Is it not equally true that the common sacrifices made for the common cause during the war have drawn all classes in this country together, moved by the losses which have spread mourning through the land, even to the very Throne of Her Majesty? When your Lordships dispersed at the close of the last Parliament the world was unaware of the fate of those few hundred Europeans who were imprisoned in Peking. Admiral Seymour had made a gallant but ineffectual attempt to relieve the Legations; and we at home feared that we might at any moment hear of a tragedy not less frightful than that of Cawnpore. The outbreak in China was quite unexpected. Rumours there had been of an intended uprising, but they did not differ from those which on many previous occasions had proved illusory. The experience of the Indian Mutiny shows how difficult it is, even for those who have the resources of a Government, and a system of military intelligence, to forecast the uprisings of Orientals. The Ministers at Peking had not those advantages. We were taken wholly unprepared; but within a very short time troops were on their way from India. The Government of India has had many difficulties to meet of late years owing to famine, pestilence, and war; and the promptitude with which it responded to the call of the Home Government for troops is deserving of your Lordships' praise. Her Majesty's Government did not rely only on troops from so great a distance. They opened negotiations with Japan, and persuaded that Government to send troops to China to prevent the insurrection from spreading. The campaign which followed has not been heard of so much in this country as it would have been had it not been for the war in South Africa. The difficulties of the difference of language, the difficulties of transport, the difficulties of the country, the difficulties of fighting with the thermometer over a hundred in the shade, the fact that prisoners were tortured and killed—all these were difficulties and dangers which had to be surmounted. The defence of the Legations, the determination with which it was conducted, the fire of artillery under which it had to stand, the women and children who were within its walls, and the massacre which was the only thing to be expected outside, will ever make that siege memorable. One thing is certain from these events, and that is that no Minister of Her Majesty must ever be left to the mercy of the Chinese again. He must be surrounded by fortifications, by troops, and by guns, or, at any rate, he must have them within easy reach. The punishment of the perpetrators of the outrages is a consummation devoutly to be wished for; but to undertake an expedition against the Court of China would be a dangerous and a great operation. The arrival of the Allies in Peking established the Concert of the Powers. That Concert was the only means by which the Legations could have been saved, but the experience which we have had of a similar arrangement in Turkey does not incline one to believe that it will lead to a rapid solution of the Chinese problem. The divergent interests of the Powers and their different points of view prevent the Concert from acting easily; but, at any rate, the Concert may be said to have the negative advantage of preventing any of its members from taking any hasty or inconsiderate step. The agreement which has recently been concluded with Germany, the fortunate recovery of his Majesty the Czar, and the friendship of the United States of America, lead one to hope for a good understanding. The alternative to this Concert was partition. Suggestions have been made that we should garrison the Valley of the Yang-tsze with Chinese soldiers under British officers. I hope that it may be no part of the policy of Her Majesty's Government to create an India in China, either for ourselves or for any other Power. British trade in China has arisen on principles mutually advantageous to ourselves and to the Chinese. It has been founded on good faith and on the observance of treaties; and to upset and render hostile the Chinese by any such policy as that of annexation would be to undo the work which British traders have done in China during the last hundred years. The position of affairs created in China necessitates the expenditure on the Army which is asked for in Her Majesty's Speech. Your Lordships will, I hope, agree that that expenditure is as necessary as any which has been called for in South Africa. It is a heavy burden on the country, and there is no prospect of its getting lighter. It is not only for operations which have already taken place that money will be asked in another place, but, to use the words of a manifesto which has recently been promulgated in South Africa, "To make use of the experience we have gained to render the Army of the United Kingdom as perfect as it is possible for an Army to be." I beg to second the Address, and to thank your Lordships for the patience with which you have listened to me.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: My Lords, I am sure your Lordships have listened with at least your usual pleasure to the speeches of the mover and seconder—certainly I have myself. The mover is the son of a noble Lord whom we all long remember in this House, and I do not think there ever was a more popular Member of it. The noble Lord's was not a long speech, no more than the Speech from the Throne, but I think, if I may venture to say so, it was a speech in extremely good taste and delivered very effectively. As to the seconder, he is the son of an old friend and colleague of mine, and I wish him well. I hope that this commencement of a career in debates in this House will not, as the noble Marquess pointed out last session, be followed, as it so often has been, by a long period of silence. We are assembled now on the opening of a new Parliament. I do not think that it is possible that on the occasion of the first session of a new Parliament some allusion should not be made to the circumstances of the recent and very sudden dissolution, and to the manner in which the elections were, in certain quarters, carried on. With regard to the dissolution itself, it certainly was extremely unexpected, and on our part we have never precisely seen the necessity which existed for so sudden a determination. At the same time, I fully recognise, and I have always recognised, that a Government has a perfect right to choose its own time to advise the Queen to dissolve Parliament, and it is not unnatural that it should choose a time which it thinks will be advantageous to its own party. This is one of the incidents of party warfare; it is not, perhaps, a very high-minded motive, but I am afraid it is a motive which actuates Governments from whatever side they are formed. But there is a more serious matter, and that is, whether the dissolution was an absolute necessity and an advantage to the country. I think it is to be regretted, without laying too much stress upon the point, that a large number of the electors should, by the state of the register, have been precluded from expressing their opinions. I do not in the least pretend to say that to have waited would have bettered our party, but I think it would have been better in deciding upon the dissolution to have taken care that a large proportion of the electors were not debarred from exercising their right to vote. That is the criticism which I make as to the period of the dissolution, but I will add this—that, of course, the Government would desire to have, if I may so call it, a verdict upon their policy from the country, and I suppose they were under the impression that the war was about to close in South Africa, and that all that was necessary was a verdict in their favour. I do not think that the circumstances and the result have justified that expectation. I have said enough on that point, but there is another point to which I allude with regret, but I shall not press it far in this House—I mean the manner in which, on many occasions, imputations were thrown upon those who were standing as candidates in the interests of the Opposition—imputations which, I think, in many cases were absolutely false—imputations which ought never to have been brought, and imputations which, though they may be excused in the mouths of obscure people, considering the source from which some of them sprung, I think must have been heard by every right-minded man with regret. I shall not pursue that matter further except to say, in justice to my own feelings, that I saw the line taken on many occasions, imputing disloyalty and want of patriotism to men quite as loyal and patriotic as those on the other side. I looked upon that with feelings of not less than disgust. I shall not pursue that further because the chief offenders are not in this House. Not one man that I know of in this House has said or done anything that I can find fault with, certainly not the Prime Minister nor any peer who is a colleague of his, and if an attack is to be made it is far better that it should be made where those concerned can give their own answer. I will not do more than notice that, and I only do so lest it should be thought that I do not share the feelings which I know are strongly and bitterly felt in the party to which I belong. Now I turn to the Speech from the Throne. It certainly is a Speech of extraordinary brevity, and, I might almost state, abruptness. It is not thought necessary, apparently, to offer any introduction to the simple and very plain demand to vote a certain sum of money. Generally speaking, a demand for money is prefaced by some statement of policy. There is no statement here at all. I suppose it would not have been convenient to the Government to make any statement. If there had been any exordium I suppose it would have run something in this shape :—"That, seeing that the anticipations of the Government as to the close of the war have not been fulfilled, and seeing that the calculations of the Chancellor of the Exchequer that he would have a sufficient amount of money to meet the expenses of the war in South Africa as well as the expenses in China have not been realised, therefore we have found it necessary to call together Parliament to fill up the gap which it was not anticipated by our Government would have existed" Something of that kind would have been the preface to the Speech. It would, of course, have been very disagreeable, and I can quite understand why the Speech from the Throne is so brief. We are only told that more money is wanted and that we are to deliver it forthwith. The form of the Speech is certainly not very courteous towards Parliament. One did not expect a detailed statement as to the position of affairs in South Africa, but I do think that we ought to have had from her Majesty's Government some statement of their view as to their policy in the present situation in South Africa—some statement as to their anticipations for the future, some statement of the policy that they intend to pursue. We have had a general statement of policy on former occasions, but circumstances are changed. At the time when the war commenced of course you could only make a general statement of what might be the policy of the Government, but we have now arrived at a different position. There was one remark in the Speech of the mover of the Address with which, unfortunately, I cannot agree. I wish I could. He spoke of "the close" of the war. If there is one thing more plain than another it is that this war is not closed. Not only is it not closed, but, if we are to believe the information which we obtain from the usual sources, for we get none from the Government, there is a recrudescence of the war. There is a state of things which is to a certain extent novel, and which seems to me, as far as I can judge, to be of a most embarrassing and dangerous character. You have, no doubt, broken to a considerable extent the organised forces of your opponents, but you have utterly failed up to this point in really subduing and pacifying the country. Neither do we see that there is any probability of rapid progress being made in that direction. When I say that, do not suppose that I am about to censure the conduct of the military operations. In the first place, I am not a competent judge, and, in the second place, I have no desire to weaken the hands of those who have been entrusted with the very difficult task of subduing these populations by imputing to them any blame. Far from doing that, I have, as I suppose every noble Lord in this House has, admired the skill and success which has been displayed by Lord

Roberts, and my confidence in him has not been impaired. Neither shall I say one word which would imply a want of confidence in the noble Lord who has succeeded to the command. But we must look to the facts as they are. The difficulties are so great of subduing the populations, scattered as they are over so large a country, and apparently far better provided with horses than we are even now, that I think it is vain to expect any early termination of the war. I wish we could expect it. Many people are very much disturbed by what are alleged to be—I wish particularly to guard myself against the supposition that I am making this assertion—the cruel treatment of the Boers by the burning of farms and by the expulsion of women from their homes. I myself have that confidence in the humanity and the discretion of the distinguished commander who is now returning to this country that until I receive far more authoritative information than has yet reached me, I shall be slow to believe that there have been cruelties exercised by severe measures which could properly have been avoided. Indeed, I commit myself in no way to an assent of the assertion that there have been undue severities. That there has been severity to a considerable extent I suppose must be true, and I think it is only reasonable that we should inquire from the Government to what extent they believe these severities to have gone, and whether on the whole, in the opinion of those who are best able to judge, these severities are absolutely unavoidable. But there is something further than that. You may say that these matters are in the hands of the military commanders, and it is not for us to interfere. So far as questions of military measures are concerned, I should be the last person to suggest that you should interfere, but there is a question which cannot be determined by military commanders. That is the question of policy, and it seems to me that at this moment there are grave questions of policy presenting themselves to anyone who reflects on the facts and the condition of affairs in South Africa. What is the end of all this that we desire? We desire that the war or the struggle should close. We desire that as little bitterness should be left as may be compatible with the bringing of the war to a close. We desire that, as far as possible—and the task is an extremely difficult one—we should avoid creating such bitter feelings of hatred against us on the part of the Boer population as may make it impossible for many years to come to govern them in the manner which will be satisfactory to us and in accordance with our usual mode of dealing with our white colonists. We also desire that nothing should be done, if possible, which can aggravate the discontent which, I fear, exists in parts of our own colony, and concerning which I shall be very glad to have authentic information from the Government. Is there no possibility in any way of reaching the minds of the more reasonable part—for I doubt not there is a more reasonable part—of the population of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colonies? You must remember this. Supposing you were at war with an enemy of the ordinary kind, and you had a Government to deal with, or even a revolutionary Government which had certain authority, you might approach that Government and say, "We wish the war to terminate, and if you are ready to submit, we shall be perfectly prepared to treat you in such and such a way." But there is no such authority here, and my belief is that in the present condition of those colonies the mass of the Boer population are in a state of great ignorance and great delusion as to the facts. I have no doubt whatever that their minds are poisoned by those who disseminate untrue statements both as to the conduct of our troops and as to the intentions of our Government. To dispel those opinions some mode must be found by which you can reach them and make them understand what the true state of the case is. That seems to me to be a question which belongs exclusively to Her Majesty's Government, and not to the military commanders. If they are of opinion that they could make any declaration of policy at the present time—I should say it ought to be made on the spot, and not only in Parliament—which would reassure the Boer population and would make them feel that the fate which is in store for them is one which will not only be tolerable but in many respects desirable; if they could be shown that as soon as the war terminates they would have all the privileges which can be accorded to men who are subjects of the Crown, short of the enjoyment of representative institutions, which cannot come at once, but which will come, and might be promised when the country is sufficiently pacified—if an assurance of that kind were given I think it might produce some revulsion of feeling on the part of the population. And supposing it fails? You will, at all events, have relieved yourself from a large burden of responsibility; you will have made it clear what the policy of the Government is, and you will have made it clear to the whole world what is the intention of the Government of this country as to dealing with the Boer population when once they are subdued. I think that would be a great advantage to have gained. I believe, also, that it would have a very calming effect on the colonists in the Cape, and that seems to me to be a cardinal point to consider in the whole matter. I sincerely hope the Government will not take the line of doing what has been done on former occasions. I hope they will not say, "We stand on this. We are plainly determined that there shall be no going back to the former state of things; that there shall be plainly and simply the annexation of these countries to the British Crown and the bringing of them distinctly under British government." Those two propositions I cordially concur in. I think they are placed now beyond doubt. I have no doubt the great majority of the people of this country have made up their minds that there is no other policy, whatever criticisms may be addressed to what has brought us to this point—a matter which it would be useless to follow—no other course to be pursued. Therefore, the mere statement of that will not advance the matter at all. But, admitting the point that these countries should be brought under the dominion of the British Crown, and that nothing whatever which is given to any British Colony which is a dependency of the Crown should not be conceded to the Boers in certain circumstances, I sincerely hope that Her Majesty's Government will have come to the conclusion that the time has arrived, or very shortly ought to arrive, when they ought to make a general statement of their intentions in more detail, more precisely, and more fully than has ever yet been laid before Parliament or the country. I attach considerable importance to this, because, taking, as I naturally do—having previously had a good deal of connection with affairs of this kind—a deep interest in these questions, I cannot but feel much disquiet at the present state of affairs. I feel they are of a kind to cause very considerable anxiety. I think the prolongation of the struggle in South Africa is in itself a great calamity. If it goes on I think you may have a state of affairs created in those colonies which will render the government of them a most irksome and difficult operation, and for that reason I feel extremely anxious to learn that Her Majesty's Government have given their full consideration to the whole of the circumstances, and that they are prepared with some definite and clear policy which, at all events, may give us some hope that the war may be brought to an earlier conclusion than I think it will be if you confine yourselves simply to military operations. I do not know that upon the subject of the war I have anything further to say. The war is one which naturally occupies almost the whole attention of the country, and I cannot leave the subject—I think one ought never to leave the subject—without expressing my admiration for the courage and perseverence shown by our troops—courage and perseverance never exceeded, I believe, in the annals of English history, bright as they are. Nor can I leave it without expressing that feeling which we all must have of the great losses which have been suffered by men in all stations of life, in the deaths of many brave and distinguished young men, amongst whom perhaps, I may be permitted to mention the loss which Her Majesty has sustained by the death of that most promising officer Prince Christian Victor. I should now like to say a few words concerning China, as it is mentioned in the Speech from the Throne. I do not intend to go into the whole question of China. It is a very large question and a very difficult question. I think your Lordships must have admired the wonderful defence made of the Legations at Peking, and the admirable and cordial manner in which all the nations to which the Ministers belonged acted together in saving the Legations from capture by the Chinese. Nor can any one be insensible of the value of the Concert of the Powers, and the manner in which, to a great extent, they have acted together. I know very well the difficulties of a Concert of the Powers; and I do not think that we should be hypercritical with regard to some slowness and some misunderstandings, provided there has been, on the whole, common action; and, so far as I can judge, there has been, up to the present time, as much common action as could reasonably be expected in circumstances so difficult. I may also say, for myself, that I saw with satisfaction the agreement concluded by the noble Marquess opposite with the Government of Germany. I think it was a very useful and wise agreement. Of course it is open, perhaps, to some criticism with regard to the fact that the Germans have acquired rights over the province of Shantung; but, taken as a whole, I think the principle is one which the people of this country approve—namely, that there should be an open door to the commerce of all nations, whatever may be the advantages in particular spots where stations are established. I think that is a very useful and desirable agreement to have obtained from the German Government. As to the present state of affairs, I can only say that I am very anxious indeed to hear from the noble Marquess anything he may be able to tell us. It is extremely difficult to form any just opinion merely from the reports which we get from day to day of expeditions after Boxers, the probability of certain important Chinamen surrendering themselves to be decapitated, and various other interesting subjects. There is only one point upon which I feel, personally, some anxiety, although I do not think Her Majesty's Government are capable of engaging in so very unwise an operation—I mean the notion that we are to embark on an expedition into the interior of China, for the purpose of capturing the Empress and the Emperor, and thereby bringing the whole difficulty to a close. To my mind that would be a most alarming and serious undertaking, and I extremely doubt whether it would be concluded more quickly than the war in South Africa. As to what the cost would be, I leave to those who are judges of such matters to decide. I do not think Her Majesty's Government can contemplate any such expedition; but I hope that what we have seen in the newspapers, only yesterday, that some agreement has been come to between the Powers as to the demands to be made upon China will turn out to be true, and that possibly some way out of the difficulty may be found. Of this I am quite certain, that any attempt to undertake to set up a Government in China, for which we are all to be responsible, or all the Powers together are to be responsible, would lead us into a quagmire, as I may call it, of difficulties, out of which we might never, perhaps, escape. Upon the whole, I do not say for a moment that the policy of the Government has not been a prudent one; but we have so little information of an authentic kind on the subject that I must reserve my opinion until I know more. For the purpose for which we are now assembled we have only these two questions to discuss, namely, the war in South Africa, and China. I have made a few observations to your Lordships on these two subjects, and I shall not detain you further upon others. I think it extremely judicious that other questions—domestic questions—are not introduced into the Speech on the present occasion; and that, as I am informed, the precedent of last year is to be followed—namely, that at the close of the present short session—and short, I trust, it will be—there will be a prorogation, and that there will be the usual statement of the policy of the Government at the commencement of the ordinary session of Parliament next year.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND LORD PRIVY SEAL (The Marquess of SALISBURY): My Lords, at all events I have the privilege of entirely agreeing with what was said by the noble Earl opposite at the beginning of his speech and at its end. At the beginning of his speech I heard with great pleasure the well-deserved eulogy which he bestowed upon my noble friend behind me who proposed the Address. I enjoyed the friendship of my noble friend's father, and I think he was, as the noble Earl said, a most popular and acceptable Member of the House. I earnestly trust that the evidence of similar ability which can be traced in the speech of my noble friend will have a full development, and that he will become as well known and be as useful in this House as his father was. My noble friend, with whom I have closer connection, who seconded the Address, I think dealt with a situation of some difficulty with singular judgment. It was my misfortune to have to ask my two noble friends to make speeches upon very scanty matter, and I am bound to say that they produced much more desirable and admirable results than I should have thought it possible to weave upon so small a canvas. To my noble friend's observations upon the difficult Chinese question I listened with the greatest pleasure, and I entirely concur in the eulogies which were bestowed. The other matter which has been spoken of by the noble Earl opposite, with which I entirely agree, was the admiration which he eloquently expressed, at the latter part of his speech, of the splendid achievements of our soldiers on their distant battle field, and the skill exhibited by Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener, who have had the guidance of them. I hope that the admiration which is felt for the officers and soldiers by all the people of this country will be, at all events, some compensation for the very severe hardships and the constant and wearing efforts to which, in the course of this unexpectedly long war, they have been subjected. They have the admiration of their fellow-subjects and of their Sovereign. I do not doubt that in the future the achievements which have been performed in this war will stand by some of the noblest which have been accomplished in our military history. Unhappily, as the noble Earl has said, there have been drawbacks. There has been a terrible loss of valuable lives. There has been the loss of that promising and able soldier, born of the Royal line, to whom so many were looking forward as likely to bear a brilliant future; but who, by an unhappy fate, has been taken from his Sovereign and from his country. He does not stand alone. There are many able and distinguished men, well known in this country, who will appear among us no more, and their memory will bring home to us the feeling that in a war of this kind even the most brilliant results are dashed by the terrible price at which they have been bought. I confess that, when I heard the noble Earl speak of our great achievements in South Africa and of the great Imperial interests which are involved there, it came upon me with something like a feeling of bathos to hear him ask me to defend the date of the dissolution. If I defend the date of the dissolution I shall have to deal with matters which I am afraid he will think trivial. The objection to the dissolution in the extreme winter is that people have to travel long distances and that they suffer considerably in doing so. The objection to a dissolution in the summer is that at that time members are engaged in their legislative duties, which are cut short by an appeal to the electors. I do not say that October is the only month for a dissolution, but I think that of all the months it stands first. There is less interference with public business and less inconvenience to those who have to vote. As to the question of the number of electors on the register, I must call the noble Earl's attention to the experience we already have. If my information is correct the great change by which the register is affected takes place at the end of May. I look back to the various dissolutions in the Queen's reign, and I find—I will not go into details—that quite two-thirds of them have been subsequent to the month of May. Therefore this scruple, which I have never heard of before and which I think has been invented for the purpose of this election, was never felt by our predecessors. I am bound to say I doubt if the noble Earl, in his anxiety to dissolve upon a full register, is entirely carrying out the intentions which Parliament had in the legislation which actually exists. I presume that the long residence which is frequently required on the part of the elector is part of the policy of Parliament. It is looked upon as an advantage that those who vote should know something of the locality in which they live and in which they vote. The result of the dissolution in October is that those who did vote were, so far as residence could confer a qualification, much more capable citizens for the purpose of voting. I entirely deny that the absence of working men—if there were any number of working men absent from the polls—was likely to incline more in our direction than in the direction of our opponents. As a matter of fact, many who sympathised with us were fighting in South Africa, and by reason of the dissolution coming before the war was over we really denied ourselves the advantage of their votes. I do not think this is a matter upon which I need dwell further. Still less do I intend to dwell upon the imputations which the noble Earl tells us were made upon his friends by Members of the House of Commons. We are absolutely forbidden to take part in the tourney of eloquence that goes on during the elections; and it is really very hard that we should be forbidden to speak ourselves and blamed for what is said by those who do. The noble Earl may cross the hall and make what criticisms he pleases. I absolutely repudiate his right to make any attack upon us because of what has been said by Members of the other House during the election. I understand the noble Lord wants us to make a statement of our policy. He imagines that it is possible for us to say some pleasant things which will induce the guerillas who are now maintaining the relics of the war to throw down their arms and assume the attitude of peaceful citizens. I wish he had told us what sort of things he wishes us to say. Of course, if he means that we are to throw all our sacrifices away—if he means that we are to attempt the restoration of a certain amount of independence——

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: I stated in the plainest language that nothing of that kind was in my mind.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: Quite so; and by that the noble Earl took away from himself the suggestion of any possible terms which would be of any use for that purpose. The only thing that these people will be satisfied with is in some way to restore to them that independence. Our policy is absolutely unchanged in that respect. We say that, without provocation on our part, they suddenly plunged us into war, and invaded her Majesty's dominions, and when that had been done we found that they had been preparing for five years gigantic armaments to carry this design into effect. We, at all events, cannot allow that such a process shall ever be repeated. We must place them, at the end of the war, in such a position that they never will be able to expose us either to the danger or to the terrible sacrifices we have had to go through during the past year. Well, then, if we cannot give them their independence, is there anything else that will induce them to throw down their arms except the sheer impossibility of carrying the war further? There is no such offer that I ever heard of demanded from us or proposed by them. Our policy was made clear and declared again and again by Lord Roberts in the proclamations that he made. It was impossible to put the matter into kinder or more benevolent phrases than he did. The condition of British self-governing colonies is well known. It does not require to be described in great detail. That is what we wish to offer to these countries when they are fitted to receive it. They cannot receive it now—the feeling is too bitter. It will be some time probably before the state of society in these regions will be such that the benevolent rule of a British self-governing colony can be fully applied to them. I know not how long the delay will have to be. It may be years, it may even be generations; it must depend largely upon their own disposition and their own conduct. If they are resolved to exasperate the feeling of hatred which now exists between the loyal and disloyal parts of the population, if they are resolved to push this guerilla warfare, which can promise them no good, if they are resolved out of sheer hatred to push it to the bitter end they must be responsible for the inevitable result. They must delay the bestowal of those precious privileges which the other self-governing white colonies under her Majesty's rule enjoy, and the longer they refuse to recognise the inevitable and to join with the other inhabitants in submission to the authority of the British Crown, the longer the reign of force, more or less, must continue, and the longer the benefits of completely developed freedom must be withheld. The noble Earl asked me for some statement of policy. That has been the statement of our policy all the year. We have no ground for changing it. The war must be carried through. We must not allow it to be felt that anyone, by the issue of an audacious and insolent ultimatum, can force the British Government to humble itself and to abandon the rights which, as representing the Queen, it exercises. We can never allow, and never have allowed, that any shred of independence can be left; but, so long as we are secured in the future of conduct similar to that which is observed by other colonies, nothing will give us deeper satisfaction than to be able to welcome them among the number of the prosperous and contented bodies which for so long have formed the brightest jewel of Her Majesty's crown. We are aware that we have no Government to deal with; but that does not seem to me to diminish the responsibility of those who are continuing the war. On the contrary, it ought to point out to them that any chances of any benefit to themselves or others by the course they are pursuing is absolutely exhausted and removed by the fact that they are serving under no Government whatever. The responsibility is with them. All we have to do is what we have done—to give our utmost efforts so that the war may come to an end and peace be restored in South Africa. The noble Earl said something about China. He made a denunciation of distant expeditions in which my heart went entirely with him. I earnestly hope that no such expedition will be taken; but, while I express with the utmost fulness that feeling, I do not think I can gratify the curiosity of the noble Lord by telling him the exact position in which the Chinese question stands, or the stage which the various problems we have to solve have reached. For instance, the noble Lord would not wish us to say what we imagine are the exact feelings of the Chinese Government, or what we think our duty with reference to those feelings may be. If we were alone against China I should dispute very much the wisdom of such a course, but when we have four or five allies the noble Earl will feel that his curiosity is not justified. I can only say that the Concert of Europe subsists, and the latest intelligence we have shows that it has assumed a very reasonable vitality. I am more doubtful of the time at which a satisfactory result will be obtained than of the fact that the Concert of Europe will be successful. I have very little doubt it will be successful. All we have to hope for is that we shall attain all the objects we have put forward, and that in doing so the Concert of Europe will remain as much a concert as it is now. I cannot offer the noble Earl any fuller explanation because not only should I be telling our own secrets, which I ought not to do, but I should also be telling other people's, which is a more condemnable proceeding. I can only say in answer to the noble Earl's speech—with regard to which, so far as it concerns foreign affairs and does not concern dissolutions, I have no complaint whatever to make—that our one duty now is to give all the assistance we can to the gallant men who are supporting the cause of England in the field, and to take care that nothing is uttered within these walls which shall hinder their future and, we hope, their speedy success. When that success has been attained, and we have expressed our feelings of honour and gratitude to those who have attained it, then it will be the business of the noble Earl and his friends to ask for information and inquiry, and it certainly will not be from us that opposition will come.

THE EARL OF **ROSEBERY**: I have no wish to offer any observations on the somewhat Delphic revelations we have heard from the Prime Minister. I am concerned more especially with the topic which he described as alien to our deliberations, but which seems to me to concern this House as being a permanent body in Parliament, and therefore the guardian of our constitutional traditions in no small or light degree. When this House separated in the month of August we had no information as to the intention of her Majesty's Government to dissolve Parliament. Of that I naturally make no complaint whatever, but from that day to this we have had no explanation vouchsafed to us of the reasons which induced her Majesty's Government to proceed to that grave act, to dissolve Parliament for the second time in five years, a Parliament, in this case, which had been loyal and unhesitatingly faithful to it, and to call upon the country for a new declaration of its opinion in support of this Government. The noble Marquess says that all the dissolutions in her Majesty's reign have taken place at times inconvenient with regard to the register. I did not follow him closely there, but let me take that as a general declaration of his opinion. He seems to me to miss the whole point of the contention in making that declaration. Dissolutions, as a rule, are matters scarcely of choice for the Government engaging in them. They are the result either of a hostile division or of the shrinking of the majority, or of those signals of ill-omen which are called by-elections, and which induce the Government once more to seek the advice and assistance of the country. In this case there were none of those features. The noble Marquess seems to think October the most ingenious month, which it is, in a sense, for the purposes of a dissolution, because it is an agreeable month for travelling, and because the people who are then engaged in voting have been so long on the register that they have become thoroughly acquainted with their duties as voters. That seems to me a strange reason, when you might by postponing the election for three weeks have had a new register in Scotland, and by postponing it for three months have enjoyed the advantages of new registration in England. Surely the object of a Government that respects itself and trusts the country is not to go to the electorate without any cause being offered on a worn-out register in the month of October. The noble Marquess consoles my noble friends behind me by saying that if the army in South Africa had been able to return they would no doubt have registered their votes for the Government. One hears something of the correspondence of soldiers in South Africa, and I do not feel so perfectly confident as the noble Marquess of their unanimity on that subject. They have not been treated with such tenderness and care, with such regard to their creature comforts, that when they return they are likely to cast a unanimous vote for Her Majesty's Government. But let that pass. It is an incidental point on which I can offer no opinion. What I do offer an opinion upon is that this is a wholly unprecedented election, a wanton election, an election for which no cause or reason has ever been given or ever will, I believe, be given in this House or the other. We are told that peers have nothing to do with the election of the House of Commons; that they are not allowed to take part in the speech-making which unfortunately accompanies the election of candidates. Be that so or not, I know it is a constitutional maxim, but I do not think it will stand much examination. When you come to think that peers preside at meetings for the selection of candidates, when you think that they carry the voters in their carriages to the poll, and when you find that they are not unsuspected of finding funds for the election expenses, and when you remember that the only rule which forbids them in any way to interfere rhetorically in an election is a Sessional Order of the House of Commons which expires with the House of Commons that passes it, I am given to be a little doubtful of the soundness of the constitutional maxim so comfortably laid down by the noble Marquess that peers have nothing to do with the election of Members of the House of Commons. Whether that be so or not, I do hold that grave constitutional questions are specially pertinent to this House. This House, not being affected, owing to its fortunate or unfortunate constitution, by the General Election, is intended by the Constitution to be the repository of the Constitution and the guardian of its honour and its interests. Therefore, I know of no rule, written or unwritten, which is to debar the House of Lords from considering either the methods by which the General Election was carried out or the way in which it was fought. As I say, we have had no intimation whatever of the reasons which influenced this General Election, but I say that the circumstances are wholly different from those which usually occur. The Government had no shrinkage of their majority. They lost twenty votes out of a majority of 150 in the course of five years. If that is not a rose-leaf diminution of a majority I do not know what is. Then we were told in the usually not uninspired organs of public opinion that the dissolution was to take place when the war was over. Well, it is impossible to argue that the dissolution took place when the war was over. In the next place we were told that the dissolution was to encourage the Government in the prosecution of the war, and to put an end to all the lurking opposition that there might be to it in Parliament. Now that again is an obviously futile reason. Many faults are found with the conduct of the Opposition in the House of Commons, but it has never been fairly charged with thwarting the Government in the conduct of the war, with hesitation in the granting of supplies, or with any of the acts with which the Opposition in the time of Pitt were, in my opinion, not unfairly charged. The last division of the slightest importance in the House of Commons before the dissolution was one of a somewhat remarkable character. It was a division for the reduction of a Minister's salary, which is, in effect, meant to be a vote of censure on that Minister. In this case it was the Colonial Minister, who was attacked as being the supposed author of the policy of the Government in South Africa. On that occasion the Opposition, the meagre Opposition, was still further divided into three parts. Of these, the larger part voted for the Government. The next larger part walked out with the leader of the Opposition rather than vote against the Government, and the third, some thirty votes in number, voted against the Government. Now, no one will tell me across this table or anywhere else that the Government dissolved Parliament as against these thirty votes in the other House. But again we are told that that was not the real object of the dissolution, that the real object of the dissolution was to show the Boers that this country is a united country, that this Parliament is a united Parliament, that the nation is behind the Government in the prosecution of the war, and that they have no hopes to rest on faction or party dissention in these islands. That again is an obviously untrue reason for the dissolution. And I will tell you why it is untrue. If the dissolution had meant that, the general election would have been conducted by the Government on very different lines and by very different methods. The object of the Government, according to this hypothesis, would have been to prove that, whatever our domestic differences might be, at any rate there was one cause on which opinion was, as it really was, unanimous, and that was the prosecution of this war. What did the Government do? I am not at liberty to go to the other House as we have been recommended to do, and explain my views there. If the noble Marquess will gain me access to that assembly I will go there, but until I can do so, I protest against his asking us to appeal from this House to the other on the question. What was the way in which her Majesty's Government, by their only authorised representatives and mouth-pieces, conducted the election? They conducted it on the footing that every man who voted for the Opposition was a friend of the Boers and an enemy and traitor to his country. You may disclaim those methods in this easy House on these red benches, but you know well, everybody who reads the newspapers knows, that they were utilised in every town and hamlet in this country. For the credit of this country and for the credit of party government in this country, these methods should not be forgotten even in this hereditary House. I will quote two or three instances of what I mean. One was a placard which I copied in the Royal burgh of South Queensferry, with which your lordships may perhaps be unacquainted, but which is part of the constituency of my right hon. friend the leader of the Opposition in the other House. I took the liberty of copying the placard at the time, because I knew that if I did not, I should be charged to produce my authority. The placard was couched in this way:—"Electors, every seat lost for the Government is a seat sold to the Boers!" Then came the name of its reputed author, Mr Chamberlain. Next occurred these words—indigenous, I trust, to South Queensferry, although I fear they were much more widely spread:—"Vote for the Government candidate and wrest the seat from the Boers." I know you will say there is an error in that historic sentence, and that it should be "given" to the Boers and not "sold" to the Boers. I am not concerned about the difference, but I will point out that the date on which I copied this placard was October 23, long after the general election was over, and therefore, whatever benefit might have accrued to Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman from the contradiction was long lost before that time had expired. But I do not very much care whether the word was "sold" or "given." For my part I prefer "sold to the Boers," because the words carry their own contradiction with them to all who know the traditions of Parliamentary public life in this country. "Given" is another thing. Ignorant electors may have been persuaded, and many no doubt were persuaded, by these placards, that votes given to the Liberal party were votes given to the Boers. As far as I can recollect, 1,400,000 out of 3,000,000 votes were recorded for the Liberal party, and if it was transmitted to South Africa on the highest authority, that these 1,400,000 votes were given to the Boers, it is impossible to exaggerate the encouragement which the words could have given to our enemies. But it was not only an obscure candidate in South Queensferry—whose name I absolutely forget—who employed these methods, but the President of the Board of Trade issued an historical placard in his constituency in which he said in the largest letters:—"Remember that to vote for a Liberal is to give a vote to the Boers." That right hon. Gentleman has since been admitted to the Cabinet, as I presume, an approval of his election methods; but, whether you approve of them or not, you profited by them, and it is too late now to bid one go to the other House and address them, I presume from the Strangers' Gallery, as to the malpractices of the dissolution. There is a worse case than that—a much worse case. A gentle man, a Canadian by birth, and therefore an Imperialist by birth, settled in this country, and he was what is called a Liberal Imperialist—that is to say, he united the strongest Imperial views with Liberal doctrines in domestic concerns. He stood for the Newmarket Division of Cambridgeshire. Both he and his opponent were absent in South Africa at the time of the election. Mr. Rose, the candidate of whom I speak, not only held Imperialist opinions, but he has given pledges of his devotion to the Empire. He had three sons. Before this election took place he lost two of them in South Africa fighting against the Boers. On the day he received the announcement of the second death his third son set out for South Africa, and he is at this moment fighting against the Boers. That was a tragic Imperialist, indeed! I suppose he was not a sham Imperialist? and yet in the Newmarket Division the agent of his opponent—because his opponent, who is as honourable a man as himself, was happily absent — did not scruple to put up placards all over the constituency representing Mr. Rose as helping Mr. Kruger to pull down the British flag in South Africa, with remarks perhaps too scurrilous to mention. Surely methods of this kind were not calculated to assure the Boers that they had practically no supporters in this country? Surely a message such as that which described the Ministry as constantly stigmatising and flouting their opponents as traitors to their country, as sympathisers with the enemy in the field, conveyed more encouragement to that enemy in the field than any other news that could be sent to them. There is a Nemesis that attends methods of this kind, and I venture to think that the time will come when the party in power will look back with compunction and with bitter regret to the incidents which I have recalled in connection with the election. I pass from that matter to the results of the General Election. There were three as far as I know. In the first place they gave an additional majority of four votes to the Government. It hardly seems worth this derogation from the ordinary methods of honour, it hardly seems worth this vast expenditure of oratory, labour, and money to bring about this result, even at the price of stigmatising the Opposition as traitors. That was, however, the net result. Then came the second result, which was a somewhat curious one. The instant that the election was over those who had been most urgent in building up a great majority for Her Majesty's Government and in succeeding beyond, I should think, their utmost expectations, at once began to denounce the weakness of the Opposition. After pulverising the Opposition they at once said, "Why are these wretched people so weak?" It is a matter with which I have nothing to do, but it seems a little inconsistent that a party enjoying this dominance of power, after knocking the Opposition throughout the country and defeating it by every means in their power, should complain of its weakness. There is a want of logic here, which does not, however, materially affect the situation. The third result is more remarkable still. We were told throughout the election that the one thing we were bound to do at all cost was to vote for the only Government which could suit this country and which had the confidence of the country —naturally, Her Majesty's Government, and we were told as a reason for voting in their favour that they were indispensable in the first place, and that there was no alternative Government possible. The moment that the election was over we were told that the one absolute condition of the continued existence of confidence in the Government was that it should be reconstructed from top to bottom; and after that we were told there was an alternative Government, and it was in the pocket of the Prime Minister. I do not know whether any of the electors who voted for the one perfect Government felt that they had been at all hocussed or deceived when they found that the Government was imperfect and required total reconstruction. Of that I know nothing, nor do I know, nor do I inquire into, the secret process by which that reconstruction was carried out. The result of course is that, while Government is a matter of public importance, the means by which its reconstruction was carried out is a matter which concerns only the Government and the gentlemen affected. We have, indeed, one cry of anguish from Lincolnshire which represents some of the methods, at any rate, which were employed to reconstruct the Government; and in spite of the arduous exertions of my right hon. friend in the course of the election—and I think he has played a very capable part in the administration of the Government—he was told that his services were no longer wanted, and that employment for him must be found elsewhere. In spite of that cry of anguish we have had no illumination thrown on the process which was used in the course of reconstruction. Nor do we know at all whether the change has been for the better. That time only will develop. Some gentlemen of less advanced age than some other gentlemen have come into the Government, and some gentlemen have left the Government; and I trust that what is the loss to the Government will be our gain as a branch of the Legislature, and that we shall be able before long to welcome some of them to this House. That, as far as we are concerned, is all we have to say. There is one other point of some interest. We are enabled to congratulate the noble Marquess on being the head of a family with the most remarkable genius for administration that has ever been known. I remember it was said in the history of the Jews that it was the practice of that nation to confine the priesthood to a single family; and I am not at all sure that this great backward stride towards the traditional methods of that ancient civilisation is altogether welcomed by some of the aspirants to office in her Majesty's present Administration. But there is a solace for every consideration. We have often felt in the festive season which is rapidly approaching that some danger may accrue to the country from the fact that some Ministers may be so much scattered that there would be no centre of administrative power in which we could feel that our interests are safe. But when the festive circle assembles around the noble Marquess at Christmas we shall feel, not, indeed, that the whole Cabinet is there—because I do not believe that even the palatial accommodation of Hatfield House could receive the whole of the Cabinet at one time; but there is an ample section of it, the inner section, assembled round the noble Marquess's family table, and that our interests and our future are safe. The real point of the reconstruction of this Cabinet which we all feel deep interest in is that the two great offices which were combined in the person of the noble Marquess, and either of which in the present condition of the British Empire I believe it to be almost beyond the power of any single human being adequately to fill, have become dissociated, and while one has been handed over to the noble Marquess the late Secretary for War, the noble Marquess himself has once more resumed the headship of the Government, and has restored the ancient and traditional office of Prime Minister. Now he has, in doing so, taken the Privy Seal, and of course we know that the Privy Seal has in old times been held by a Prime Minister, Lord Chatham. It was in times when there was a large salary attached to the post, and some valid official duties, which interfered most seriously with the course of Lord Chatham's retirement when he was Prime Minister. But all that has been long changed; and about sixteen years ago all duties and all salary were so effectually removed from the Privy Seal that when I subsequently had the honour to hold that office I found there was no apartment attached to it, no private secretary, no messenger, no staff, no duties, and (not the least important), no salary. I hope the noble Marquess is going to develop that office somehow, and that we shall have from some Minister some assurance that arrangements are going to be made that he may fill a responsible office with the dignity appertaining to the post of Prime Minister, that his wandering feet may be found at rest somewhere, at any rate in a room—that some obscure apartment may be found in the official buildings, and that some adequate clerical and secretarial assistance may be furnished him out of the public funds. Whether that be so or not, I think it was a mistake to deprive the Privy Seal of his salary. It is a great mistake to think that it is an absolute necessity to chain all Ministers with high and heavy administrative office, because in that way you have no Ministers left to consider the great problems which lie before the Government. That work is as hard work as some of the administrative work, which absorbs too much of the time of our Ministers. But, whether that be so or not, I rejoice that the office of Prime Minister has been once more restored. I think we have felt the want very greatly. I believe that there are matters affecting the Administration which require the attention, the vigilant attention, of the Prime Minister without further delay. There is one delicate subject connected with the Government with which the last Government has had some trouble, and with which the Government before it had some trouble—I mean the financial relations of the Ministry. Now, there is no more odious subject for anyone to enter upon than that. Of course we know that attacks have been made on the Colonial Minister in connection with shares held by himself and by some of his family, and in regard to contracts, and so forth. I do not mean to enter into any question of that kind. I have not studied the subject. I know nothing about it. It will be threshed out very properly, I have no doubt, in the House of Commons, where these matters are properly threshed out; but I will say that these charges, groundless as I am convinced they are, coming into connection with other circumstances, create a feeling that there has been a want of supervision on the part of the head of the Government as regards that instinctive, generous, and honourable delicacy which should actuate all Ministers in relation to their private affairs. I cannot tell you how I detest touching this subject. If there were anyone else to do so I should sit down and ask him to continue it, but I hold it to be a matter of public duty. In the last Government we made it a primary condition that all Ministers should disconnect themselves with all directorships, whatever they might be, in order that no disagreeable incident affecting those Ministers should be allowed to cloud the course of administration. And yet, in spite of that restriction which we laid down—to the considerable loss of some of our members—we did not altogether escape the disagreeable incidents to which I have referred. Now, my Lords, in the course of this Government there has obviously been no such condition laid down. I think it a most deplorable mistake. There is one right hon. Gentleman of great ability, nearly connected with the Prime Minister, who has gone to the Board of Trade—a Department which is specially connected with companies of every kind. He is, I think, a director of several companies, and he would, I think, be well advised if he disconnected himself from those companies. I assure you that I am not speaking this in a party sense at all. I am much more the representative of the man in the street in saying this than the noble Marquess, who has no intercourse with him, perhaps imagines. It is always a source of possible weakness, and it cannot be a source of any strength. It is the bounden duty, as I hold, of every Minister to disconnect himself with any partnership in any company which may in any degree conflict with his duty as a Minister. He cannot perform his duty as a director if he performs his duty as a Minister. In exchange for the high and honourable position of one of the Queen's servants, the public demands that he should give his whole and undivided attention to his office; and it seems to me that there is no practical difficulty in the matter. Let Ministers sever themselves from their directorships. For, if this Government should ever come to an end, I have no doubt the companies in which Ministers have been directors will only too gladly receive them back again. But, in the meantime, I urge most strongly that it is a source of possible weakness and discredit to the Government, and that it is a precedent of incalculable danger to future political life in this country. There is one other case to which I must allude, and it is this. Of all the changes which have been made in the Government none has given me so much pleasure as that by which a young and noble Lord opposite has become an Under Secretary. I think that his career has been most creditable, and I regard him as the most promising Member for his age in this House. But he has of late been connected with the Stock Exchange. Now, for my part, I feel confident that he has severed that connection before becoming a member of her Majesty's Government. Not that, even if he remained a member of a Stock Exchange firm, I have the slightest apprehension that any evil would accrue. He is a man of as undoubted purity and honour as any man in either House. But I say that the connection once established between the Government and the Stock Exchange—honourable employment as the Stock Exchange is—is a precedent full of peril to the interests of the country. There has been no such connection since the time when Lord North was in power, and when he stimulated and rewarded the unflagging energies of his party by issuing loans to them at a low rate, allowing them the difference between the low rate and the rate of issue to the public. I venture to say that, though these instances are innocent, and for the moment free from objection with regard to the individuals to whom I have referred, yet they are of the very greatest danger to the political life of our country. What is it that we are most proud of? It is not the things in which we are equalled by other nations—intrepidity, valour, and ability—but that in which we have boasted by long tradition we are superior to other countries. It is the unattackable purity of our public men. I do not doubt that they are as pure now as ever they were; but the wife of Cæsar must be above suspicion. There must be no possibility that, at a time when the enemies of the Government urge that the war has been undertaken in the interest of capitalists—a charge, in my opinion, as ridiculous as it is groundless—it is not at a time when people make charges of this kind that there should be any opportunity for these slanderers in the gates to rest on any foundation, however slight, and to say, "What can you expect from a Goverment which is connected in any way with companies or firms on the Stock Exchange?" Therefore it is that I have undertaken this eminently distasteful duty to-night, in a spirit which I hope is free from any personal feeling, and I hope that your Lordships will appreciate my motives for doing so. For in the whole ranges of subjects which I have treated—in the dissolution, the methods of the dissolution, and the connection of the Ministry with commercial life—I have had at heart the truest sense of the public interest, the truest love of my country, and the greatest and most vigilant anxiety that no precedent should be heedlessly set by the present Government which may in any way hinder or impair their usefulness or taint the future sources of public life in this country.

THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (The Duke of DEVONSHIRE): My Lords, I will not attempt to follow at any length my noble friend through the rather numerous subjects on which he has addressed the House. Most of them do not appear to me to be very directly suggested by the Speech from the Throne, or by the motion for an Address, and we could hardly have expected that the noble Earl would have taken this opportunity to bring them forward. As to his observations on the interference of peers in elections, I am not disposed to differ from my noble friend in the opinion that that rule has generally been treated, and perhaps may be advantageously treated, with a considerable degree of latitude. It is perfectly true that most of us take some part, previous to an election, and up to within a very short time of its taking place, in many of the arrangements connected with the election. I believe that there is no rule of this House or of the other House to prevent a peer from taking a direct part in the preparations for an election. Most of us, for instance, made speeches up to the date of the issue of the writs; and my noble friend himself took a certain part in the election. I am not disposed to blame the part which he took; but I do not know that the result of the interference of my noble friend in the election at Newcastle is one which is likely to encourage him to repeat the experiment. As to my noble friend's observation on the date of the dissolution, I have had some difficulty in following the exact point which he wishes to bring before the House. He said that the circumstances are unprecedented; but he scarcely explained in what manner they are unprecedented. The last Parliament had sat for five years. My noble friend has not said whether, in his opinion, it would have been to the public advantage for the late Parliament to sit for another session. It has generally been found that in the concluding session the other House is not so much disposed to attend to the work before it as during the earlier period of its existence. If the late Parliament had sat for another session that would inevitably have been its last session; and it is a question whether it would have been likely to devote itself to public business without considerable hindrances and difficulties which do not occur in the earlier periods of a Parliament. I am not laying down the rule that in no circumstances should a Parliament sit for six sessions. It is obviously for the Government to form its opinion as to whether it would be to the advantage of the country; and it is certain that the life of the late Parliament does not compare unfavourably with the average duration of other Parliaments in recent years. My noble friend's sole point, as far as I understand it, was that the dissolution was not taken several months later. I think I can point out that there would have been a considerable objection to that course. If Parliament had been dissolved in January or

February instead of in October, the result might conceivably have been the defeat of the present Government, and the access to power of another; and the new Government would have had to meet Parliament immediately, without having any time whatever to consider the measures which they ought to bring forward. Therefore, from the constitutional point of view, it was much more convenient that the dissolution should take place in October.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: Does the noble Duke suggest that if the dissolution had not been taken in October the Government would have been defeated?

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE: It is impossible to say what Government would have been returned. It is quite conceivable in either case that a change of Government might have been brought about. There is another reason why, the Government having resolved not to ask Parliament to go through another Session, the election should take place in October rather than in January. No one conceives that a prolongation of the period which precedes a general election affords any great benefit to the country. It is probably not to the advantage of the public that the contests should be prolonged. When the time comes that a dissolution should take place it is convenient, I apprehend, to every one concerned, and I think to the advantage of the country as a whole, that the electoral period should be as short as possible, and that the country should be able to give its decision without unnecessary delay and without raising all those personal and party questions which certainly are not of any very great advantage. I think, therefore, if the first point is granted, we were justified in taking the verdict as soon as possible. My Lords, I am not going to follow my noble friend into his criticism of the speeches made during the election. The noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Kimberley) has stated that if any such criticisms are to be made, it is fit that they should be made in the presence of those against whom they are directed, and who are in a position to answer them. My noble friend then entered upon some criticisms as to the composition of the Government. I scarcely think that the changes which have taken place amount to what he calls "the reconstruction" of the Government. I do not know whether my noble friend wishes to lay down the principle that no changes are ever to be made, that if the country has given an expression of its confidence in a certain Administration it follows from that that no changes whatever are to be made in the *personnel* of that Administration. I cannot accept my noble friend as an entirely competent critic on the reconstruction of the Government. I think when my noble friend has reconstructed the Opposition he may be a better judge as to the reconstruction of the Government. My noble friend referred to the question of financial relations of members of the Government with companies. That is a question of some difficulty, and also, no doubt, of very great importance, but it is one which none of us anticipated would have been raised without notice. I may say that it is a matter which requires very great consideration, and that it was considered by the present Government and by the late Government. It is perfectly true that we arrived at a different decision from the late Government. It is a question that is surrounded by difficulties. In my own case—and I am, perhaps, one of the principal offenders—I may say I should have found it almost as difficult a measure to surrender my connection with certain companies of which I am a director as I should have found it to abandon any part in the management of my estates generally. It would have been a question of some difficulty to me whether, if such a rule had been made, it would have been possible for me to have accepted the office which I have the honour to hold. I do not say that the country would have been a great loser if I had taken that course. I only mention it to show that this is a question surrounded with very considerable difficulties. As to the reference made by my noble friend to a recent appointment of an Under-Secretary in this House, I am authorised by my noble friend to say that, before accepting that office, he made arrangements by which his connection with the firm will terminate at the end of this year. I know, as I have said, the subject is a very difficult one, and I did not anticipate that I should have been called upon to address your lordships' House. I have referred to some of the subjects brought forward by my noble friend, but I do not think it necessary to detain your Lordships further.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: My Lords, the noble Duke challenged the statement of the noble Earl below the gangway that the dissolution was unprecedented. I think I shall be able to show that the noble Earl was justified in that statement. There have been only two instances since the Reform Act of 1832 of elections in October, and in each of those cases a special hastening of the register has taken place in order that the election might be held on the new, and not the old register. That, I think, also disposes of the noble Marquess's argument that October is a specially suitable month for a general election. October is nearly as late a period as elections can take place on the old register, and in Scotland it is the last month. In order to be able to vote in October, 1900, it would be necessary for the elector to have held the property in respect of which he was going to vote as far back as July, 1898. That seems to me a very unsatisfactory condition of affairs. The noble Marquess said that it is part of the policy of Parliament that an elector should long have been connected with his locality in order that he may know the wishes of the locality, and therefore be able to give his vote with knowledge. If the noble Marquess will apply his own rule to the out-voters throughout the country, then that great body would lose their votes altogether, because they had not that local habitation which would entitle them to claim to know the wishes of the locality. The noble Duke said, practically, that it was out of consideration for us that the election was fixed in October, in order to save a Liberal Government, if it came into power, the danger of having to consider matters with which it was little acquainted. It does seem to me that it would have been a more proper course to have postponed the General Election until after the war had been concluded and terms of settlement proposed. The speech of the noble Marquess will be received with great regret, not only among Liberals, but among many connected with the party of which he is the head, when they find that the noble Marquess was not prepared to make some statement as to the conditions which might be imposed upon the two Republics which have now been annexed. There will also be no little disappointment at the absence of a statement as to the circumstances under which farm burnings have taken place. I admit that they must in certain cases have been necessary, but I do think that we ought to have been informed as to the principle laid down by the Government under which these very grave incidents have occurred. I think we were entitled to an assurance that only under the most grave necessity have such operations been undertaken.

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE: As it is desirable to be absolutely accurate in the matter, I ought to add to the statement I made just now. What I was authorised to say by my noble friend the Under-Secretary for India was that at the end of the year he would cease to be an active partner of the firm.

On Question, agreed to; Address ordered to be presented to Her Majesty by the Lords with White Staves.

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF SAXE-COBURG AND GOTHA.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that he had (after the close of the last Session of Parliament) received a letter from Her Royal and Imperial Highness, Marie, Duchess of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, Duchess of Edinburgh, containing an Answer to the Message of Condolence of this House of the 2nd of August last.

The said letter was read as follows, viz.:—

> "I deeply appreciate the resolution passed by the House of Lords expressing sympathy with me in the irreparable loss I have sustained by the death of my beloved husband, and I hasten to return my most sincere and heartfelt thanks."

Ordered, that the said letter be entered on the Journals.

COMMITTEES.

The Earl of MORLEY appointed, *nemine dissentiente*, to take the Chair in all Committees of this House for this Session.

Committee for Privileges appointed.

Committee for the Journals appointed.

Stoppages in the Streets, Order to prevent, renewed.

Appeal Committee appointed.

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS (RECESS).

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that the following papers having been commanded to be presented to this House by Her Majesty had been so presented on the following dates by delivery to the Clerk of the Parliaments, pursuant to Order of the House of the 17th February, 1896, namely—

INDIA.

(Statistical Abstract.) Statistical Abstract relating to British India from 1889-90 to 1898-99. Thirty-fourth Number. (10th August.)

(Trade.) Review of the Trade of India in 1899-1900. (12th September.)

(Sanitary Measures.) Report on Sanitary Measures in India in 1898-99. (1st November.)

LUNACY (SCOTLAND) ACT.

Forty-second Annual Report of the General Board of Commissioners in Lunacy for Scotland. (11th August.)

TRADE REPORTS.

Annual Series; Diplomatic and Consular Reports on Trade and Finance—

No. 2504. Switzerland (Swiss Trade in Textiles, 1898)

No. 2505. Russia (Riga).

No. 2506. United States (San Francisco).

No. 2507. Portugal (Trade of Northern Portugal).

No. 2508. Portugal (District of Inhambane).

No. 2509. Egypt (Port Said and Suez).

No. 2510. United States (Oregon, etc.) (15th August.)

No. 2511. Corea.

No. 2512. China (Canton).

No. 2513. France (Madagascar).

No. 2514. Dutch and French Guiana. (18th August.)

No. 2515. Belgium (Trade, Finances, etc., for the year 1899). (21st August.)

No. 2516. Germany (Dantzig, Könisberg, and Memel).

No. 2517. Portugal (Madeira).

No. 2518. Siam (Chiengmai).

No. 2519. Italy (Rome). (25th August.)

No. 2520. Trade of Zanzibar for 1899. (29th August.)

No. 2521. Austria-Hungary (Fiume).

No. 2522. Russia (Odessa).

No. 2523. Germany.

No. 2524. Italy (South Italy—Supplementary).

No. 2525. Japan (North Formosa). (15th September.)

No. 2526. Argentine Republic (Finances for the years 1899–1900). (18th September.)

No. 2527. Mexico.

No. 2528. Siam (Bangkok). (22nd September.)

No. 2529. Italy (Trade of Sicily for 1899).

No. 2530. Denmark (Trade of Iceland for the years 1897–99).

No. 2531. Abyssinia (Adis Abbaba and Harrar).

No. 2532. Germany (Würtemberg).

No. 2533. Persia (Khorassan).

No. 2534. Russia (Agriculture in the Transcaucasus (2nd November).

No. 2535. Russia (Consular District of St. Petersburg).

No. 2536. Africa (East Africa Protectorate).

No. 2537. Dominica Republic. (10th November.)

No. 2538. Uruguay (Trade for 1899 and part of 1900). (22nd November.)

No. 2539. Mexico (Trade of Vera Cruz for the years 1898–99 and part of 1900). (28th November.)

MISCELLANEOUS SERIES.

Reports on Subjects of General and Commercial Interest:—

No. 535. Germany (German East Africa). (18th August.)

No. 536. German (Extension of German Subsidised Mail Steamers to South Africa).

No. 537. United States (Cattle Trade in Kansas). (30th August.)

No. 538. Spain (Mining Interest in the Province of Galicia).

No. 539. Japan (Agriculture and Horse and Cattle Breeding in Kagoshima Prefecture). (2nd November.)

No. 540. Germany (Carbide of Calcium and Acetylene Gas).

No. 541. United States (Mining and Metallurgical Industry in Butte District, Montana). (20th November.)

No. 542. British Trade with Switzerland for the year 1899. (22nd November.)

AFRICA.

No. 7. (1900)—Report by the Mombasa-Victoria (Uganda) Railway Committee on the Progress of the Works, 1899-1900. [With a Map and Section.] (15th August.)

No. 8. (1900)—Maps illustrative of the Preliminary Report by Her Majesty's Special Commissioner on the Protectorate of Uganda. [See Africa, No. 6, 1900.] (2nd November.)

IRISH LAND COMMISSION.

Judicial Rents: Return for January, 1900. (17th August.)

Proceedings: Return for March, 1900.

Proceedings: Return for April, 1900. (1st September.)

Judicial Rents: Return for February, 1900. (10th September.)

Proceedings: Return for May, 1900. (18th September.)

Proceedings: Return for June, 1900. (24th September.)

Proceedings: Return for July, 1900.

Proceedings: Return for August, 1900. (7th November.)

Judicial Rents: Return for March, 1900. (17th November.)

SOUTH AFRICA.

Correspondence relating to recent political situation in South Africa. (22nd August.)

TREATY SERIES.

No. 17. (1900). Convention between the United Kingdom and the United States of America relative to the disposal of real and personal property; signed at Washington, 2nd March, 1899. [Ratifications exchanged at Washington, 28th July, 1900.]

No. 18. (1900). Convention between the United Kingdom and France for the establishment of a Parcel Post Service between France and the British Colonies of Ceylon, Hong Kong, and the Straits Settlements; signed at Paris, 4th April, 1900. [Ratifications exchanged at Paris, 27th July, 1900]. (25th August.)

No. 19. (1900). Convention between the United Kingdom and the Republic of Costa Rica for the reciprocal protection of trade marks, etc.; signed at Guatemala, 5th March, 1898. [Ratifications exchanged at London, 29th September, 1900.]

No. 20. (1900). Additional Convention, supplementary to the Convention of 7th September, 1888, respecting the exchange of parcels by parcel post between France and Mauritius; signed at Paris, 16th May, 1900. [Ratifications exchanged at Paris, 27th July, 1900.] (2nd November.)

No. 21. (1900). Agreement between the United Kingdom and Siam relative to taxation on land held or owned by British subjects in Siam; 20th September, 1900. (13th November.)

WEST INDIES.

Correspondence relating to the hurricanes on 7th August and 8th September, 1899, and the relief of distress caused thereby. (28th August.)

Further papers relating to cost of local excise restrictions on the production of spirits. (7th November.)

COLONIES (ANNUAL) REPORTS. 1899.

No. 294. Barbados. (29th August.)

No. 295. Malta. (5th September.)

No. 296. Fiji. (15th September.)

No. 297. Turks and Caicos Islands. (1st November.)

No. 298. Bahamas. (1st November.)

No. 299. Sierra Leone. (1st November.)

No. 300. Gambia. (1st November.)

No. 301. Seychelles. (1st November.)

No. 302. Mauritius and Rodriguez. (1st November.)

No. 303. Trinidad and Tobago. (2nd November.)

No. 304. Straits Settlements. (8th November.)

No. 305. Gibraltar. (16th November.)

No. 306. Gold Coast. (27th November.)

No. 307. Ceylon. (1st December.)

COLONIES (MISCELLANEOUS) REPORTS.

No. 14. Bahamas.—Notes on the planting of the Pita Plant (Agave Sisalana) and the extraction and preparation of the fibre. (1st November.)

EXPLOSIVES.

(Explosion at Blackbeck Gunpowder Factory.)—Report to the Secretary of State for the Home Department by Captain M. B. Lloyd, Her Majesty's Inspector of Explosives, on the circumstances attending the destruction by explosion of a press house at the gunpowder factory of Messrs. F. C. Dickson and Co., at

Blackbeck, Haverthwaite, Lancashire, on the 26th May, 1900. (29th August.)

(Fire at Fuze Works at Camborne.)—Report to the Secretary of State for the Home Department by Major A. Cooper-Key, Her Majesty's Inspector of Explosives, on the circumstances attending a fire at the fuze works of Messrs. Wm. Bennett, Sons, and Company, at Camborne, on the 2nd July, 1900. (September 6.)

(Explosion of Picric Acid at Huddersfield.)—Report to the Secretary of State for the Home Department by Captain J. H. Thomson, Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Explosives, on the circumstances attending an explosion of picric acid at the factory of Messrs. Read, Holliday and Sons, Limited, at Huddersfield, on 30th May, 1900. (September 11.)

(Explosions at Eley's Ammunition Factory at Edmonton).—Report to the Secretary of State for the Home Department by Major A. Cooper-Key, Her Majesty's Inspector of Explosives, on the circumstances attending two explosions which occurred at the ammunition factory of Messrs. Eley Brothers, Limited, at Edmonton, on the 24th July, 1900. (November 10).

(Explosion at Eley's Factory at Gray's Inn Road.)—Report to the Secretary of State for the Home Department by Captain J. H. Thomson, Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Explosives, on the circumstances attending the explosion of percussion caps which occurred at the factory of Messrs. Eley Brothers, Limited, at Gray's Inn Road, London, on the 10th September, 1900. (10th November.)

MINES AND QUARRIES.

(General Report and Statistics for 1899.)

Part II.—Labour. (31st August.)

Part III.—Output. (1st November.)

METROPOLITAN POLICE COURT DISTRICT.

Report of the Departmental Committee appointed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department to inquire into the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan police magistrates and county justices respectively in the Metropolitan Police Court District. (5th September.)

POST OFFICE.

Agreement, dated 21st July, 1900, between Great Britain and Roumania, for a reduction in telegraph rates. (6th September.)

PRISONS (ENGLAND AND WALES).

Report of the Commissioners of Prisons and the Directors of Convict Prisons, with appendices, for the year ended 31st March, 1900. (11th September.)

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS.

Reports on the Federated Malay States for 1899. (12th September.)

LOCAL TAXATION (ROYAL COMMISSION).

Minutes of Evidence. Volume V.—Ireland. (14th September.)

COMMERCIAL, No. 4 (1900).

Reports from Her Majesty's representatives abroad on trade marks' laws and regulations. (22nd September.)

No. 5 (1900)—Summary of information received from Her Majesty's Consuls upon the docks and cargo arrangements in the chief ports of France and Northern Europe. (2nd November.)

WELSH SETTLEMENT AT CHUBUT.

Reports on the Welsh Settlement at Chubut in the Argentine Republic. (24th September.)

LIGHT RAILWAYS ACT, 1896.

Orders made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade authorising the construction of—

I. A light railway in the counties of Devon and Cornwall from Bere Alston Station to Calstock, and a working of a portion of the East Cornwall Mineral Railway as a light railway.

II. A light railway in the North Riding of the county of York from Sinnington to Rosedale.

III. A light railway in the county of Carnarvon from Snowdon Station to Beddgelert.

IV. Light railways in the borough of Barnsley and the urban districts of Worsborough aud Monk Bretton in the West Riding of the county of York.

V. Light railways in the borough of Wolverhampton and Wednesbury and the urban districts of Willenhall, Darlaston, Coseley, and Bilston, in the county of Stafford.

VI. Light railways in the urban districts of Bilston, Willenhall, and Coseley in the county of Stafford.

VII. Light railways in the municipal and county borough of Gateshead and the urban district of Whickham in the county of Durham.

VIII. Light railways in the county of Worcester between Bromsgrove Railway Station, Bromsgrove Town, and Lickey End.

IX. Light railways in the county of Northampton, in the city of Peterborough, and the parishes of Walton and Peterborough Without, in the rural district of Peterborough. (25th September.)

TELEGRAPH MONEY ORDERS.

Additional Articles for the carrying out of the Convention of the 4th March, 1872, relative to the exchange of money orders between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the Kingdom of Italy. (1st November.)

POLICE (METROPOLIS).

Report of the Commissioners of Police of the Metropolis for the year 1899. (1st November.)

EVICTIONS (IRELAND).

Return of Evictions in Ireland for the quarter ended 30th September, 1900. (1st November.)

ARMY (MILITARY PRISONS).

Report of the discipline and management of the military prisons for 1899. (1st November.)

AGRARIAN OUTRAGES (IRELAND).

Return for the quarter ended 30th September, 1900. (2nd November.)

HONG KONG.

Report on new territory at Hong Kong. (5th November.)

MINES (FIRE-DAMP EXPLOSION AT CWM PIT, MERTHYR TYDVIL).

Report of a Committee appointed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department to investigate and report on the causes and circumstances of an explosion of fire-damp which took place at Cwm Pit, Merthyr Tydvil, on 14th May, 1900. (8th November.)

JUDICIAL STATISTICS (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1869.

Report for the year 1899. (8th November.)

REFORMATORY AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS (GREAT BRITAIN).

Forty-third Report for the year 1899 of Her Majesty's Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools. (9th November.)

METEOROLOGICAL COUNCIL.

Report for the year ending 31st March, 1900, to the President and Council of the Royal Society. (13th November.)

PETERHEAD HARBOUR.

Reports respecting Peterhead Harbour Works (in continuation of [C.–20.]). (13th November.)

MERCHANT SHIPPING (MERCANTILE MARINE FUND) ACT, 1898 (LIGHT DUES).

Report of a Committee appointed by the Board of Trade to examine the claims and suggestions received for exemption from light dues, or for alteration of the existing scale or rules. I.—Report. (15th November.)

BOARD OF EDUCATION.

(Special Reports on Educational Subjects)—

I. Volume 4. Educational systems of the chief colonies of the British Empire (Dominion of Canada, Newfoundland, West Indies).

II. Volume 5. Educational systems of the chief colonies of the British Empire (Commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand, Ceylon, Malta).

III. Volume 6. Preparatory schools, their place in English secondary education.

Report on Technical and Commercial Education in East Prussia, Poland, Galicia, Silesia, and Bohemia; by James Baker, F.R.G.S. (29th November.)

The same were ordered to lie on the Table.

SOUTH AFRICA.

Further correspondence relating to affairs in South Africa (in continuation of [C.–261] and [C.–264], July, 1900).

ARMY.

Return of military forces in South Africa, 1899–1900.

TRADE UNIONS.

Report by the Chief Labour Correspondent of the Board of Trade on trade unions in 1899, with comparative statistics for 1892–1898.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

LUNACY ACT, 1890.

Rules dated 29th October, 1900.

INDIA (LOANS RAISED IN ENGLAND).

Return of all loans raised in England under the provisions of any Acts of Parliament chargeable on the revenues of India outstanding at the commencement of the half year ended on the 30th September 1900, with the rates of interest and total amount payable thereon, etc.

BANK OF ENGLAND.

Return of the amount of notes issued more than forty years which have not been presented for payment, and which have been written off from the total amount of notes issued from the Issue Department of the Bank of England.

SUPERANNUATION.

I. Treasury Minutes declaring that professional or other peculiar qualifications, not ordinarily to be acquired in the public service, are required for the due and efficient discharge of the duties of—

1. Assistant Inspector of Railways, Board of Trade.
2. Medical Inspector to the Local Government Board for Scotland.
3. Legal Adviser to the Local Government Board for Ireland.
4. Junior Inspector, Scotch Education Department.

II. Treasury Minutes declaring that the following persons were appointed without a civil service certificate through inadvertence on the part of the heads of their departments, namely:—

1. Edmund Sterriker, rural postman, Malton Post Office (15th August, 1900).
2. Mrs. Eliza Thomas, postmistress, Kidwelly Post Office (14th September, 1900).
3. Robert Black, rural postman, Newton Stewart Post Office (3rd October, 1900).
4. John Hales, postman, Stanmore Post Office (27th October, 1900).
5. Thomas Spittle, turner, Royal Gun Factory, War Office (14th November, 1900).
6. Charles Dennis, artificer, Royal Small Arms Factory, War Office (21st November, 1900).

POST OFFICE (TELEGRAPHS).

Telegraph (Foreign Written Telegram) Regulations, 1900.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES ACT, 1889.

Treasury Minute, dated 26th November, 1900, directing the Comptroller and Auditor-General to examine and audit the account of fees taken in Ireland under Section 19 (2) of the Weights and Measures Act, 1899.

PUBLIC RECORDS (SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE).

Schedule containing a list and particulars of classes of documents existing, or in ordinary course about to exist in the central office, and in the district registries, which are not considered of sufficient public value to justify their preservation in the Public Record Office.

PHARMACY (IRELAND) ACTS, 1875 AND 1890.

Order in Council, dated 13th August, 1900, approving of a regulation made by the Pharmaceutical Society.

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (IRELAND).

Time-table of examinations for the year 1901.

AGRICULTURE AND TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION (IRELAND) ACT, 1899.

1. Rules under Section 3 of the Act.

2. Amended rules for the administration of loans under the Sea and Coast Fisheries Fund (Ireland) Act, 1884.

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP (PERIOD OF EMPLOYMENT) WAREHOUSES IN FACTORIES OR WORKSHOPS WHERE BRIGHT OR BURNISHED METAL GOODS ARE MADE.

Order, dated 6th September, 1900, made by the Secretary of State for the

Home Department in pursuance of Section 65 of the Factory and Workshop Act, 1878, and Section 39 of the Factory and Workshop Act, 1895, permitting the warehouses in factories where bright or burnished metal goods are made to be treated as separate factories or workshops as far as regards the period of employment of children, young persons, and women.

WINTER ASSIZES (IRELAND).

Four Orders in Council, dated 2nd November, 1900, for holding Winter Assizes in Ireland.

DISEASES OF ANIMALS ACTS, 1894 AND 1896.

Two Orders, dated 8th day of November, 1900, entitled respectively the Liverpool (Birkenhead) Foreign Animals Wharf Revocation Order of 1900, and the Liverpool (Birkenhead) Foreign Animals Wharf Order of 1900.

INEBRIATE ACTS, 1879 TO 1899, RULES FOR RETREATS.

Rules for Retreats licensed under the Inebriates Acts, 1879 to 1899, dated 18th October, 1900, approved by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, in substitution for the rules dated 10th August, 1888.

POLLING DISTRICTS (COUNTY OF MERIONETH).

1. Order made by the County Council constituting a new polling district, to be called the Llwyngwril Polling District.

2. Order made by the County Council of Southampton altering certain polling districts in the county.

PENAL SERVITUDE ACTS, 1853 TO 1891, CONDITIONAL LICENCES.

1. Licence granted by Her Majesty to Frederica Furneaux, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting the said Frederica Furneaux to be at large on condition that she enter the Elizabeth Fry Refuge, Hackney.

2. Licences to be at large, to which are annexed conditions other than those contained in Schedule A of the Penal Servitude Act, 1867, granted to—

1. Patrick Greenan;
2. Charles Costello.

3. Licence to be at large granted by Her Majesty to Joseph Drinkwater under the provisions of the Penal Servitude Acts, 1853 to 1891, to which are annexed conditions other than those contained in Schedule A of the Penal Servitude Act, 1864.

4. Licence granted by Her Majesty to Fanny Wroughton, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting the said Fanny Wroughton to be at large on condition that she enter the Elizabeth Fry Refuge.

TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION ACTS.

Minutes sanctioning the subjects to be taught under Clause 8 of the Technical Instruction Act, 1889, for the—

County of Essex (third minute).
County of Wilts (fifteenth minute).
County of Dorset (third minute).
County Borough of St. Helens (third minute).
City and County Borough of Birmingham (sixth minute).
City of Cashel.

DOCKYARD PORTS REGULATION ACT, 1865.

Order in Council of the 17th September, 1900, amending an Order in Council of the 26th February, 1897, relating to the Dockyard Port of Portsmouth.

FOREIGN JURISDICTION ACT, 1890.

Order in Council of the 17th September, 1900, entitled "The Cyprus Coinage Order, 1900."

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACT, 1894.

Orders in Council—

1. Of the 12th November, 1900, approving certain new byelaws made by the Gloucester Pilotage Board.
2. Of the 9th August, 1900, confirming new byelaws made by the Cardiff Pilotage Board.
3. Of the 12th November, 1900, approving certain byelaws made by the Clyde Pilot Board relating to the Pilotage Fund of the Clyde Pilotage District.
4. Of the 17th day of September, 1900, making certain rules concerning the lights or signals to be carried and concerning the steps for avoiding collisions to be taken by vessels navigating the River

Mersey and the sea channels or approaches thereto, between the Rock Lighthouse and the furthest point seawards to which such sea channels or approaches respectively are for the time being buoyed on both sides.

WINTER ASSIZES ACT, 1876.

Seven Orders in Council of 7th August, 1900, relating to the ensuing winter assizes.

UNIVERSITIES (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1889.

University Court Ordinance No. 2 (Edinburgh, No. 2).

University of Edinburgh; Foundation of the Sir William Fraser Chair of Ancient History and Palæography.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and to be printed. (No. 2.)

UNIVERSITIES OF OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE ACT, 1877.

1. Statutes made by the Governing Body of Jesus College, Oxford, on the 16th day of March, 1900, amending the schedule to the statues of the college relating to King Charles the First's Trust.

2. Statute made by the Governing Body of St. John's College, Oxford, on 9th December, 1899, amending Statutes III. 1., III. 14., V. 4. (*a*), and XV. 2. of the statutes of the college.

3. Statute made by the Governing Body of New College, Oxford, on the 21st day of March, 1900, and sealed on the 24th day of March, 1900, amending Statute III., clause 18, of the statutes of the college, relating to the residence of probationer fellows.

4. Statutes made by the Governing Body of Exeter College, Oxford, on the 16th day of March, 1900, amending Statutes II. and V. of the statutes of the college.

5. Statute made by the Governing Body of Worcester College, Oxford, on the 24th day of January, 1900, amending Statute III. 16. of the statutes of the college.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and to be printed. (No. 3.)

INDIAN EXPENDITURE (ROYAL COMMISSION).

Return respecting: Laid before the House (pursuant to Address of the 20th July last), and to be printed. (No. 4.)

MERSEY DOCKS AND HARBOUR BOARD.

Accounts for the year ending 1st July, 1900.

MARGATE PIER AND HARBOUR COMPANY.

Report and Statement of Accounts for the year ended 5th April, 1900.

Delivered (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

JOHN WILLIAM EARL.

Petition for redress of grievances of John William Earl; read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

House adjourned at a quarter before Seven of the clock, till To-morrow, half-past Ten of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, 6*th December*, 1900.

The House met at Two of the clock.

Message to attend the Lords Commissioners.

The House went; and, being returned,

Several other Members took and subscribed the Oath, and several other Members made and subscribed the Affirmation required by Law.

ELECTIONS.

Ordered, That all Members who are returned for two or more places in any part of the United Kingdom do make their Election for which of the places they will serve, within one week after it shall appear that there is no question upon the Return for that place; and if anything shall come in question touching the Return or Election of any Member, he is to withdraw during the time the matter is in debate; and that all Members returned upon double Returns do withdraw till their Returns are determined.

Resolved, That no Peer of the Realm, except such Peers of Ireland as shall for the time being be actually elected, and shall not have declined to serve, for any county, city, or borough of Great Britain, hath any right to give his vote in the Election of any Member to serve in Parliament.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That it is a high infringement of the liberties and privileges of the Commons of the United Kingdom for any Lord of Parliament, or other Peer or Prelate, not being a Peer of Ireland at the time elected, and not having declined to serve for any county, city, or borough of Great Britain, to concern himself in the election of Members to serve for the Commons in Parliament, except only any Peer of Ireland, at such elections in Great Britain respectively where such Peer shall appear as a candidate, or by himself. or any others, be proposed to be elected; or for any Lord Lieutenant or Governor of any county to avail himself of any authority derived from his Commission, to influence the Election of any Member to serve for the Commons in Parliament."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

*Mr. JAMES LOWTHER (Kent, Thanet): I beg to move to eliminate from the Sessional Order all words except such as relate to Lords Lieutenant of counties alone. It is not my intention to detain the House for more than a few moments, but it would scarcely be respectful, I think, to the new Parliament if I assumed that it was acquainted with the arguments which have been addressed to its predecessor on this subject. I nevertheless trust I may be excused from going at any length into matters which have been frequently discussed. Moreover, the systematic manner in which, from one end of the kingdom to the other, this Sessional Order has been disregarded during the recent General Election places the matter in a different light to what it has occupied before. This Sessional Order—without going into the question from a constitutional point of view—may no doubt in times remotely past have had some of the advantages claimed on its behalf. The statute laws in those days did not make due provision for the legal conduct of elections, and the common law was all that could be relied upon for the protection of electoral rights. But in these days, I venture to say, the Sessional Order is entirely out of date. It has, indeed, been systematically disregarded during the recent General Election, and if I were to detain the House by quoting the instances in which, to my own knowledge, it has been absolutely set at defiance I should have to break through the rule of extreme brevity which I have laid down for myself. If I took each county in its turn I could show that the Order has been everywhere infringed. To begin with, I believe there is scarcely a county division the political organisation of which has not for its chairman or president a Member of the House of Lords. Some high office in the organisation—and this applies equally to both political parties—is sure to be filled by a Member of that House. I will start with the county of Northumberland. In that county a letter written by a peer—and he not an obscure one—was very largely used. The letter was not of the nature of a manifesto such as party leaders are supposed to be entitled to issue regardless of resolutions of this kind, but it was a letter addressed specifically to a candidate standing for a particular constituency. It was written by no less a person than the late Prime Minister. Lord Rosebery, in my judgment, had a perfect right to write the letter, and in doing so he was only following his own precedent in the Leith election in 1894. Moreover, every Prime Minister, being a peer, who has held office during the last quarter of a century has done precisely the same thing. We know, of course, that Lord Beaconsfield did it in Buckinghamshire, and Lord Salisbury's efforts in a similar direction—and in fact going beyond it—have not escaped our notice. I may observe that this letter from Lord Rosebery did not do duty merely in the constituency which was being contested by the gentleman to whom it was addressed. It was used in adjoining constituencies as a wrapper, and sent immediately before the polling, together with the poll cards, to all electors, and I have no doubt that other Members as well as myself were recipients of copies of the document. Now I pass on to other parts of the country, mentioning, however, only very few of the numerous instances of which I have evidence. In Cornwall, Lord St. Germans took an active part in calling over the coals a Member of this House for his votes and speeches delivered here, and an active part in procuring the return of a candidate in place of the one to whom he objected, as he had a perfect right to do. In the adjoining county of Devon a noble Lord who was formerly a Member of this House appears to have addressed, at some considerable length, a meeting in support of a candidate who shared his views. I refer to the speech delivered by Lord Portsmouth on the 6th October, the writs having been issued on the 25th September. He is described as having been present at a mass meeting at Barnstaple — at an enthusiastic Liberal gathering—and, so far from his presence being resented, I see that the candidate he supported, who is now a Member of this House, cordially welcomed him upon his platform, and is reported in a local newspaper to have said—

> "Most of the Conservative newspapers had taken exception to the fact that Lord Portsmouth had been kind enough to come and speak for him, and they sneered at the Liberals because they said, '*You Radicals dearly love a lord.*' Yes, they did love a lord, when he was on the right side."

The Duke of Devonshire, a Cabinet Minister, in 1895 spoke at a great public meeting some hours after the issue of the writs; and he consistently followed up that action by writing a letter, only a year ago, ten days after the issue of the writ for Southport, in which he recommended by name a candidate for election. I think he was within his right in doing so. But, at any rate, Lord Portsmouth could quote the leaders of all the different parties to which he has by turns belonged, as endorsing by their example the course he pursued. He could also quote the case of the Lord High Chancellor of England, who took the chair at a meeting held practically within the precincts of this House, for the selection of a candidate for a certain Parliamentary vacancy. And the circumstance is the more remarkable from the fact that the Lord Chancellor was invited to occupy that position by the two Cabinet Ministers of oldest standing in the House of Commons. He was invited to preside on the motion of Mr. Goschen—whose presence we wish we had here to-day—seconded by my right hon. friend the present Chancellor of the Exchequer. It is worthy of note in connection with this matter that the result of the deliberations of that meeting was the selection of a gentleman whom, I think, we may rightly term the highest living authority on constitutional law. I could quote other instances in which this Sessional Order has been evaded. I might be tempted to glance at the Eastern Counties, and to refer to Lord Kimberley's personal exertions on the platform during the recent General Election, but I think I have given a sufficient number of cases. Although this matter, on its merits, is very unimportant, and with all respect I may suggest that it is a matter of absolute indifference whether a peer does or not take part in an election—as in these days a man's influence is not weighed by his social rank—it is not a matter of indifference that this House should continually stultify itself by passing in its Orders, in grandiloquent language, a resolution which the House knows perfectly well it cannot enforce, and which, indeed, it has no desire to enforce.

MR. WHARTON (Yorkshire, Ripon): I desire to detain the House for but a very few moments in seconding the Amendment of my right hon. friend. I take this course because I look upon this Sessional Order as an absolute farce. I want to know why this House of Commons should disfranchise a body of 500 well-educated Britons, and deprive them of what many of us think to be one of the greatest privileges on earth—that is, the right to concern themselves in elections. I scarcely know what is the operation of "concerning oneself in an election." I have never heard it described. I was a voter at the last General Election for the constituency of South-east Durham, and I received by post a very excellent photograph of my old friend, who was the Liberal candidate. It was accompanied by two fly-sheets of very indifferent paper containing letters purporting to have been written by noble Lords. One of these letters has already been referred to by my right hon. friend—the one written by the late leader of the Liberal party, who, as far as we can gather, will probably occupy that position again. I suppose the only object of sending it to me was to convert me from the errors of old Toryism and to persuade me to become a Radical. It has not yet effected that. The second letter was from the Lord Lieutenant of the county of Durham, and I presume that that was sent to me with a similar object. I really should like to have it laid down what peers may and what they may not do during election times. Are they allowed to appear on platforms? Are they to be permitted to deluge us with fly-sheets like leaves in the autumn? If so, it appears to me that a clever letter-writing peer might prove more powerful by pen than by voice. To allow the one to be done and not the other is absurd. There is one point which does not seem to have struck my right hon. friend, and which possibly has not occurred to other Members of this House. It is that this is merely a Sessional Order, and, consequently, at the time of the last General Election it was not in force. At that time, indeed, a peer might do exactly what he pleased. Well, I want to see every peer do that. I know my right hon. friend the Leader of the House, when he opposed this suggestion on a previous occasion, said it would not look well for the Conservative party to rescind this Order in view of the state of political parties in the Upper House. I at any rate am willing to approach this question from an unselfish point of view. What would be the effect of the rescission in my own constituency? It would unmuzzle the Marquess of Ripon. We all know how potent and powerful he is, and he would be enabled to use his voice as well as his influence in the division. Therefore, so far as I am concerned, I am not, in supporting this motion, suggesting anything which from a selfish point of view would be to my advantage. I do hope that the House will take a common-sense view of this matter, and, by its vote to-day, rescind what I call "the peers' muzzling order."

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out from the word 'Kingdom' in line 2, to the word 'for' in line 8."—(*Mr. James Lowther.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): To a large number of the Members of this House the arguments which we have just heard so ably urged by my right hon. friend are familiar. Indeed, we have so often heard the Member for Thanet take this opportunity of bringing the topic before the House of Commons that one almost feels the session could hardly be said to begin in order unless the speech was made and a division challenged upon this point. I mean to be very brief in my reply. I should like to content myself with placing once more before the House the argument which has hitherto convinced it: that if there is to be a change in this matter—and it would not be an unimportant change—it should not be initiated on these benches, or, I venture to say, even on this side of the House. My right hon. friend has gone through a list, which he said he might have made much longer, of cases in which noble Lords have disobeyed this Sessional Order. But in the list he brought in some cases which, according to the strict interpretation of the rule, are not really breaches of the Order. It has always been held that a peer may concern himself in electoral matters up to the date of the issue of the writ.

MR. JAMES LOWTHER: There is no authority for that.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: There is no authority except that of general custom and general acceptance. As my right hon. friend has said, cases have occurred in the last election in which, apparently, a peer has, subsequent to the date of the issue of the writ, either written a letter or made a speech, thereby "taking part in" the election. My right hon. friend referred to a letter by Lord Rosebery to one of the candidates for the city of Newcastle.

SIR HENRY FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.): That was written before the issue of the writ.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: If the letter was written before the issue of the writ, then it appears to me there might have been some excuse for it; at any rate, it cannot be said to have influenced the election. My right hon. friend who seconded the motion asked that this Sessional Order should be rescinded on the ground that it was a farce. I say the Sessional Order is not a farce. It has a very great practical effect on the conduct of elections in this country. It is perfectly true we have no power to penalise any peer for infringing it, but the number of peers who do so is extremely small. I was told as I came into the House this afternoon that even my right hon. friend had seduced a noble Lord on to one of his own platforms.

MR. JAMES LOWTHER: Where was that?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: If my right hon. friend contradicts me, I will withdraw it.

MR. JAMES LOWTHER: No, I do not contradict you.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am sure so remarkable an instance, if it occurred, could not have escaped my right hon. friend's memory.

MR. JAMES LOWTHER: Platforms are so full of noble Lords that I cannot say, but if my right hon. friend will tell me where it was, and when, perhaps I may recall it.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I was not aware my right hon. friend had so many noble Lords on his platform that his memory cannot be charged with this instance. But I am told that he did induce Lord Hothfield to take the chair at one of his election meetings. Isolated and sporadic cases of that kind might occur, but everybody in this House, especially with the experience of the last General Election, will bear me out when I say that, broadly speaking, the 500 peers do not concern themselves in elections by speaking and appearing on public platforms. It might be a great relief to some of us if they did, for at times there is great pressure for speakers, and if we could draw an unlimited quantity from the other House it would be a very convenient thing. Still, I am unwilling that this change should be initiated on this side of the House, for if it would benefit anybody at all it would benefit us. In the meanwhile we have behind us the broad practice and traditions of this House, and if you amend the Sessional Order as has been proposed, that practice and tradition will be broken for ever. It is quite useless to say that things will be in the future as they have been in the past. It is quite true that in the past this Order has been disobeyed here or there, by this peer or that peer. But, generally speaking, its spirit has been obeyed, and I am sure the general sense and tact of the House of Lords would prevent any large number of its Members running counter to the express wish of the House of Commons in this matter. If the House decides to change the Order it must not do it in the erroneous belief that it is doing away with some antiquated and ineffective part of the machinery of Parliamentary elections. It must realise that any such change must inevitably be followed by a great alteration of practice.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): This is so old an Amendment that we might leave it without further discussion, but it is usual for one or two of us to express our opinions regarding it. For my part I have always voted against it, and I have done so as being myself an old-fashioned constitutionalist, rejecting the innovation of the right hon. Gentleman, but mainly on this humbler and simpler ground. Here is an old practice traditionally crystallised through many generations—namely, the practice of excluding peers from concerning themselves in elections to this House. I am told that it is not successful, and that the fence has been broken down in many places, but still it remains. Even admitting that it is not very efficient, it can do no harm, and it may do good. What harm is done by it?

MR. JAMES LOWTHER: No one takes much notice of it.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: That does not prove it does any harm.

MR. JAMES LOWTHER: It affects the dignity of this House.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: This House will look after its own dignity. The Sessional Order acts as a barrier and a check upon the tendency of Members of the other House to interfere, but if this House were deliberately to remove the fence and deliberately to repeal this Sessional Order, or refuse, on the motion of the right hon. Gentleman, to pass it, it would be a direct invitation on the part of this House, and a declaration that we desire that peers should interfere in the election of Members of this House. Having constitutionalist sympathies I prefer to leave matters as they are. No harm can possibly be done, and I believe that the Sessional Order will continue, notwithstanding that it is imperfect, to act as some check on a practice which I believe would be undesirable.

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 326 ; Noes, 68. (Division List No. 1.)

AYES.

Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allen, Charles P (Glouc., Stroud
Allsopp, Hon. George
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Archdale, Edward Mervyn
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Ashmead-Bartlett, Sir Ellis
Asquith, Rt Hon Herbert Henry
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Austin, Sir John
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manch'r)
Balfour, Rt. Hn. G. W. (Leeds)
Balfour, Maj K R (Christchurch
Banes, Major George Edward
Barker, John
Barlow, John Emmott
Barry, Sir Francis T. (Windsor
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir M. H. (Brist'l)
Beach, Rt. Hn. W. W. B. (Hants.
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Bell, Richard
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bigwood, James
Bill, Charles
Black, Alexander William
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith-
Bowles, Capt. H. F. (Middlesex
Brigg, John
Broadhurst, Henry
Brown, Alexander H. (Shropsh.
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Bull, William James
Bullard, Sir Harry
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Campbell, Rt Hn J. A. (Glasgow
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. (Birm.)
Chamberlain, J Austen (Worc'r
Channing, Francis Allston
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Cook, Frederick Lucas
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Robert Hunter
Cranborne, Viscount
Cremer, William Randal
Cross, Herb. Shepherd (Bolton)
Cust, Henry John C.
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan-(Cardigan
Denny, Colonel
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.
Dewar, T. R. (T'r H'mlets S. Geo.
Dimsdale, Sir Joseph Cockfield
Dixon-Hartland, Sir F. Dixon
Dorington, Sir John Edward
Doughty, George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Edward Henry
Duncan, James H.
Dunn, Sir William
Durning-Lawrence, Sir E.
Edwards, Frank
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Emmott, Alfred
Faber, George Denison
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn Edward
Fergusson, Rt Hn Sir J (Manc'r)
Fielden, Edw. Brocklehurst
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose-
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Fitzroy, Hon. Edward A.
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Ernest
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Fuller, J. M. F.
Garfit, William
Gibbs, Hn. A G H (City of Lond.)
Gladstone, Rt. Hon. H. J.
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Godson, Sir Augustus Fredk.
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gordon, Maj. W. (T'wr Hmlts
Gore, Hon. F. S. Ormsby-
Gorst, Rt. Hn. Sir John Eldon
Goschen, George Joachim
Graham, Henry Robert
Grant, Corrie
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Sir E W (B'ry S Edm'ds
Greene, W. Raymond-(Cambs.
Gretton, John
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Grey, Sir Edward (Berwick)
Groves, James Grimble
Gurdon, Sir William Brampton
Guthrie, Walter Murray
Hain, Edward
Hambro, Charles Eric
Hamilton, Rt. Hon. Lord G (Mx.
Hamilton, Marq. of (L'nd'nd'y
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Sir William
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harmsworth, R. Leicester
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th
Harris, Dr. Fred. R. (Monm'th
Harwood, George
Hayne, Rt. Hon. C. Seale
Hayter, Sir Arthur D.
Healy, Timothy Michael
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. C. H.
Higginbottom, S. W.
Hoare, E. Brodie (Hampstead)
Hoare, Sir Samuel (Norwich)
Hobhouse, Henry (Somerset, E.
Hogg, Lindsay
Holland, William Henry
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Horner, Frederic William
Houldsworth, Sir Wm. Henry
Houston, Robert Paterson
Howard, Capt. J. (Kent, Favers.
Howard, J. (Midd., Tottenham)
Hozier, Hon. James Henry C.
Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Jackson, Rt. Hon. Wm. Lawies
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Johnston, William (Belfast)
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, David Brynmor (Swans'a
Jones, Wm. (Carnarvonshire)
Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir John H.
Kenyon, Hon. Geo. T. (Denbigh)
Kenyon, James (Lancs., Bury)
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. William
Keswick, William
Kinloch, Sir John Geo. Smyth
Knowles, Lees
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Langley, Batty
Lawson, John Grant
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Lecky, Rt. Hon. Wm. E. H.
Lee, Lt-Col A H (H'nts Fareham
Leese, Sir J. F. (Accrington)
Legge, Col. Heneage
Leng, Sir John
Leveson-Gower, Fredk. N. S.
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Loder, Gerald W. Erskine
Lough, Thomas
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, Rt Hn J W (Cum. Penr.
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowest'ft
Lucas, R. J. (Portsmouth)
Lyttelton, Hon. Alfred

Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Cann, James
M'Killop, Jas. (Stirlingshire)
M'Laren, Charles Benjamin
Majendie, James A. H.
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Markham, Arthur Basil
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Mather, William
Maxwell, W. J. (Dumfriessh.
Meysey-Thompson ,Sir H. M.
Middlemore, J. Throgmorton
Milner, Rt. Hon. Sir Fredk. G.
Mitchell, William
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
More, Robt. J. (Shropshire)
Morgan, D.J. (Walthamstow)
Morgan, J.Lloyd(Carmarthen)
Morris, Martin Henry F.
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, A. H. A. (Deptford)
Morton, E. J. C. (Devonport)
Mount, William Arthur
Muntz, Philip A.
Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute
Murray,Hn. A.W.(Midlothian)
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Myers, William Henry
Newnes, Sir George
Nicol, Donald Ninian
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, S.)
Norman, Henry
Oldroyd, Mark
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
Parker, Gilbert
Parkes, Ebenezer
Partington, Oswald
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Richard
Plummer, William R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Priestley, Arthur
Purvis, Robert
Quilter, Sir Cuthbert
Radcliffe, R. F.
Randles, John S.
Rankin, Sir James
Rea, Russell
Reed, Sir Edw.James (Cardiff)
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Rentoul, James Alexander
Renwick, George
Rickett, J. Compton
Ridley, M. W. (Stalybridge)
Ridley, S. F. (Bethnal Green)
Rigg, Richard
Ritchie, Rt. Hon. C. Thomson
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson, Herbert(Hackney)
Robson, William Snowdon
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Ropner, Colonel Robert
Round, James
Samuel, Harry S. (Limehouse)
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Schwann, Charles E.
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Shaw, Charles E. (Stafford)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B)
Sinclair, Capt. John (Forfarsh
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, E.)
Smith, H.C.(North'mb. Tynes
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Spear, John Ward
Spencer,Rt.Hn.C.R.(N'thants
Spencer, Ernest (W. Bromw'h
Stanley, Hon. A. (Ormskirk)
Stanley,EdwardJas.(Somerset
Stevenson, Francis S.
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Strachey, Edward
Stroyan, John
Sturt, Hon. Humphry Napier
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Taylor, Theordore Cooke
Thomas, A. (Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas, David A. (Merthyr)
Thomas, F. Freeman-(Hast'gs
Thomas, J.A.(Gl'm'rg'n,Gowr
Thomson, Frederick W.
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomkinson, James
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Tufnell, Col. Edward
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. H. (Shef'd
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walker, Col. William Hall
Wallace, Robert
Walton, John Lawson(Leeds,S
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warr, Augustus Frederick
Wason,Eugene(Clackmannan)
Wason,JohnCathcart(Orkney)
Webb, Col. William George
Weir, James Galloway
Welby,Lt-Col.A.C.E(Taunt'n.
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley,George(York,W.R.)
Whiteley, H.(Ashton-under-L
Whiteley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whitmore Charles Algernon
Williams,ArthurO(Merioneth
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willox, Sir John Archibald
Wills, Sir Frederick
Wilson, Arthur S.(York,E.R.)
Wilson, Fred. W.(Norfolk,Mid
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Wilson, John (Falkirk)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson-Todd. Wm. H. (Yorks.)
Wodehouse,Hn.Armine(Ess'x
Wodehouse,Rt Hn E.R.(Bath)
Woodhouse,SirJ.T.(Huddersf.
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wylie, Alexander
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong
Young, Commander(Berks,E.)
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir William Walrond and Mr. Anstruther.

NOES.

Aird, John
Allan, William (Gateshead)
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Baldwin, Alfred
Bartley, George C. T.
Beckett, Ernest William
Bignold, A.
Blake, Edward
Bond, Edward
Bowles,T.Gibson (King'sLynn
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Colomb, Sir John Chas. Ready
Dalziel, James Henry
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Ellis, John Edward
Fenwick, Charles
Forster, Henry William
Furness, Sir Christopher
Galloway, William Johnson
Gibbs,Hon.Vicary (St.Albans)
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Greene, H. D. (Shrewsbury)
Haldane, Richard Burdon
Hardie, J. K. (Merthyr Tydvil
Hay, Claude
Heath, Arthur H. (Hanley)
Heath, James (Staffords. N.W.
Hobhouse, C.E.H. (Bristol,E.)
Hutton, John (Yorks, N.R.)
Hearley, Hudson E.
Kitson, Sir James
Labouchere, Henry
Lambert, George
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Maclure, Sir John William
M'Calmont, Col.J.(Antrim,E.)
M'Kenna, Reginald
Maple, Sir John Blundell
Massey-Mainwaring, HnW.F.
Milward, Colonel Victor
Morgan, Hon. F. (Mon.)
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Pease, Herbert P. (Darlington
Peel, Hon. Wm. R. Wellesley
Penn, John
Pickard, Benjamin
Pirie, Duncan V.
Pym, C. Guy
Rasch, Major Frederic Carne
Reid, Sir R. T. (Dumfries)
Richards, Henry Charles
Robinson, Brooke
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Sandys, Lt.-Col. Thos. Myles
Scott, Chas. Prestwich (Leigh)
Seton-Karr, Henry
Soares, Ernest J.
Tollemache, Henry James
Welby,Sir CharlesG.E.(Notts)
Wentworth, Bruce C. Vernon-
Wilson, Henry J. (York,W.R.)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. James Lowther and Mr. Wharton.

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Resolved, That it is a high infringement of the liberties and privileges of the Commons of the United Kingdom for any Lord of Parliament, or other Peer or Prelate, not being a Peer of Ireland at the time elected, and not having declined to serve for any county, city, or borough of Great Britain, to concern himself in the election of Members to serve for the Commons in Parliament, except only any Peer of Ireland, at such Elections in Great Britain respectively where such Peer shall appear as a candidate, or by himself, or any others, be proposed to be elected; or for any Lord Lieutenant or Governor of any county to avail himself of any authority derived from his Commission, to influence the election of any Member to serve for the Commons in Parliament.

Resolved, That if it shall appear that any person hath been elected or returned a Member of this House, or endeavoured so to be, by bribery, or any other corrupt practices, this House will proceed with the utmost severity against all such persons as shall have been wilfully concerned in such bribery or other corrupt practices.

WITNESSES.

Resolved, That if it shall appear that any person hath been tampering with any witness, in respect of his evidence to be given to this House, or any Committee thereof, or directly or indirectly hath endeavoured to deter or hinder any person from appearing or giving evidence, the same is declared to be a high crime or misdemeanour; and this House will proceed with the utmost severity against such offender.

Resolved, That if it shall appear that any person hath given false evidence in any case before this House, or any Committee thereof, this House will proceed with the utmost severity against such offender.

METROPOLITAN POLICE.

Ordered, That the Commissioners of the Police of the Metropolis do take care that, during the Session of Parliament, the passages through the streets leading to this House be kept free and open, and that no obstruction be permitted to hinder the passage of Members to and from this House, and that no disorder be allowed in Westminster Hall, or in the passages leading to this House, during the Sitting of Parliament, and that there be no annoyance therein or thereabouts; and that the Serjeant at Arms attending this House do communicate this Order to the Commissioners aforesaid.

VOTES AND PROCEEDINGS.

Ordered, That the Votes and Proceedings of this House be printed, being first perused by Mr. Speaker; and that he do appoint the printing thereof; and that no person but such as he shall appoint do presume to print the same.

PRIVILEGE.

Ordered, That a Committee of Privileges be appointed.

OUTLAWRIES BILL.

"For the more effectual preventing Clandestine Outlawries," read the first time; to be read the second time.

JOURNAL.

Ordered, That the Journal of this House, from the end of the last Session to the end of the present Session, with an Index thereto, be printed.

Ordered, That 500 Copies of the said Journal and Index be printed by the appointment and under the direction of Archibald John Scott Millman, esquire, C.B., the Clerk of this House.

Ordered, That the said Journal and Index be printed by such person as shall be licensed by Mr. Speaker, and no other person do presume to print the same.

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS (RECESS).

The following Papers, presented by Command of Her Majesty during the Recess, were delivered to the Librarian of the House of Commons during the Recess, pursuant to the Standing Order of the 14th August, 1896:—

1. Lunacy (Scotland).—Copy of Forty-second Annual Report of the General Board of Commissioners of Lunacy for Scotland.

2. Judicial Statistics (Scotland). — Copy of Report on the Judicial Statistics of Scotland for the year 1899.

3. East India (Statistical Abstract).—Copy of Statistical Abstract relating to British India from 1889-90 to 1898-9, Thirty-fourth Number.

4. East India (Trade).—Copy of Review of the Trade in India in 1899-1900, by J. E. O'Connor, C.I.E., Director-General of Statistics to the Government of India.

5. East India (Sanitary Measures).—Copy of Report on Sanitary Measures in India in 1898-9, Volume XXXII.

6. Irish Land Commission (Judicial Rents).—Copy of Returns of Judicial Rents fixed during January, 1900.

7. Irish Land Commission (Judicial Rents).—Copy of Returns of Judicial Rents fixed during February, 1900.

8. Irish Land Commission (Judicial Rents).—Copy of Returns of Judicial Rents fixed during March, 1900.

9. Irish Land Commission (Proceedings).—Copy of Return of Proceedings of the Commission during the month of March, 1900.

10. Irish Land Commission (Proceedings).—Copy of Return of Proceedings of the Commission during the month of April, 1900.

11. Irish Land Commission (Proceedings).—Copy of Return of Proceedings of the Commission during the month of May, 1900.

12. Irish Land Commission (Proceedings).—Copy of Return of Proceedings of the Commission during the month of June, 1900.

13. Irish Land Commission (Proceedings).—Copy of Return of Proceedings of the Commission during the month of July, 1900.

14. Irish Land Commission (Proceedings).—Copy of Return of Proceedings of the Commission during the month of August, 1900.

15. Evictions (Ireland). — Copy of Return for the quarter ended 30th September, 1900.

16. Agrarian Outrages (Ireland).—Copy of Return for the quarter ended 30th September, 1900.

17. Explosions (Explosion at Blackbeck Gunpowder Factory.)—Copy of Report to the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Home Department, by Captain M. B. Lloyd, Her Majesty's Inspector of Explosives, on the circumstances attending the destruction by explosion of a Press House at the gunpowder factory of Messrs. F. C. Dickson and Company, at Blackbeck, Haverthwaite, Lancashire, on 26th May, 1900.

18. Explosions (Fire at Fuze Works at Camborne).—Copy of Report by Major A. Cooper-Key, R.A., Her Majesty's Inspector of Explosives, to the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Home Department, on the circumstances attending a fire at the Fuze Works of Messrs. William Bennett, Sons, and Company, at Camborne, on 2nd July, 1900.

19. Explosions (Explosion of Picric Acid at Huddersfield).—Copy of Report by Captain J. H. Thomson, R.A., Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Explosives, to the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Home Department, on the circumstances attending an explosion of picric acid at the factory of Messrs. Read, Holiday, and Sons, Limited, at Huddersfield, on 30th May, 1900.

20. Explosions (Explosion at Eley's Factory at Gray's Inn Road).—Copy of Report by Captain J. H. Thomson, R.A., Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Explosives, to the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Home Department, on the circumstances attending the explosion of percussion caps which occurred at the factory of Messrs. Eley Brothers, Limited, at Gray's Inn Road, London, on 10th September, 1900.

21. Explosions (Explosion at Eley's Ammunition Factory at Edmonton).—Copy of Report by Major A. Cooper-Key, R.A., Her Majesty's Inspector of Explosives, to the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Home Department, on the circumstances attending two explosions which occurred at the ammunition factory of Messrs. Eley Brothers, Limited, at Edmonton, on 24th July, 1900.

22. Mines (Fire-damp Explosion at Cwm Pit, Merthyr Tydvil).—Copy of a Report of a Committee appointed by the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Home Department to investigate and report on the causes and circumstances of an explosion of fire-damp which took place at Cwm Pit, Merthyr Tydvil, on 14th May, 1900.

23. Mines and Quarries. — Copy of General Report and Statistics for the year 1899; Part II., Labour; General Report and statistics relating to persons employed and Accidents at Mines and Quarries in the United Kingdom, and to the enforcement of the Mines and Quarries Acts.

24. Mines and Quarries. — Copy of General Report and Statistics for the year 1899; Part III., Output; General Report and Statistics relating to the Output and Value of the Minerals raised in the Uuited Kingdom, the amount and value of the metals produced, and the exports and imports of Minerals.

25. Metropolitan Police Court District (Jurisdiction of the Police Magistrates and County Justices respectively).—Copy of Report of the Departmental Committee appointed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department to inquire into the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Police Magistrates and County Justices, respectively, in the Metropolitan Police Court District.

26. Prisons (England and Wales).—Copy of Report of the Commissioners of Prisons and the Directors of Convict Prisons, with Appendices, for the year ended 31st March, 1900.

27. Local Taxation (Royal Commission).—Copy of Minutes of Evidence, Vol. V., Ireland.

28. Police (Metropolis). — Copy of Report of the Commissioners of Police for the Metropolis for 1899.

29. Reformatory and Industrial Schools (Great Britain).—Copy of Forty-third Report of Her Majesty's Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools for 1899.

30. Army (Military Prisons).—Copy of Report on the Discipline and Management of Military Prisons, 1899.

31. Merchant Shipping (Mercantile Marine Fund) Act, 1898 (Light Dues).—Copy of Report of a Committee appointed by the Board of Trade to examine the claims and suggestions received for exemption from Light Dues, or for alteration of the existing Scale or Rules; I. Report.

32. Light Railways Act, 1896.—Copy of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of Light Railways in the Municipal and County Borough of Gateshead and the Urban District of Whickham, in the county of Durham (Gateshead and District Light Railway Order, 1900).

33. Light Railways Act, 1896.—Copy of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of Light Railways in the county of Worcester, between Bromsgrove Railway Station, Bromsgrove Town, and Lickey End (Bromsgrove Light Railways Order, 1900).

34. Light Railways Act, 1896.—Copy of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of Light Railways in the urban districts of Bilston, Willenhall, and Cosely, in the county of Stafford (South Staffordshire Light Railway (Extensions) Order, 1900).

35. Light Railways Acts, 1896.—Copy of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of Light Railways in the borough of Barnsley and the urban districts of Worsborough and Monk Bretton, in the West Riding of the county of York (Barnsley and District Light Railway Order, 1900).

36. Light Railways Act, 1896.—Copy of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of Light Railways in the county of Northampton, in the city of Peterborough and the parishes of Walton and Peterborough Without, in the rural district of Peterborough (Peterborough and District Light Railways Order, 1900).

37. Light Railways Act, 1896.—Copy of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of a Light Railway in the county of Carnarvon, from Snowdon Station to Beddgelert (North Wales Narrow Gauge Railways (Beddgelert Light Railway Extension) Order, 1900).

38. Light Railways Act, 1896.—Copy of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of a Light Railway in

the North Riding of the county of York, from Sinnington to Rosedale (Lastingham and Rosedale Light Railway Order, 1900).

39. Light Railways Act, 1896.—Copy of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of Light Railways in the boroughs of Wolverhampton and Wednesbury and the urban districts of Willenhall, Darlaston, Coseley, and Bilston, in the county of Stafford (South Staffordshire Light Railway Order, 1900).

40. Post Office (Telegraph Rates with Roumania).—Copy of Agreement, dated 21st July 1900, between Great Britain and Roumania, for a reduction in Telegraph Rates.

41. Telegraph Money Orders (Italy). Copy of Additional Articles to the detailed Regulations of the 24th-31st of May, 1872, and the Articles of the 7th-15th of December, 1875, the 5th-24th November, 1881, and 29th July-4th August, 1889, for the carrying out of the Convention of the 4th March, 1872, relative to the exchange of Money Orders between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the Kingdom of Italy.

42. Peterhead Harbour.—Copy of Reports, etc., respecting Peterhead Harbour Works (in continuation of [C. 20]).

43. Meteorology.—Copy of Report of the Meterological Council to the Royal Society for the year ending 31st March, 1900.

44. South Africa.—Copy of correspondence relating to the recent political situation in South Africa.

45. South Africa.—Copy of further correspondence relating to affairs in South Africa.

46. West Indies. — Copy of correspondence relating to the hurricanes on 7th August and 8th September, 1899, and the relief of distress caused thereby.

47. Straits Settlements (Federated Malay States).—Copy of Reports of the Federated Malay States for 1899.

48. Welsh Settlement at Chubut. — Copy of Reports on the Welsh Settlement at Chubut, in the Argentine Republic (in continuation of [C. 8361], February, 1897).

49. Colonial Produce of Spirits (Restrictions).—Copy of Further Papers relating to cost of local excise Restrictions on the Production of Spirits (West Indies) (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 3, of Session 2, 1899);

50. Hong Kong.—Copy of the Report on the New Territory at Hong Kong;

51. Colonial Reports (Miscellaneous). —Copy of Report, No. 14 (Bahamas), Notes on Planting of Pita Plant (Agave Sisalana) and the extraction and preparation of the Fibre;

52. Colonial Reports (Annual).—Copies of Reports Nos. 294 (Barbados, Annual Report for 1899), 295 (Malta, Annual Report for 1899), 296 (Fiji, Annual Report for 1899), 297 (Turks and Caicos Islands, Annual Report for 1899), 298 (Bahamas, Annual Report for 1899), 299 (Sierra Leone, Annual Report for 1899), 300 (Gambia, Annual Report for 1899), 301 (Seychelles, Annual Report for 1899, 302 (Mauritius and Rodrigues, Annual Report for 1899), 303 (Trinidad and Tobago, Annual Report for 1899), 304 (Straits Settlements, Annual Report for 1899), 305 (Gibraltar Annual Report for 1899), 306 (Gold Coast, Annual Report for 1899), 307 (Ceylon, Annual Report for 1899);

53. Africa (No. 7, 1900).—Copy of Report by the Mombasa - Victoria (Uganda) Railway Committee on the Progress of the Works, 1899-1900 (with a Map and Section).

54. Africa (No. 8, 1900).—Copy of Maps illustrative of the Preliminary Report by Her Majesty's Special Commissioner on the Protectorate of Uganda.

55. Treaty Series (No. 17, 1900).—Copy of Convention between the United Kingdom and the United States of America relative to the disposal of real and personal property. Signed at Washington, 2nd March, 1899. Ratifications exchanged at Washington, 28th July, 1900.

56. Treaty Series (No. 18, 1900).—Copy of Convention between the United Kingdom and France for the establishment of a Parcel Post Service between France and the British Colonies of Ceylon, Hong Kong, and the Straits Settlements. Signed at Paris, 4th April, 1900. Ratifications exchanged at Paris, 27th July, 1900.

57. Treaty Series (No. 19, 1900).—Copy of Convention between the United Kingdom and the Republic of Costa Rica for the reciprocal protection of Trade Marks, etc. Signed at Guatemala, 5th March, 1898. Ratifications exchanged at London, 29th September, 1900.

58. Treaty Series (No. 20, 1900).—Copy of additional Convention supplementary to the Convention of 7th September, 1888, respecting the exchange of Parcels by Parcels Post between France and Mauritius. Signed at Paris, 16th May, 1900. Ratifications exchanged at Paris, 27th July, 1900.

59. Treaty Series (No. 21, 1900).—Copy of Agreement between the United Kingdom and Siam relative to Taxation on Land held or owned by British subjects in Siam, 20th September, 1900.

60. Trade Marks (Foreign Countries) (Commercial, No. 4, 1900).—Copy of Reports from Her Majesty's Representatives Abroad on Trade Marks Laws and Regulations; Part II.

61. Docks and Cargo Arrangements (Commercial, No. 5, 1900).—Copy of Summary of information received from Her Majesty's Consuls upon the Docks and Cargo Arrangements in the Chief Ports of France and Northern Europe.

62. Trade Reports (Annual Series).—Copies of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Nos. 2,504 to 2,539.

63. Trade Reports (Miscellaneous Series).—Copy of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Nos. 535 to 542.

Ordered, That the said Papers do lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

ARMY (SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES).

Estimates presented, of the further Amount required in the year ending 31st March, 1901, to meet additional Expenditure due to the War in South Africa and to Affairs in China [by Command]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No 378.]

ARMY.

Copy presented, of Return of Military Forces in South Africa, 1899–1900 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

DISEASES OF ANIMALS ACTS, 1894 AND 1896.

Copies presented, of two Orders, dated the 8th November, 1900, entitled respectively the Liverpool (Birkenhead) Foreign Animals Wharf Revocation Order of 1900 and the Liverpool (Birkenhead) Foreign Animals Wharf Order of 1900 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

EAST INDIA (LOANS RAISED IN ENGLAND).

Copy presented, of Return of all Loans raised in England, chargeable on the Revenues of India, outstanding at the commencement of the half-year ending on the 30th September, 1900, etc. [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 379.]

TRADE UNIONS.

Copy presented, of Report by the Chief Labour Correspondent of the Board of Trade on Trade Unions in 1899, with Comparative Statistics for 1892-8 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

NAVAL EXPENDITURE AND MERCANTILE MARINE (GREAT BRITAIN, ETC.)

Return presented, relative thereto (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper No. 310, of Session 1899) [ordered 8th February; *Sir John Colomb*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 380.]

POST OFFICE (DISTRICT MESSENGERS COMPANY).

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 7th August; *Mr. Gibson Bowles*]; to lie upon the Table.

POST OFFICE (TELEPHONE SERVICE).

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 7th August; *Mr. Gibson Bowles*]; to lie upon the Table.

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1884.

Copies presented, of Treasury Minutes declaring that the undermentioned persons were appointed to the offices set against their names without a Civil Service Certificate through inadvertence on the part of the heads of their Departments, viz.:—

Charles Dennis, Artificer, Royal Small Arms Factory, War Office Department, dated 21st November, 1900.

Thomas Spittle, Turner, Royal Gun Factory, War Office Department, dated 14th November, 1900.

John Hales, Postman, Stanmore Post Office Department, dated 27th October, 1900.

Robert Black, Rural Postman, Newton Stewart, Post Office Department, dated 3rd October, 1900.

Eliza Thomas, Postmistress, Kidwelly, Post Office Department, dated 14th September, 1900.

Edmund Sterriker, Rural Postman, Malton, Post Office Department, dated 15th August, 1900.

[by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

SUPERANNUATIONS.

Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 22nd August, 1900, declaring that for the due and efficient discharge of the duties of the office of Assistant Inspector of Railways, Board of Trade, professional or other peculiar qualifications not ordinarily to be acquired in the public service are required [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 12th September, 1900, declaring that for the due and efficient discharge of the duties of the office of Medical Inspector to the Local Government Board for Scotland, professional or other peculiar qualifications not ordinarily to be acquired in the public service are requisite [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 25th September, 1900, declaring that for the due and efficient discharge of the duties of the office of Legal Adviser to the Local Government Board for Ireland, professional or other peculiar qualifications not ordinarily to be acquired in the public service are required [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 7th November, 1900, declaring that for the due and efficient discharge of the duties of the office of Junior Inspector, Scotch Education Depaartment, professional or other peculiar qualifications not ordinarily to be acquired in the public service are requisite [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

POST OFFICE TELEGRAPHS.

Copy presented, of Telegraph (Foreign Written Telegram) Regulations, 1900, dated 10th October, 1900 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

BANK OF ENGLAND.

Copy presented, of Return of the amount of Notes issued more than forty years which have not been presented for payment, and which have been written off from the total amount of Notes issued from the Issue Department of the Bank of England [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES ACT, 1889.

Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 26th November, 1900, directing the Comptroller and Auditor-General to examine and audit the Account of Fees taken in Ireland under Section 19 (2) of The Weights and Measures Act, 1899 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

POLLING DISTRICTS (MERIONETH).

Copy presented, of Order made by the County Council of Merioneth constituting a new polling District, to be called the Llwyngwril Polling District [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

POLLING DISTRICTS (SOUTHAMPTON).

Copy presented, of Order made by the County Council of Southampton, altering certain polling districts in the county [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

PENAL SERVITUDE ACTS (CONDITIONAL LICENCE).

Copy presented, of licence granted to Fanny Wroughton, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the Elizabeth Fry Refuge, Hackney [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of licence granted to Frederica Furneaux, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the Elizabeth Fry Refuge, Hackney [by Act]; to lie upon the Table;

Copy presented, of a licence to be at large granted to Joseph Drinkwater, to which are annexed conditions other than those contained in Schedule A of the Penal Servitude Act, 1864 [by Act] to lie upon the Table.

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP ACTS (PERIOD OF EMPLOYMENT) (WAREHOUSES IN FACTORIES OR WORKSHOPS WHERE BRIGHT OR BURNISHED METAL GOODS ARE MADE).

Copy presented, of Order dated 6th September, 1900, made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department in pursuance of Section 65 of the Factory and Workshop Act, 1878, and Section 39 of the Factory and Workshop Act, 1895, permitting the warehouses in factories and workshops where bright or burnished metal goods are made to be treated as separate factories or workshops, as far as regards the period of employment of children, young persons, and women [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

INEBRIATES ACTS, 1879 TO 1899 (RULES FOR RETREATS).

Copy presented, of Rules for Retreats licensed under the Inebriates Acts, 1879 to 1899, dated 18th October, 1900, approved by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, in substitution for the Rules dated 10th August, 1888 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (IRELAND).

Copy presented, of Time Table of Examinations for 1901 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

BANKRUPTCY (IRELAND).

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 17th July; *Mr. Field*]; to lie upon the Table.

AGRICULTURE AND TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION (IRELAND) ACT, 1889 (RULES).

Copy presented, of Rules made under the Act for the execution of the Judicial duties in the Fisheries (Ireland) Acts, 1842 to 1898 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of Amended Rules for the Administration of Loans under the Sea and Coast Fisheries Fund (Ireland) Act, 1884 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

PHARMACY ACTS (IRELAND).

Copy presented, of Order in Council, dated 13th August, 1900, approving of a Regulation made by the Pharmaceutical Society of Ireland [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

WINTER ASSIZES (IRELAND).

Copy presented, of Four Orders in Council, dated 2nd November, 1900, for holding Winter Assizes in Ireland [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

UNIVERSITIES (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1889 (ORDINANCE).

Copy presented, of Ordinance No. 2 of the University Court of the University of Edinburgh (Foundation of the Sir William Fraser Chair of Ancient History and Palæography) [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

PENAL SERVITUDE ACTS (CONDITIONAL LICENCE).

Copy presented, of a licence to be at large granted to Patrick Greenan, to which are annexed conditions other than those contained in Schedule A of the Penal Servitude Act, 1864 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of a Licence to be at large granted to Charles Costello, to which are annexed conditions other than those contained in Schedule A of the Penal Servitude Act, 1864 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

BOARD OF EDUCATION (SPECIAL REPORTS).

Copy presented, of Special Reports on Educational subjects, Vol. 4. Educational Systems of the Chief Colonies of the British Empire (Dominion of Canada, Newfoundland, West Indies) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of Special Reports on Educational Subjects, Vol. 5. Educational Systems of the chief Colonies of the British Empire (Commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand, Ceylon, Malta) [by command]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of Special Reports on Educational Subjects, Vol. 6. Preparatory Schools; their place in English Secondary Education [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

BOARD OF EDUCATION.

Copy presented, of Report on Technical and Commercial Education in East Prussia, Poland, Galicia, Silesia, and

Bohemia, by James Baker, F.R.G.S. [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

UNIVERSITIES OF OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE ACT 1877 (OXFORD).

Copy presented, of a Statute made by the Governing Body of St. John's College, Oxford, on 9th December, 1899, amending Statutes III. 1, III. 14, V. 4a, and XV. 2, of the Statutes of the College [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of a Statute made by the Governing Body of Worcester College, Oxford, on 24th January, 1900, amending Statute III. 16 of the Statutes of the College [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of a Statute made by the Governing Body of Exeter College, Oxford, on 16th March, 1900, amending Statutes II. and V. of the Statutes of that College [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of a Statute made by the Governing Body of Jesus College, Oxford, on 16th March, 1900, amending the Schedule to the Statutes of that College [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of a Statute made by the Governing Body of New College, Oxford, on 24th March, 1900, amending Statute III., Clause 18, of the Statutes of that College [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

WINTER ASSIZES ACTS, 1876 AND 1877.

Copy presented, of Seven Orders in Council of the 7th August, 1900, relating to the ensuing Winter Assizes [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACT, 1894.

Copy presented, of Order in Council of 7th August, 1900, confirming new Bye-laws made by the Cardiff Pilotage Board [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of Order in Council of 12th November, 1900, approving certain new Bye-laws made by the Gloucester Pilotage Board [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of Order in Council of 12th November, 1900, approving certain Bye-laws made by the Clyde Pilot Board, relating to the Pilotage Fund of the Clyde Pilotage District [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACT, 1894, AND MERSEY CHANNELS ACT, 1897.

Copy presented, of Order in Council of 17th September, 1900, making certain Rules concerning the lights or signals to be carried, and concerning the steps for avoiding collisions to be taken by vessels navigating the River Mersey and the sea channels or approaches thereto, between the Rock Lighthouse and the furthest point seawards to which such sea channels or approaches respectively are for the time being buoyed on both sides [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

DOCKYARD PORTS REGULATION ACT, 1865.

Copy presented, of Order in Council of 17th September, 1900, amending an Order in Council of 26th February, 1897, relating to the Dockyard Port of Portsmouth [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

FOREIGN JURISDICTION ACT, 1890.

Copy presented, of Order in Council of 17th September, 1900, entitled The Cyprus Coinage Order in Council, 1900 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION ACT, 1889.

Copies presented, of Minutes sanctioning the Subjects to be taught under Clause 8 of the Act for the following Counties, &c.:—

County Borough of St. Helens (Third Minute), dated 17th October, 1900.

City and County Borough of Birmingham (Sixth Minute), dated 17th October, 1900.

County of Essex (Third Minute), dated 17th October, 1900.

County of Wilts (Fifteenth Minute), dated 23rd October, 1900.

[by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

PAPERS LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.

1. Public Records (Supreme Court of Judicature).—Copy of Schedule containing a List and Particulars of Classes of Documents existing or in ordinary course about to exist in the Central Office, and in the District Registries, which are not

considered of sufficient public value to justify their preservation in the Public Record Office [by Act].

2. Lunacy.—Copy of Rule in Lunacy, dated 29th October, 1900 [by Act].

3. Mersey Docks and Harbour Board.—Accounts of the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board for the year ending 1st July, 1900 [by Act].

QUEEN'S SPEECH.

Mr. SPEAKER reported Her Majesty's Speech, and read it to the House, as followeth :—

"*My Lords and Gentlemen*,

"It has become necessary to make further provision for the expenses incurred by the operation of My Armies in South Africa and China.

"I have summoned you to hold a Special Session in order that you may give your sanction to the enactments required for that purpose. I will not enter upon other public matters requiring your attention until the ordinary meeting of Parliament in the Spring."

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[FIRST DAY'S DEBATE.]

*MR. J. E. GORDON (Elgin and Nairn): It has been my privilege to have allotted to me the distinguished task of moving in this House—the great House of Commons—the reply to the Queen's Speech. In the first place, I must ask from hon. Members that indulgence which they ever give to those who are placed in the rather peculiar position that I have now the honour to occupy. There are at least two reasons why I do crave that indulgence this afternoon. In the first place, although I have had the honour of a seat for five years in this assembly, I think my colleagues will acknowledge that I have never unduly trespassed on their patience; and, in the next place, we have before us to-night no ordinary message from the Crown whereby I might take refuge in an empty recital of innumerable classes of projects of legislation. The Queen's Speech is remarkably short, but I will venture to say that this session need be no perfunctory session; for in contrast with the shortness of the speech is the magnitude of the events with which the House is called upon to deal. We are on the present occasion not in the position of hon. and right hon. Gentlemen who recollect the political controversies of a quarter of a century ago, when minor subjects such as toll-bars, school-boards, and hares and rabbits caused the uprising and the downfall of ministries; but at the end of the century we are on a higher level of thought. The constituencies of this kingdom which have returned us for the discharge of the onerous duties we are about to pursue are realising that they are called upon, as trustees of a wider empire, to demand of us, as their representatives, no longer to waste our time on trivialities or petty party projects, but at this great national testing time to address ourselves to issues which I venture to say have never been surpassed in their gravity, and which demand the attention of this honourable House. Three times in this century, so soon to close, we, as a nation, have had occasions of trial—at the beginning of the century, in the middle, and now at the end. And although we are fighting a foe small in numbers, we have during the last fifteen months realised the fact that we are on our trial as a nation and as an empire, and if in this session of Parliament, perhaps with a minimum of debate but with a maximum of energy, we assume a correctness of attitude towards these great issues with which, I believe, the country has so recently called upon us to deal, then this session of Parliament will not be lost, but be for ever memorable in the annals of history. I may remind the House that we who are honoured by the confidence of our constituencies are also called upon to show that our political correctness is only vouched for if our attitude in this House is not only in consonance with the feelings of the localities from which we come, but with that of the wider race of English-speaking people whom we now represent in this great Empire's Court of Appeal. I may be allowed to congratulate the Government upon having carried on the war with vigour up to this point, and we may congratulate the nation upon the statement of the Field Marshal, who is now about to return to this country, that the war, in its main aspect, is almost over. Lord Roberts has indeed earned the gratitude of this people. Some years ago he completed a great and laborious life in the East, and yet he seems to have entered upon a new chapter of national labour, and is about to lay the nation under a deep indebtedness, not only for a successful campaign in South Africa, but, we hope, for the reconstruction of our Army organisation. We have been fighting with President Kruger, and all those influences he has gathered round him. May I remind the House of the three calculations with which Mr. Kruger commenced the campaign. The first was that he had organised out of the ignorance which exists amongst the Dutch colonists of South Africa a Dutch rebellion amongst our fellow-subjects 7,000 miles from our base of power. In the next place he expected to get assistance on the Continent. There is nothing more gratifying to me, as a private Member, than to recognise that, whilst on the Continent there is a most distinct, dangerous flood of hostility towards us, in the courts and councils of those great nations there is a correctness of attitude which we recognise and appreciate. There was another calculation, and the Boers, no doubt, unfortunately formed a belief upon it which subsequent events have shown had no solid basis, and that was that if war broke out there would be a certain amount of sympathy with the Boers even in this country itself. We have seen it in the press and heard it on platforms. Regrets are generally vain, but I often feel that if the almost universal present harmony as to the war policy had been advertised more clearly and distinctly before the ultimatum, events might have been otherwise—had Mr. Kruger seen us a united people. I think when history comes to be written, those who blame the action of this nation with its expenditure of life and treasure will always look back to the time when peace and war were in the balance, and Mr. Kruger and his advisers were hesitating to issue the ultimatum. This message from Her Majesty points directly to the cost of the prolongation of the war, but I think I may congratulate the House upon the fact that it comes at a time when the country is not only able to sustain its burdens, but at a period when the revenue has been increasing by leaps and bounds. If our expenditure with regard to this war is likely to be gigantic, it is at least not likely to reach the amount of one year's revenue or one year's expenditure on drink. There are some who have told us that had we known the cost in life and treasure we might not have embarked upon this war [Opposition cheers.] Allow me to reply to that cheer from the opposite side. Let me suppose that any of the hon. Gentlemen opposite were in office and this country was being threatened by a Continental nation; that cheer simply means that if the threat was strong enough, and the force behind it of sufficient magnitude, the Gentlemen in office instead of defending our Empire would submit to threats instead of enforcing our rights. Let the hon. Gentlemen calculate what the cost of yielding to that ultimatum would have been. If the Government had not had the courage to grasp this problem in both hands two years ago we should have lost our friendly colonists in South Africa; we should have lost the one colony without which this Empire cannot be complete. I do not suppose that if one of our great colonies was to come with good reason to this country and say it had deliberately come to the conclusion that its welfare would be better met by a severance from the mother land, any Government would come here and ask for supplies to prevent such severance, except in the one case, the case of the Cape. And that is why the other colonies have come to the assistance of the Empire. These old continents are only now awakening, and those who come after us will see that our expenditure at the Cape, though it may be vast and appear somewhat excessive, that after all it is only the foundation of a greater Empire, extending towards the Pacific. We have been sometimes charged with a want of morality with regard to this war, but I have been unable to see that. Is the re-establishment of good government no longer to be considered a moral and just cause in a defensive war? Was not slavery going to be re-established under a Boer confederation in South Africa? We are now fighting the last great slave war—that is to say, we white men are trying to save the blacks, so that not only the Boers and British shall have equal liberty when our arms are thrown down, but that the civilised black shall also have that liberty for which he could not hope under the rule of the Dutch. We can, I think, congratulate ourselves upon the success of our arms. Some people seem to think and speak of Africa as if it were only a unit of geography, but those who have visited that vast continent will sympathise with our soldiers, who, often without proper boots or clothes, have traversed the country from one side to the other. In a long illness I have often heard the period of convalescence is a dangerous period, and I hope I may be allowed to ask the Government to remember this when the time for negotiation arrives. We have fought a brave fight, but there is always a danger to a nation like ours devoted to the industries of peace and unaccustomed to the conditions under which the Boer has lived all his life; and I feel sure, now that the General Election has taken place, the people of this country and the people of South Africa are looking to the Government for an assurance that there is not to be any turning back from this campaign, and that our friends shall be amply protected, and our agents in Parliament, whether they be here at home or at the Cape, in the council chamber or the field, shall receive the undivided, hearty, and loyal support of this House until the campaign is at an end. I have trespassed too long upon the attention of the House, but the proceedings of this House are now being scrutinised by our friends in every quarter of the globe, eager to give and to receive support in the work of promoting Anglo-Saxon civilisation; and by our rivals that perchance they may be able to detect some signs of national degeneracy in the centre of our power. In moving, as I now presume to do, an Address to our Sovereign (whose gracious personality has played so large a part in our Empire's unity of progress), I feel confident that this House, the Kingdom, and the Empire will heartily support the policy of Her Ministers.

*MR. J. F. HOPE (Sheffield, Brightside): In rising to second this motion, I feel that I must crave the indulgence which I understand is always given by this House, but which is specially needed by one who is an entire stranger to it. I feel, after the very eloquent words of my hon. friend, that no long speech is needed to commend this motion to the House. We are asked to vote the means which are still needed to bring to a close a just and a necessary war. Opinions have been expressed both in public and in private which endeavour in some way to make the justice of the war dependent upon its cost and success. Those opinions have already been alluded to by the proposer of this motion, when he said that opinions had been expressed that we never should have fought this war if we had known what the cost would be. I protest against this notion. The smallest expedition to the north-west frontier of India or in West Africa is too dear if it be not rightly undertaken, whereas the cost of the great war of a century since, which added hundreds of millions to the National Debt, was well fought and was cheaply won. Now, Sir, the justice of this war has been impugned by many a foreign, and, here and there, by a domestic critic, but nothing in any of the criticisms which have been passed can supply an answer to the three test questions which may be put regarding the origin of this war. First of all, had the British subject in the Transvaal any real grievances? Why, Sir, our men are harassed and obstructed in every field of civil life, in official dealings, in industry, in commerce, in local government, in the use of their own language, in education, and, in some part, in religion. I say that the man who denies that they have grievances does not know what freedom is. In the second place, had Her Majesty's Government a right to interfere, assuming that there were grievances, to obtain redress? Sir, surely, I would submit, Her Majesty's Government has a right to interfere to redress the wrongs of Her Majesty's subjects in whatever part of the world they may be pursuing a lawful calling; but when those subjects are suffering from wrongs inflicted by the subordinate Government of a dependent State, which was created by the tolerance of the people of the United Kingdom, which was protected by our arms, and which was re-established through our misplaced weakness or generosity, it is not so much a question of the right to interfere as of a bounden and imperative duty. In the third place, granted the right, how is it to be done? Some will say by diplomacy. Yes, Sir, but diplomacy has its limits. The idea of negotiation implies willingness on both sides to give and to take something; but when years of memoranda, conferences, and interviews have disclosed the fact that on the one side everything is expected, and from the other side everything is demanded, it is surely time when diplomacy must stand aside, and to let a stronger force come in. It is true, Sir, that in this case there were special features, owing to circumstances to which I will not particularly refer, but will any man maintain that the memory of one sordid and ignominious fiasco, which arose not only without the connivance of Her Majesty's Government, but without so much as the knowledge of any of its members, should for ever paralyse the power of England? We owed it to ourselves to invoke in the last resort the force of arms. It is true that we were spared this necessity through the rash insolence of our adversaries, but we cannot deny that it might have been our duty to take the initiative and to call in arms where words had failed, for I submit that we should have been as dead to our interest as to our honour if we were never prepared to throw the sword into the scale. This war has revealed in some ways our strength, and in others our weakness. It has revealed our strength in the bravery of our soldiers, in the excellence of our transport, and in the loyal devotion of our colonies. In the same way also it has revealed our weakness in our military organisation, in our military education, and, perhaps, in our constitutional machinery itself. This is not the time to go into these matters, and I mention them only for one reason. Foreign critics have painted for themselves a picture of this country in which we are represented as a nation of unscrupulous, deliberate, calculating aggressors. That is not the view of foreign Governments, whose friendly attitude we gladly acknowledge, but it prevails too widely among their subjects. Now, Sir, if anything has been proved by this war, it is that for a war of aggression we were wholly unprepared. Therefore, I think our critics are reduced to this dilemma: that either as aggressors we had not sufficiently mastered our rôle to be formidable, or else that we had essayed to play the part at all. There is another point to which, for a moment, I would briefly allude: It is that this war was brought about, and that its settlement will be manipulated by the machinations of capitalists and by those connected with the mining industry in the Transvaal. Sir, I do not deny that the capitalist, or the mining shareholder, will prefer the new Government of that country to the old, but not one whit more than the humblest mechanic who does his work. One privilege alone the capitalist and the mining shareholder will have over the mechanic—that of paying, and not lightly, for the freedom which both alike are to share. I do not think that any burden is likely to be put upon the people of our colony in the future that will cripple its industry or check its development, but short of that I think that we may fairly assure those connected with the mining industry that they may look forward with patriotic enthusiasm—those at least who are British subjects—to making a substantial contribution towards the reduction of their country's liabilities. But, Sir, when all has been paid by the Colony that the Colony may fairly be asked to pay, there will still be a heavy balance which the people of the United Kingdom will gladly meet. Once the people of this country are convinced of the justice and the necessity of the war, it is no longer a question of more or less. You cannot have your twenty millions or your fifty millions' worth of war—and stop. The liabilities of a war like this are secured upon the resources of the British Empire, and the work must be put through no matter what the cost, what the trouble, or the temporary or incidental suffering which either party may be called upon to endure. In seconding this resolution I feel that I am but expressing a loyal people's assurance to Her Gracious Majesty of their unalterable determination that the blood and tears of the past year shall not have been shed in vain.

Motion made and Question proposed, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, as followeth:—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Gordon.*)

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): Mr. Speaker, my first duty is to express—and I am certain I can do so on behalf of all those who have been present and who have heard the two speeches to which we have just listened—our warm appreciation of the ability and eloquence and clearness with which the mover and seconder of the Address have discharged the important duties entrusted to them. And I think I may be permitted to say of the seconder especially—who, I believe, is entirely a novice in Parliamentary life—that he has shown himself able to take his place among us, and has in no sense, except in the matter of priority of time, come behind his hon. colleague, to whom we have often before listened with pleasure in past years. Now, Sir, Parliament has been summoned at this season, as it was called together in the autumn of last year, for a short session, necessitated by special circumstances, and I understand that it is the desire of the Government to follow the course which was taken last year, at the instance, I believe, of some Members sitting on this side of the House—namely, that our proceedings and discussions on this occasion should be confined to matters of immediate importance relating to administration and policy connected with the circumstances in which we are met, and that all other topics, as, for instance, projects of legislation, or promising fields of legislation, may be reserved till the ordinary session, which will open at the usual time of the year, when there will be again a Speech from the Throne and ample opportunity for all Members of the House to bring before the House matters in which they are interested. That opportunity, of course, will be a full and unrestricted opportunity, embracing the subjects with which this short session may have concerned itself, and which may then have assumed a more developed state, and ranging over the whole administrative and legislative policy of the country. If this is to be the understanding, I do not anticipate that there will be either any desire or any tendency to unduly prolong the present session. Now, Sir, my attention is naturally called in the first place to the Speech which has just been delivered from the Throne, and, perhaps, as this is a new Parliament, to prevent any mistake in the minds of new Members, I may observe that when we speak of the gracious Speech from the Throne, the graciousness arises from the mouth into which the Speech is put and from which it comes, and that the Speech itself is the production of Her Majesty's Government, which we are entirely at liberty to criticise without fear or favour. I have heard this Speech spoken of as a brief Speech. If I wanted to search for a perfectly apposite adjective I should say that it is in every sense of the word a jejune Speech. There are one or two remarkable omissions from it, and variations from the ordinary practice. I have already posed before the House to-day as a supporter of the Constitution. On this occasion I have to present myself again in that character, because I do think that these ancient forms and phrases, however pedantic it may be to dwell upon them as of great importance, do cover certain principles or certain views of politics which it is most desirable that we should preserve. The first thing that I observe in this Speech is that it omits a declaration which is always satisfactory and always courteous, and, I think, need not be omitted for the mere sake of saving the paper and ink that would be used by it—a declaration of the satisfaction with which Her Majesty can assure us that her relations with other Powers are excellent. I think that just at this time it would have been peculiarly apposite to have had such a declaration—not that we have any doubt on the subject, but that we think that good relations between ourselves and foreign Powers are so peculiarly necessary and essential to us at this moment that it would have been a satisfaction to everybody to have been assured of them. I have investigated the matter to see if this is the first time that Her Majesty's Government have omitted these words, and I find that in the short session of October last there was not any explicit statement as to the relations with other Powers, but we were told that "the condition of the world, except in South Africa, continues to be peaceful," and that, I suppose, included the other assurance. Now there is nothing of the sort. There is such a hurry to be at us with a demand for money that there is no time even for the most courteous and complimentary reference to the relations of Her Majesty's Government with the other Governments of the world. The next observation I have to make is that the Speech plunges rather abruptly into the presence of the war; there is no explanation, no allusion at all to the necessity for coming at this time for more money for the war. The two hon. Gentlemen who have just spoken have, indeed, treated us to disquisitions upon the war and upon nothing else, bringing up before us old arguments and old views with which we are quite familiar, and which they expressed with novel and conspicuous force. But in the Speech itself it is assumed, apparently, that there is war going on, and that money is required for the operations of the armies in South Africa and China; and then comes a peremptory, not to say somewhat cavalier, demand for money. "Pay, pay, pay!" appears to me to be the tune to which this portion of the Speech is adapted. And this demand is couched in a somewhat singular manner. Was there ever a Speech before at the opening of a session at which money was expected to be voted, in which there was not a special appeal to the Members of the House of Commons to vote the supplies that were necessary? Even if it was not common-sense and common decency, I have here the highest authority controlling our information and our views upon this subject; for Sir Erskine May's book says, describing the Speech from the Throne—

> "The Sovereign addresses the Commons and demands the annual supplies for the public service, and acquaints them that Estimates will be laid before them of the amount that will be required."

We are not so informed here. There is no mention of Estimates. On the contrary, both the Lords and Commons are invited to "sanction enactments." It is quite true that there is a certain enactment called the Appropriation Bill to which the sanction of the House of Lords will no doubt be given, but we are rather doubtful in this House as to the powers of the House of Lords even over that particular measure, and certainly there ought to have been—and I should like to know why it has been neglected—an appeal to the House of Commons in the ordinary way to exercise its usual liberality in the voting of supplies. Then there is another omission of an even more remarkable kind, and that I shall refer to with all solemnity. Has there ever been a Queen's Speech before that did not end with an invocation of the blessing of Almighty God on the proceedings of Parliament? Here, as I said before, they are in such a hurry to get money from us that they talk of enactments and of our sanctioning enactments, and leave out the prayer. It seems as if they think us past praying for. They have left out all idea or notion of laying any petition on the subject before the Throne of the Almighty, which has been included, I believe, in every Queen's Speech that has ever been printed before. These are very small matters, no doubt, in one sense, but as I have said, it is not mere pedantry. Depend upon it there is something in even the smallest of these forms, and I think that, however short the session, and however desirous people may be to get rid as soon as possible of the inconvenience of staying in London, the Queen's Speech, at least, might have retained the usual terms in which such a document is couched. Now the fact which above all others forces itself on our attention on finding ourselves here again is the change that has come over Her Majesty's Government since we separated a month or two ago. I am at a little loss to know how to speak or to think of the Government opposite. Is it the old Government or is it the new Government? The materials, if I may so put it, the ingredients of its composition, are the same, but they are somehow differently mixed, and there are two conspicuous figures whom we are accustomed to see on the bench opposite, and whose absence we remark and deplore. There is the late First Lord of the Admiralty, who has had a long, a strenuous, and a most honourable career in this House of Commons, who held strong opinions and expressed them strongly, but who always managed not to lose the good opinion and the kindly feeling even of his opponents, and in whom we were accustomed to admire, even more than his marvellous intellectual acuteness, the loftiness of his character and his obvious earnestness and sincerity. He was of the old school of public men—a school which is gradually but rapidly disappearing from among us. The best wish that I can formulate for the new school is that it should retain and exhibit some of the virtues of the old. I would say this of Mr. Goschen—that there are many of us whose pleasant recollection of him will not be made less pleasant because of his parting declaration that during the last two or three years he was so engrossed in the business of his own Department that he could pay but little attention to the general policy of the Government with which he was connected. Again, there is the late Home Secretary, who, though still, I believe, a Member of this House, is, if we are rightly informed, shortly going to leave us. He has conducted the affairs of his Department in a benign and careful spirit, the precise spirit that is required for such delicate and vital interests as those he has had to deal with. He, too, like Mr. Goschen, apparently, has found his duty too hard for him, although he was in the plenitude of his meridian strength, and he has asked to be relieved of office. It must have been with a pang that the Prime Minister and his colleagues parted with him, for they knew how much they owed to him, but they could not resist his appeal. I do not extend this melancholy list to include the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Sleaford, whose sorrows have been so frankly exposed to the sympathy of the world, because we are all of us delighted to know that we are to retain among us his genial presence and his stately and sonorous rhetoric. But Lord Salisbury, who is the great manipulator, has given a turn of the wrist to the kaleidoscope, and all the brilliant little pieces of glass have fallen into a new collocation with each other. It is wonderful; we cannot yet say whether it is beautiful; it will be some time before we can judge whether the new picture is prettier than the old. But I must make this remark. It is much to be regretted that the country, when it was consulted only a few weeks ago, was not allowed to see or to know anything of the constitution of the new Government which was so soon to take the place of the then holders of office. Who can tell what difference, either in diminished or increased confidence, such a glimpse of the reality would have made? On the whole, when one thinks of it, perhaps the right hon. Gentlemen, or those who advised them, exercised a wise electioneering discretion in keeping the future dark and speaking only vaguely of strengthening and reconstructing. Pursuing the same line of thought, I would seek an explanation. Will the right hon. Gentleman, when he comes to speak, explain how it comes about that, within a few weeks of a general election, a financial exigency has arisen which requires Parliament to be summoned? We heard nothing of it during the General Election. Were they aware of it? If so, why was not a hint or whisper given? Or were they not aware of it? Can it be they did not foresee it and, in that case, is this a fresh instance of the practice we have so often witnessed when those who steer our barque of State and are scanning the horizon or looking into the immediate future carefully apply the telescope to a blind eye? Surely the electorate when called upon to choose a Government ought not to be kept in the dark on so grave and significant a fact as this? Some explanation, nay, I will say some excuse, ought to be offered for such an inconsistency between silence in October and urgency in November in this important financial matter. On this, the first occasion of our meeting, a good deal will naturally be thought and said about the recent General Election. I am quite aware that there is always a great soreness left in men's hearts after a General Election. I am quite aware that in the hurly-burly many wild things are said and done which are better forgotten, and I am not constitutionally disposed either to cherish myself or encourage in others resentment or recrimination in such a case. But, Mr. Speaker, the recent General Election was not an ordinary General Election. It was exceptional in its time and in the manner in which it was conducted. Now that we are away from the clamour of excited meetings and free from the dust and noise of platforms in this calmer atmosphere we may look at it coolly, and, while I have formed a strong opinion on the subject, and have not hesitated to express that opinion in unequivocal terms which I should be ready to use again, I wish tonight to maintain moderation of tone, and merely, if the House will allow me, state some of the reasons for the opinions which I have been driven to form. Now, the election of a new Parliament is a grave and solemn constitutional act, and it ought to be effected at a time—unless some unforeseen emergency comes in the way—when the popular voice can be most fully consulted. But on this occasion the election was fixed for the very time of the year above all others when the number of available voters was at the lowest ebb. It was in England within a week or two, and in Scotland positively within a day or two, of the expiry of the old register. Now, on all occasions when there has been a necessity for an autumn election there has been a special measure passed for the purpose of expediting the new register. But Parliament was prorogued in August, and nothing was said when we dispersed about this election, which the Government then kept up their sleeves. I am a simple-minded person, and am ready to believe in the straightforward conduct of all public men, and I declare that I refused to believe, down to the very last moment, when the announcement was made—and I could bring friends of mine on both sides of the House to bear witness to it—that a British Cabinet could be capable of such an act. The election took place at the most unfavourable time of the year. It had been deliberately selected, I do not say for that reason, at a time when a large number of voters were practically disfranchised. What were the excuses for this premeditated precipitancy, as I would call it? If the excuses are inconsistent, that is not my fault. The first was that the war was ended in September, therefore we must have a dissolution. The next was that the war would not be ended until a large majority was returned for the Government, showing what the feeling of the country was. The next was that the Government must have the support of the country—I think one member of the Government said the unanimous support of the country—for their policy of settlement in South Africa which they had ready to disclose. But what do we see, and how do these excuses fall in with the facts? Was the war ended in September? No. Has the result of the elections stopped it or caused it to abate? No, Sir. Have we heard from Britisher, Boer, or Free Stater—has anyone heard—a word or syllable of the system of settlement which was so urgent, and which necessitated the election at that time? Not a word, Sir, and there is no reason why the election should not have been held in January just as well as in September and October. The weeks as they passed have shown how hollow and empty were those excuses, and we are driven, therefore, to the real motive which the course and conduct of the election have frankly disclosed—namely, the desire to use the patriotic feeling of the country, which is the common pride and property of every citizen, whatever his political views, for the party advantage of Her Majesty's Government. Therefore it was necessary to hasten the election before the glamour was over. Now, Sir, I have said we had no announcement of the intention to hold the election while Parliament lasted. I mean by that that we had no authoritative announcement. But we had certain volunteered and irresponsible suggestions that it should take place, and among these I remember one, a letter sent to *The Times* by a Conservative Member of the House, a copy of which I have got here, in which he pointed out the reasons why it was, in his view, necessary for the Government to take advantage of this effervescence of feeling in the country before it subsided. He ends his letter by saying—

> "I have every confidence in that appeal to a sworn jury, but I have none if the record of the Unionist party be behind us and if only common local electioneering is before the people."

He knew there would be no confidence in the result of the election if they had only the record of the Unionist party to draw upon. Therefore he says—

> "Every week after our troops have reached Pretoria will add to the ignoble army of shallow critics, and among them all large principles will be submerged or lost."

That was the voice of one crying in the wilderness, of an independent man who exercised practically little authority. But the Government evidently could not have thought the writer either a foolish person making a preposterous suggestion, or a blundering person letting the cat out of the bag, and possibly the wrong cat, because they have selected the writer of that letter for the delicate, confidential, and important duty of moving the Address.

*MR. J. E. GORDON: As the right hon. Gentleman has alluded to me, I may say that naturally he has not read the whole of my letter. Had the right hon. Gentleman done so he would have seen that my appeal was to a responsible electorate, and that my reference to common local electioneering was naturally not to the electioneering on my own side.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The fact which pleases me most in the utterances of the hon. Gentleman is that in which he says that if they trusted to the record of the Unionist party he had no confidence in the result of the General Election. Now, Sir, there is not a man on the other side of the House who, as a man, and forgetting he is a politician, as we ought all to do occasionally—there is not a man who does not know that we who sit opposite to him are actuated by every whit as high patriotic motives as he is. We may be wrong-headed, short-sighted, if you like—["Hear, hear"]—I am obliged to my hon. friend for his complimentary cheer — but, however wrong-headed and short-sighted we may be in so far as some of us object to the policy of the Government in this respect or that, it is because we think it will injure instead of benefiting the Empire; and yet at the recent General Election we were held up to odium as being, most of us, traitors, as desiring the success of the enemies of our country, and the electors were warned again and again that votes given for Liberals were votes given for the Boers, and this not by some small partisan or local agent, or some obscure wire-puller, but by Cabinet Ministers. Sir, I am not going into any details on that gruesome subject; but, in the interests of that moderation of tone which I am seeking to preserve, I refrain from frankly characterising such manœuvres and artifices. I am content to leave them to the condemnation which they will receive in the sight of the world. But there is another episode to which I must particularly refer. There was the unauthorised publication of private letters—letters of different kinds, some by Members of Parliament, some by distinguished men at the Cape. Why were they published? They were picked out from a large number of other letters, no doubt, but were they published for any public purpose? No. Under any public necessity? No. What, then, was the object? Simply to discredit and blacken, if possible, the opponents of the Government. Even if one or two were a hundredfold more improper than any of us think they were, still they were private letters. Every one of them was a private letter. What is said of a man in private life who publishes a private letter for his own advantage that has somehow come into his hands? Why, he is visited with the extremest penalty that a society unorganised by law can inflict. Am I to be told that an act of this kind, which would exclude a man from honourable society, is an honourable act on the part of a Minister of the Crown? No doubt much more may be said on subjects connected with the elections, but for the present I leave them behind me, and turn to others, larger and more pressing, but not more important; for these are incidents which appear to me to mark a serious deterioration, a step towards the degradation of the public life of our country. The war in South Africa still engrosses our attention and interest, and what is the most remarkable circumstance when we think of it now? It is that the British public know so little about it. Never has a war, great or small, been conducted with so little communication of authentic information as to its incidence and policy. Since the earlier days of the war we have not had a despatch published. We have had newspaper correspondence with stories not always to be relied on; we have had private letters, some of which have been published in the Press; we have had scrappy, hasty telegrams—I do not complain of their being hasty and scrappy in the circumstances in which they were despatched by officers in command—but we have had no despatch whatever explaining or summing up any one incident in the whole of the campaign. Now, I hold that this is not respectful to the British public or to the House of Commons. We hear a good deal in these days about a thing called "Imperialism," and everybody is contending with everybody else as to the best kind of Imperialism to profess. There is an Imperialism in the sense of devotion to and desire to maintain our Empire. But there is an Imperialism which may have, and does have, another meaning, when an Executive Government takes on itself to manage all the affairs of the country and the representatives of the people are ignored, when the country is kept in the dark, when plans are laid to evade the interference of the Legislature, when things are done and resolutions announced at the moment when the representative body has become dumb and when all doubters, critics, and scoffers are classed together as discreditable persons guilty of a sort of *lèse majesté* against the Executive Government. That is Imperialism as we have seen it in other countries; is there not a little danger that we may drift into some sort of squalid, shabby imitation of it here? Two reasons have been given for the non-publication of despatches. Earlier in the war certain despatches were published in relation to the Spion Kop incident, despatches in relation to the then recent event, indiscreet despatches indiscreetly handled, and therefore the subject of comment and criticism. We asked what good could be gained by the publication of such despatches. We called the Government to account for the publication of those despatches, and they said—or at any rate if they did not say as much they acted as if it was their feeling—"Since you will not have these we will give you no despatches." So that the petulance we have sometimes seen manifested has been magnified in this case into a policy, and for months and months we have had no despatch. Another reason given is that we are promised a full and searching inquiry into the conduct of the war, the preparations for war, and the execution of plans in relation to the war in South Africa. There has been some inclination indicated by mistaken views in some speeches made as if the Government were seeking to get out of this obligation, but it is useless for them to attempt this, for they are pledged as never was Government pledged before. This is all very well, but that is no reason why meantime we should be kept entirely in the dark. The final autopsy may be interesting, instructive, and valuable, but are we not to know anything of the course and cause of events as they occur? Taxpayers have poured out their money like water; there are men and women whose sons and brothers have lost their lives and been exposed to hardships in all the reverses and successes, assaults and defences, captures and surrenders, marching and fighting, through all these months, and am I to be told that these are to have no reasonable and sufficient explanation of what has occurred and of events which oftentimes seem hard to understand? Why, it is carrying reticence to a ridiculous extent to say because there is to be a grand inquisition at the end of all these things there shall be nothing done in the meantime. This was not so in the Crimean War, or in the Peninsular Wars, or in the Indian Mutiny, or in any former war. When, I ask, is the veil to be lifted? I trust that at least some satisfaction will be given to the natural and reasonable interest that is being displayed by our countrymen. There is yet a larger question on which information may be sought, and ought to be given, perhaps that may be included in the final inquiry, but at least we ought to have some explanation how it is that from first to last of this long story, every promise, estimate, and expectation held out to us from the Treasury Bench—I will not say promise, but every estimate and explanation—has been falsified by events. Miscalculation has followed miscalculation, one following on the heels of the other from the beginning, miscalculations of finance, of power and of the force and temper of our enemies. At the present moment the chief subject on which information is earnestly, even impatiently, sought—I am sure I am right in saying—in the country, is the policy of the war. I do not mean the South African policy of the Government; I do not mean the question of the origin of the war or any of those points upon which we have had discussions and which are accepted and over; what I refer to is the policy being pursued, or to be pursued, in the war with the view of bringing it to an early close with as little suffering as possible, and also—let us not forget this—with as little damage as posssble to the future prosperity and happiness of the South African population. The Government must be aware there is great uneasiness on the subject, and I believe, for my part, there is no difference of opinion in the House as to the objects and end to be kept in view. What is the state of things at present? We were told during the election that the war was ended, but how many men have we now in South Africa? I cannot say with accuracy, but I suppose some 200,000 or 220,000, and these men are not there in idleness or safety. I have not seen any representation of the occurrences during November, but I have seen a map for the month of October showing the places in the Transvaal and Orange territory where fighting took place during the month, and, counting these, I found they numbered over 80, in most of which lives had been lost. And yet we were told the war was over. Our daily papers contain long lists of casualties. Once a week we send out drafts to South Africa, and there is no serious reduction, and apparently there can be no serious reduction of our force there yet. I think it is very desirable that the right hon. Gentleman should tell us broadly what are the intentions of the Government in regard to certain classes of men—the Reservists, for instance, who left their employment and whose places were kept open in many cases by patriotic employers. Surely these on the first opportunity should be allowed to return to civil occupations. Then, also, there are the gallant Yeomanry and Volunteers who, in the crisis of their country, sprang to arms and served so nobly. Surely these should not be kept on service a day longer than is absolutely necessary. It would be a poor reward for the alacrity with which they volunteered. I do not wish to play Cassandra's *role*, but I may say that we are coming to the time of year when the frightful scourge of enteric fever may be apprehended, and bad as it was last year, it may well be worse this year, because the germs of the disease will remain. You have a vast territory, ranging over which are armed bands varying in numbers from a score or less to a thousand, mobile, lightly equipped, inured to the climate, fond of the life, knowing the country, and facilitated in all their operations by the inhabitants. In these bands are all sorts of men, from reckless adventurers to stern patriots, but they are formidable foes with whom our brave fellows have to cope. They are able to cope with them, and I do not doubt for a moment that they can give a good account of them, but it will be a long, painful, and costly business, costly in life as well as in money. That is the situation at present. Now in the course of meeting these irregular hostilities certain harsh measures have been authorised and taken, the burning of farms, the destruction and carrying away of property, the deporting of women and children, and it cannot be denied that these things have moved the country and that many a heart revolts against them. I am not going to dwell upon them, still less am I going to criticise them. I decline to express any hostile opinion upon the subject; we have not the information to justify it; but, knowing the feeling of the country, I call upon the Government for facts. What is the system pursued, what are the instructions given, what are the intentions of these proceedings? I shall await that information before even attempting to form a judgment. But when I come to form a Government [loud laughter]—form a judgment—I for my part, and I am sure most of us, will be animated by two sentiments. In the first place, the most perfect confidence in the humanity and generosity of the British soldier and the British officer. We hear the most preposterous attacks made upon them in some places, with which I have not only no sympathy, but which I repudiate with indignation and scorn. As to the imputation of cruelty, why we know the British soldier, we know that he is the most warm-hearted, the most tender-hearted, the most soft-hearted creature, and if we went no further than the old adage *nemo repente fuit turpissimus*, we know that the men in the ranks of the British Army are not capable of excesses of the kind attributed to them; on the contrary, when put to this duty, in the case of all alike, whether officers or men, it is sorely against their liking. I have always been a disbeliever in the stories that have been told, on both sides, of discreditable, irregular, and cruel outrages. In the second place, I yield to no man in the absolute homage I would pay to military necessity. I have no desire, and I am sure the people of this country have no desire, through over-sensitiveness, to weaken or hamper the conduct of the war. Yet even from the point of view of the war, and the hope of a speedy termination to it, I am slow to believe, with a brave, resolute, stubborn enemy, come of a stubborn race, that to drive him to despair is the way to make him surrender. The common desire of us all is to end this war, with its miseries and sufferings, and to prevent it from dragging on, but that is not our whole desire. We desire also that when hostilities end they should leave behind them the best elements, the greatest promise of harmony and contentment. It cannot be so in every case. I can imagine a punitive expedition sent against some turbulent tribe of Afridis, or mutinous Sudanese, or half-civilised people of that sort, where it may be a defensible policy to harry them, devastate their homes, and in punishing them to make them an example *pour encourager les autres*, and then to leave them to recover themselves as best they may. But these men we have now in arms against us are not going to be left behind in some strange country to sink or swim as they can manage. They are the very men, they and their kinsfolk, who feel with and for them, whether in the two States or in the colonies, who will be our future fellow-citizens; they are the men whose loyal and friendly relations to us we are to depend upon in South Africa. And what sort of beginning do you make of it if you drive them to desperation? I would earnestly invite the right hon. Gentleman on behalf of the Government to declare their policy; the opportunity happily offers itself in this meeting of Parliament. Let them declare a policy which will not only tend to the early cessation of war, but will open auspiciously the new era of British rule in those countries. British rule is not in question; we are all agreed as to the incorporation of those territories—[An Hon. Member: No.]—with that exception, with all respect to my unknown friend behind me, whom I do not see, and therefore with no personal disrespect the exemption may be disregarded. I, at any rate, regard the incorporation of those territories as an absolutely necessary sequence of the war; there is no question of that, but that is all that has been announced. These men that are in the field against us just now, what do they know of the policy of the Government or of this country? All they know is that they are to be deprived of their independence as a nation. They know nothing else. Why should they not be told that their co-operation as citizens will be sought, and that by-and-by, when things have settled down and there is safety, they will have their share in the full rights of self-government? Why should it not be announced to them that if they will lay down their arms, leaders and burghers alike, if they will return to their homes and resume their old life, they will enjoy their property with their families, and that their kinsfolk who have been sent as prisoners to exile will be restored on the same terms? Would not such a proclamation lift the cloud of despair from off them and let the dawn of a new hope soften their feelings towards their conquerors? Enough, surely, has been done through the bravery of our soldiers and their sacrifices for honour and for dignity. Let the statesman's voice now be heard in sounding the first notes of a new concord between the races, and if this announcement was of no avail, if it should so happen that these obdurate men disregarded it and pursued their hopeless struggle, then at least the people of this country, yes, and our fellow-subjects in the African colonies, and our friends, such as remain to us, in the world, would have the satisfaction of knowing that nothing had been left undone in the interests of humanity and of peace, and, let me add, in the humbler interests of common sense. The history of Her Majesty's Government has been such that, having started with but a poor equipment of confidence in them, I have long since lost that with which I was originally endowed. But I believe them to be men entirely of generous and humane impulses; I trust that they may be prepared to give some satisfactory assurances on this grave matter. If we do not receive such assurances I hope that we shall have an opportunity before this debate ends of recording our strong desire for some such policy as I have indicated. I have to make the usual appeal for papers; I think there must be some regular papers due long ere this, besides the despatches and other items of information to which I have referred. Turning for a moment or two to the other part of the world to which our business in this session as defined in the Speech refers, namely, China, I have to renew this monotonous complaint of lack of information. We are sadly in want of authentic official information on that subject. In the absence of papers it is impossible, it seems to me, to discuss the question, which has been greatly complicated since the prorogation. Shortly before the prorogation the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for War, then Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, made a statement which was then reassuring, discreet, and reasonable, and gave great satisfaction to the House. But since then matters have become much more complicated. As I have mentioned the Department previously represented here by that right hon. Gentleman, let me interpolate the expression of a hope that there will not be continued the curious rule, originated by the right hon. Gentleman opposite, and novel to the House, of restricting the number of questions that can be put to the representative of that Department. I cannot understand why any such rule should exist, and if it has been assented to in the House of Commons it is simply because the House has been too astonished at it to bring the Government to book. The right hon. Gentleman and I the other day expressed our perfect confidence that Mr. Speaker would be able to conduct all our proceedings with perfect order, and in nothing has Mr. Speaker been more energetic and successful than in the preventing of unnecessary questions. Let us trust to him to prevent anything exceeding the points of ordinary propriety, but do not let us have this spectacle again, which reduces questions really to a farce, of allowing the representative of a great Department to sit dumb in the presence of a number of questioners. That is an aside. Now I come back to China. There has been much movement of troops, the advance on Peking has taken place, there have been expeditions in different directions, much marching and counter-marching, the object of which it is almost impossible to follow. There is another subject on which we must, of course, have detailed explanation, and that is the agreement with Germany. We have only had such information as could be got from the newspapers, but we require a good deal more than that—the explanation of the circumstances. I would say of that that I am satisfied that there will be a general appreciation in the country of a good understanding with Germany which would accord greatly not only with our interest but with the general disposition and feeling of our countrymen. But there must be a strong hope at the same time that we are not committed to any isolated action, to any remote expedition, or to any extreme measures. I trust that on these points we shall be reassured by what the right hon. Gentleman can tell us. As to the money Vote which the Chancellor of the Exchequer no doubt has in his pocket ready to present, although there is no mention of it in the Speech, we know nothing of the amount; but I do not anticipate that the regret with which we shall all greet it will run into anything like reluctance to grant it. But the Government must take account of the universal dismay with which the rapid growth of the war expenditure is regarded. Here we have in October a claim for £10,000,000, in February £13,000,000, in March nearly £38,000,000, in July £8,500,000 for South Africa—£70,000,000 altogether. Absolute finality was not claimed on any occasion, but a guess estimate was formed on each occasion, and terrible disappointment has been caused, I am sure, to the House and the country. This is going on and mounting up. While this is by no means the primary consideration in favour of the view which I have ventured to lay before the House and to urge upon the Government, it at least strengthens and confirms it. To make some modification in our attitude and action towards the people of the two conquered States in South Africa, which, while completely preserving the results of our efforts and sacrifices, and involving no departure from our fixed policy, may yet abate the exasperation or the estrangement of races, will do more than anything else, in my opinion, to bring this great war expenditure to an end. But of far greater value than any saving of money would be the initiation of a noble policy of conciliation and harmony upon which alone can be founded a hope for better days for the people of South Africa, and greater strength and security of the British power in that distracted continent.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): Before I attempt to address myself to the long series of questions and commentaries in the right hon. Gentleman's speech, I must associate myself with him in the well-merited eulogies which he passed on the mover and seconder of the Address. The task of a kind which, I think, is never easy, was rendered peculiarly difficult on the present occasion by the circumstance that the area over which they could travel, the topics over which they could with propriety indulge, were necessarily of a very limited character, and they were, indeed, confined to the one single and solitary subject which has required us to meet together at this unaccustomed time of the year. That they should in those circumstances have acquitted themselves not merely to the satisfaction of their friends, but to the general satisfaction of the House, is a matter on which they deserve our warmest congratulations, and I am glad to think that their performance to-day gives us such excellent promise of what we may expect from them on other occasions in the future. The right hon. Gentleman was perfectly justified—indeed he followed precedent—in raising a very large number of topics, and I suppose he would think me guilty of discourtesy if I omitted in my reply to deal with them *seriatim.* I will therefore start by one word of reply to his commentary upon a matter which I certainly was surprised to hear him raise at this time—namely, the form of answers to be given by the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs to questions put to him in this House. The right hon. Gentleman would have us believe that the practice which has been in operation for two sessions at least is one that does not meet with the general approval of the House, and is only acquiesced in by the House through a feeling of helpless astonishment and surprise. Well, Sir, astonishment and surprise that last through two sessions without any serious criticisms show that the practice must have something in its support. I observe, if I may judge from the cheers with which that part of the speech was received, that his chief supporter in desiring greater facility to put questions without notice to the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs—his chief ally in that direction — was my hon. friend the Member for the Ecclesall Division of Sheffield, whose fertility in putting questions to the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs is well known to the whole House. But it is not for the convenience of the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs or that of the Government sitting on this Bench that that rule was initiated. The truth is that an answer given in this House by the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs is an answer which may have results of not merely European, but universal consequence. It is most deplorable, in my opinion, that the Under Secretary should be asked to give an answer without an opportunity of consulting either his chief or the Cabinet at large, and it is putting him in an impossible position. That would, in itself, be a small matter, but it might produce difficulties of an international character, which we have no right to run the risk of.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: How did they get on before in all these years?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not think we always got on very well, and the practice is not an immemorial practice. It is not one of those constitutional precedents of which the right hon. Gentleman has to-day made himself the guardian. It is a practice that has grown up within the lifetime of Members sitting in this House. The whole method of putting questions has entirely changed in the last thirty years. I have so much to say to the House that I will not pursue that subject further, but I could not let the right hon. Gentleman's commentary pass without saying that, so far as the Government are concerned, we think the practice of the last two or three years is a very great improvement on the practice of former years. The right hon. Gentleman began by a very severe criticism on the gracious Speech from the Throne, for which he truly said not Her Majesty but Her Majesty's Ministers are responsible. He said it was a jejune Speech. I am not aware that flowers of rhetoric are usually introduced into Her Majesty's Speech. A businesslike statement of the work before the House is the object for which that Speech exists, and I think it is an object which the present Speech completely fulfils and completely carries out. It is perfectly true, however, as the right hon. Gentleman has said, that there is a departure from precedent in the Speech. He mentioned, I think, three departures from precedent. But, Sir, I quite admit it. Let me say at once that if there is a departure from precedent in this Speech it is not because the Government have the least wish or desire to alter the general form of the Queen's Speech in ordinary sessions, but because it appeared to us that this session is not an ordinary session, that the circumstances and the formality which may be well in place when you meet for legislative business in February and look forward to six months of strenuous work may be out of place when you come together, not for the purpose of discussing policy, but for the purpose of getting a supply of money for one particular and limited object. Well, Sir, I think that is not an important matter, but one way or the other there is no question of constitutional etiquette. I deny absolutely that there is anything of that kind. There is absolutely no breach of constitutional etiquette, and if the common form of the Speech has been departed from on this particular occasion, and this particular occasion only, it is because this is a special occasion. This is a question upon which I confess I should have thought that we need not spend much time. Let me make this further observation: the ordinary practice would have been, as we intended it to be last year, that when the House meets on this sort of occasion it should be at the beginning of a session not limited to one particular subject, going on till next July or August. That was objected to last year. We framed a Speech last year, holding that view; it was objected to, and to meet that objection we gave way. We quite admit that for the convenience of the House we should reserve till February next a Speech giving a proper survey of controversial topics and other matters interesting to the House and the country. That differentiates this brief session at once from the autumn session, and I see no reason why we should be criticised because, on this exceptional occasion, we have adopted once in a way a form of Speech to which the right hon. Gentleman objects.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The rights of the Commons are interfered with.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I leave that question, which is more of an antiquarian than a practical character—at least, in my opinion. The right hon. Gentleman speaks of rights of the Commons interfered with. What right, what privilege, what power of ours has been curtailed? What right of speech, what right of vote? Every privilege remains where it was. I have not satisfied the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouthshire, and I do not expect to. It is a topic which is eminently suited to his constitutional mind, and I expect to derive great instruction from his comments upon it. I do not know that I need refer to what the right hon. Gentleman said about Mr. Goschen and my right hon. friend the Member for Blackpool, but we would all associate ourselves with the warm words of praise which he allowed to drop on the present occasion. Indeed the right hon. Gentleman's views about these outgoing Ministers are so favourable that I almost believe, if my right hon. friend the Secretary to the Colonies were to leave the place which he fills with such distinguished skill, the right hon. Gentleman would find it in his heart, amid the cheers of his supporters, to find virtue and patriotism even in that right hon. Gentleman.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): We must draw the line somewhere.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I come to the criticism which the right hon. Gentleman has passed upon Her Majesty's advisers for having advised Her Majesty to dissolve Parliament in September. The right hon. Gentleman began that part of his speech with the statement that he meant to confine himself to the most moderate language, and that no criticism of an embittered character should be allowed to drop from his lips. I am sure the right hon. Gentleman began that part of his speech with all those excellent intentions; but he will forgive me for saying that his virtue failed him in the middle, and he could not restrain himself from indulging in what was for him an almost passionate outburst of indignation at what he regarded, and I am sure honestly regarded, as the constitutional *laches* of which the present Government had been guilty. What is the doctrine laid down by the right hon. Gentleman? It is that no Ministry should dissolve Parliament so late in the year—so near, therefore, to the new register—as the 25th of September.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Unless some unexpected emergency has arisen.

AN HON. MEMBER: Why not accelerate the register?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It is true the right hon. Gentleman did make that observation, but it seemed to me so extraordinary that I did not think it necessary to comment upon it. There never has been a Bill accelerating the register except in consequence of a Reform Bill. Has there ever been? Very well, do not let the right hon. Gentleman, who comes here as a stickler for constitutional practice, make so strange a suggestion. I pass by this crude notion of a special Bill brought in to accelerate the register, and turn to the main point of his criticism. Never will I give in to a doctrine so utterly subversive of the rights of the Crown and the smooth working of this Constitution as to say that there are six months or five months of each year in which the Crown is not to dissolve and in which the Ministry are not to ask the opinion of their countrymen. The doctrine is a preposterous one. It never was heard of until this election, and I trust, now that the election is over, it will never be heard of again. I object, on constitutional and practical grounds, in the strongest manner to the doctrine of the right hon. Gentleman. But I want to know why he feels so strongly upon it. I do not believe that it is as a mere abstract student of politics that he objects. He thinks evidently that the party which he leads with such distinguished ability suffered some unknown, some undefined wrong in having the election at that time. What ground is there for that supposition? Why does the right hon. Gentleman suppose that he and his friends are likely to have a smaller proportion of the favour of the electors on the 25th of September than, let me say, on the 25th of June or the 25th of February?

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: It is not a question of the effect upon parties; I did not say a word upon that. But what I say is this. You go with a great parade of the necessity of appealing to the country on a great policy, and you select a time of year when the country is least in a position to give its opinion.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The right hon. Gentleman would have us believe that it is not because he thinks the time of year was injurious to himself or his party that he objects to an election in September. If he says that is his view I accept it freely. I have great power of belief, but it has its limits; and I do not believe the great mass of electioneerers throughout the country—on the other side—who objected to September did so on these abstract constitutional grounds. They objected because they thought it damaged them, and I cannot understand for the life of me why they should have held that opinion. But I will never subscribe to the doctrine that there is to be a "close time" of six months, during which the Crown may not dissolve and Ministers may not advise dissolution. Then the right hon. Gentleman could not abstain—and I am sorry for it—from dragging into our debates that embittered topic of the arguments used to and fro in the course of this election. I should be glad to have said nothing about it, because it is very difficult to say anything about it without raising passions and feelings which, especially on an occasion like this, I should prefer to allow to slumber. But the topic has been raised. The right hon. Gentleman has, with great passion, expressed his indignation at some of the arguments used by us on this side of the House. He has chosen to throw down that challenge, and I cannot do otherwise than, with some regret though with no misgiving, take it up. The statement to which the right hon. Gentleman takes exception I understand to be that it was alleged by candidates on the Unionist side in the course of their speeches that a vote given for their opponents was a vote given to the Boers. [AN HON. MEMBER: The Colonial Secretary.] He was a Unionist candidate.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): The word used was "sold" to the Boers.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN, Birmingham, W.): It was not "sold." I have seen that statement, and I expected it to be stated again, although I contradicted it the moment it appeared in the public Press. What happened was this: I was asked for hundreds of letters during the contest, and in reply to one of these applications I sent a message which was in the exact terms of the statement made by the Mayor of Mafeking. The words were, "A seat lost to the Government is a seat gained by the Boers." When that telegram got down to its destination, I forget where, I was astonished to see it reported as "A seat sold to the Boers," which would have been perfect nonsense. I thereupon inquired at the post office, and I have an apology from the postmaster, who says that, owing to the negligence of an official, the words were altered.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I must say I have never even heard of this. The right hon. Gentleman, at all events, never referred to this absurd story. What he complained of, as I understood him, was the statement that a vote given to the Opposition was a vote given to the Boers. He interprets that as being an accusation of want of patriotism on the part of himself and gentlemen near him. I do not believe that it ever was used in that sense.

MR. BROADHURST (Leicester): What, then, was the object?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I will explain the only rational sense in which it could be used; and it never was used, so far as I know, in any other sense. I am stating my own belief. I do not believe I ever did use the phrase—I really do not know. I am perfectly certain I never used any phrase throughout the whole election which could be reasonably interpreted to mean that any opponent of mine was lacking in patriotism. But I am of opinion that it is true that votes given to the other side were votes given to the Boers in this sense, and in the only sense in which it could be reasonably interpreted—namely, that it must strengthen the Boer cause; that the weakening or destruction of the present majority—the substitution for this majority of a majority drawn from the other side with the right hon. Gentleman as its leader — would have been interpreted in South Africa and considered in South Africa as an encouragement to further resistance. Is that a reasonable belief? I do not doubt that the gentlemen I see arrayed opposite me are as animated by motives of public spirit as gentlemen sitting on this side or upon this Bench. But is it not the fact that among the English and Scottish supporters of the right hon. Gentleman there are found men who honestly think that the war was an unjust war, and that even now the independence of these Republics, unjustly assailed, should be restored to them, and who, therefore, not from want of patriotism, but from motives sufficient in their own mind to justify their conduct, would be regarded, and rightly regarded, by the Boers and their leaders as people anxious to support and aid them? That cannot be denied. But that is not nearly all. I am talking of English and Scottish supporters of the right hon. Gentleman. But there are the Irish Members.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS (Carnarvonshire, Eifion): And the Welsh Members.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Then there are Irish Members. I wish to be minute in my historical accuracy. I do not in the least suggest that the Irish party belong to the Radical party in the same sense that the Home Rule Members, let us say, for Yorkshire or Aberdeenshire belong to the party led by the right hon. Gentleman. I agree there is a difference. But those eighty Irish members count as part of the Opposition, and if the right hon. Gentleman had been sent for by the Queen in consequence of our party being in a minority those eighty Irish Members would have been among his supporters, I presume, in the future, as they have been in the past.

MR. LABOUCHERE: Will you guarantee it?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: We have a right to suppose, in the absence of information to the contrary, that the composition of the party opposite is what it was when last in power, when Lord Rosebery was Prime Minister, and when the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouthshire was leading the Government in this House. They had a majority which, I think, began at forty and sank to twenty and lower. [Opposition cries of "No," and laughter.] In that majority were always counted the eighty Irish Members of whom I speak; and let me tell the right hon. Gentleman that eighty Members are a very considerable portion of any party, however strong it may be. Those eighty Irish Members, who are to the extent I have described—I put it with careful moderation—supporters of the right hon. Gentleman, are avowedly pro-Boers. There is no doubt about it. They are proud of it.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): Hear, hear!

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: They boast of it in this House and upon Irish platforms, and they make no secret of it.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Hear, hear!

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: If those be the facts of the case—and no one can deny them—is it not true that if the right hon. Gentleman had been called upon to form a Government he would have had behind him an immense fraction of his party who were pro-Boers in their sympathies? Is it unfair to say, in those circumstances, that a vote given for the purpose of putting the right hon. Gentleman into power was a vote given for the Boers? If nothing worse was said in an election than that, I should watch the saturnalia of a General Election with more satisfaction than I do at present. The truth is that the party to which I belong have, perhaps, become inured to a certain kind of attack and insinuation, which we have begun to tolerate as an inevitable, but necessary evil connected with elections, and we are, perhaps, therefore less sensitive than right hon. Gentlemen opposite who have not been so tried. I have all my life been accustomed to be told on these occasions that I belong to the selfish and privileged minority, that the object of our policy was to give doles to our friends; and I remember seeing the walls of my constituency placarded with an interesting caricature in which I was represented as rejecting the legitimate claims of the starving Indians for the purpose of benefiting the squire and the parson. That is what hon. Gentlemen opposite think legitimate. Their sensitive consciences do not shrink from that.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE (Carnarvon Boroughs): Because it is true.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Exactly, you think that is true. We think the other true. The only difference is that I have shown some conclusive reasons why our opinion is right, and you have so far failed to show any reasons why your opinion is right. I am myself an advocate, and always have been an advocate, of fair treatment of opponents even at elections; and so far as I am capable of forming an opinion—I suppose it will be regarded as a partial opinion by hon. Gentlemen opposite—though neither side is impeccable in this matter, the burden of guilt lies far more upon the shoulders of hon. Gentlemen opposite than upon those on this side of the House. Then what says the right hon. Gentleman further about this election? He says it was a scandalous attempt to avoid the real issue that ought to be raised at the General Election by appealing to the patriotic feeling of the country.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I said "using" it.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes, using the patriotic feeling of the country. Of course we appealed to it, and I am glad to think that the patriotic feeling of the country sustained us. But I want to know why the right hon. Gentleman complains of that appeal? Why should we not appeal to the patriotic feeling of the country? And was there not sound instinct behind the response given by the country? The great mass of our countrymen do not believe the right hon. Gentleman to be lacking in patriotism and ability. They know he is both an able man and a patriot. But they apparently had a sound instinct that if this policy is to be carried out in South Africa, and vigorously carried out, it ought to be left to a united party, and not given to a party which by its own confession, on this subject at all events, is rent and shattered in all directions. If ever there was a General Election justified by public policy it was this General Election; if ever it was desirable to show in the face not only of our Boer enemies, but in the face of Europe at large what policy this country supports and by what strength of opinion it is supported, that time was last September. I think to have dragged on through all the difficulties of this winter, through all the difficulties which are still in front of us in regard to a settlement—difficulties which we are the last to minimise—to drag on through all these difficulties with a constant suggestion of doubt from hon. Gentlemen opposite as to whether we did or did not represent the true opinion of our countrymen would have been fatal to any sound or consistent policy. I must say that the Prime Minister was most well advised when he gave that advice to Her Majesty which has resulted in showing to all whom it may concern, friends and foes alike, in whatever quarter of the globe they may live, that the policy consistently pursued by the present Government—supported, as I understand, by the right hon. Gentleman opposite and a large section of his friends, but not supported by his party as a whole—is a policy to which this country is determined to adhere. And, holding that opinion, I am forced to the conclusion that constitutional usage has not suffered, and that the public weal has greatly gained by the policy which we have pursued. I think, as time is passing, I had better refer to the one or two questions of the right hon. Gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman asked me about the publication of despatches. We had hoped that the serious part of the military operations would, ere this, have been over, and that no further objection could be felt to the publishing of all the despatches which we have in our possession. But the further despatches we have received, and the further consideration of the subject, have convinced us that it would not be to the public interest that every despatch should be published. We therefore do not mean to publish all, but soon after Lord Roberts's return, we hope to publish the great majority of despatches which have been sent us from the front. As regards the despatches we do not mean to publish, of course they may be called for by any body which will be appointed to inquire into the general conduct of the war, but we do not think they should be laid upon the Table of the House in the ordinary course. The only other topic of importance to which the right hon. Gentleman referred was the conduct of the generals and troops in the measures which they have been obliged to take, such as the burning of farms and so forth, in the conduct of the war. The right hon. Gentleman spoke on that topic with studied care and moderation. I am sure that in so speaking he had the sympathy of gentlemen on both sides of the House. He paid an eloquent, but not at all extravagant or exaggerated, tribute to the rare humanity of our troops and their leaders; and so long as we are assured that the troops and their leaders have been actuated by humanitarian sentiments it would be very difficult to judge accurately and properly of their action in any particular case at this distance and with our very imperfect means of information. I should like to remind the House how very difficult is the task of a belligerent fighting under the conditions under which our troops are fighting in South Africa. The ordinary laws of war as practised by civilised countries depend essentially upon drawing a sharp distinction between combatant and non-combatant. The combatant has his particular privileges, the non-combatant has his particular privileges. What has been universally found intolerable is that a man should oscillate, according to his convenience, from one category to the other—be a peaceful agriculturist when it suits him and an effective combatant when circumstances seem to be favourable. That practice is so intolerable that I believe all nations have laid down the severest rules for repressing it. I have in my hands the instructions to the army of the United States in the field, dated 1898. I should like to read to the House two extracts from this document. Rule 52 says—

> "If a people of a country, or any portion of same already occupied by the army rises against it, they are violaters of the laws of war, and are not entitled to their protection."

The 82nd Rule is to the effect that men, or squads of men, who take part in raids of any kind without permission, and without being part or portion of an organised hostile army, are not public enemies, and, therefore, if captured are not entitled to be treated as prisoners of war, but shall be treated as highway robbers or pirates.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Will the right hon. Gentleman give us the date of that? Was it the 1st of May, 1898?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am afraid I cannot say the date is 1898.

MR. T. M. HEALY: They were just in the same stew as you are in South Africa.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I only read those rules, not to illustrate what is now going on in South Africa, but to show the extreme difficulty in which any general is placed who has to deal, not with an organised enemy, under recognised leaders, wearing a uniform which obviously marks him out as belonging to the military and not to the civilian part of the population, but who is subject to sniping, as it is called, from a presumably peaceful farmhouse.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Monmouthshire, W.): Do you adopt those rules?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I neither adopt them nor refuse them. That is not what is going on in South Africa, but that is an illustration of the difficulties which civilised countries feel when they are dealing with bodies of men such as those described.

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Montrose Burghs): Have we no rules of our own?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: If the right hon. Gentleman will put a question to the Secretary of State for War, when he comes back on Monday, I am sure he will give him any information he can.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Were there no rules settled at the Hague?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not understand the meaning of the right hon.

Gentleman's interruption. I am sure the House will understand the difficulties which must occur under the circumstances I have mentioned—when the organised forces are to a great extent disposed of, and you have a civilian population rising sporadically here and there. Under no circumstances could that be permitted, and I am sure the general in command would be wrong to permit such a thing. I entirely associate myself with what fell from the right hon. Gentleman when he said that, in dealing with this war, we must always remember that the men against whom we are fighting are going to be our fellow-subjects. I feel, and the Government feel, and I am sure the generals on the spot feel, that everything that can be done should be done to prevent embittering the feeling which the horrors of war, alas! must inevitably produce. I confess that, much as I feel the terrible evils incident to the prolonged continuance of this war, much as I feel the burden which it throws upon this country, both in blood and in money, much as I deplore the loss of valuable lives and waste of treasure, much as I feel for the sufferings necessarily inflicted upon those with whom we are at war—upon women and children as well as upon those engaged against us in the field—that which I think is the worst of all is the embitterment of feeling on the part of those with whom we are at war. It is a melancholy reflection, and I cannot help asking myself whether a heavy weight of responsibility for it does not rest upon the Boer leaders at the present time. From the men who are bravely and courageously fighting against us one cannot withhold, one ought not to withhold, one's sympathy. They are brave men fighting, if not for liberty, at all events for independence, and one does not ask them to form a judgment as to the exact hour at which fighting ceases to be a virtue and becomes a crime. That decision, I admit, rests not with the Boer soldier; it does rest, and must rest, with the Boer leader, and now that every man of sane judgment—be he Englishman or Dutchman, be he for the one side or the other, or be he simply an indifferent Continental critic—knows perfectly well that the prolongation of hostilities can lead to no useful object, that it produces endless suffering with no compensating advantages, that it sows the roots of future hatred and discord between the races when their only hope for happiness and prosperity is living together in amity, I say that the leader who, under these circumstances, prolongs, and necessarily prolongs, all these horrors is not giving proof either of patriotism or of courage, but is only showing how reckless he is of human life and human suffering, how indifferent he is to the great issues for which he is in part responsible.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: It would be better for the Boers to be dead than to be English.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: The right hon. Gentleman appears to be of opinion that some great object would be served if we could make some declaration of policy to the Boers, which would mitigate their objection to British rule, and which would bring these deplorable incidents to a termination. If there be any means of bringing home to the great bulk of the Boer population the policy which we have always professed in and out of this House—the policy which I believe is shared by both sides, on which I believe there is absolutely no difference of opinion between the leaders there and the great body of gentlemen on this side—if we could bring home to the Boers these views it would be well, as it might have some effect possibly in convincing them that they had better cease this wasteful and miserable struggle. What more can be done than has been done? We have stated over and over again that what we look forward to is a condition of things in the two colonies in which the Dutchmen and Englishmen shall have equal privileges, in which the blessings associated with British colonial rule in all parts of the globe shall be shared by the inhabitants of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State as they are shared by others of Her Majesty's subjects. That has been stated over and over again, Does the right hon. Gentleman opposite allege that we have ever suggested that the permanent condition of things in South Africa should be that of a Crown colony? No such suggestion has ever been made by a Minister of the Crown or by any gentleman on this side. Of course there must be a period of transition in the case of these colonies as there has been in the case of every other colony—a period of transition before the full immunities and privileges can be guaranteed. The intention that the English colonial system in South Africa shall be what it is everywhere else, a free system, has never been disguised. It has been publicly and openly avowed by every responsible Minister, and I do not believe there is a single statesman in South Africa who does not know it. If anything could be suggested which would bring those truths, known as they are to the public here and to the public in South Africa, more home to the minds of the Boers I should be very glad to see that expedient adopted; but I am afraid we have not got to convince the Boers what their true interests are. We have got to convince the leaders of the Boers that the time has now come when patriotism requires them to lay down their arms, as patriotism may once have required them to take those arms up. We believe—the right hon. Gentleman believes as we believe—that the war on our part has been a just war. [Cries of "No."]

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I did not say so.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I never quite know where I have got the right hon. Gentleman. Well, at all events, the hon. Gentlemen sitting on each side of him both said it was a just war. I should very much like to go down that front bench and ask each gentleman in turn what his opinion is; it would give us the exact measure of unity which the right hon. Gentleman says exists on this most important question Well, the right hon. Gentleman's neighbours on that bench say it was a just war. We believe it to have been a just war, generously carried out; but we know that every war must produce infinite suffering to those engaged in it, and we know that when a war gets to that stage when it ceases to be a conflict between organised bodies, and becomes guerilla fighting, the suffering is developed and no useful object is attained. If any method can be suggested by which we can bring home to the Boers that great truth we should gladly adopt it. In the meantime our duty is plain. It is to conduct these military operations with all the vigour in our power, and, looking to the future, not only with all the humanity which common morality suggests, but with the humanity which a statesmanlike view of the future interests of South Africa must impress upon the mind of every impartial spectator. That is the policy of the Government—to proceed with the war vigorously and unremittingly, to carry it out with all possible humanity, and to let it be as widely known as possible that our object in absorbing these colonies is not to curtail freedom, but to spread it. That being our policy, we ask the House to support us, as I do not doubt they will, in this short session by supplying us with the means by which alone the great body of troops now in South Africa can be maintained in a state of efficiency. The right hon. Gentleman tells us that, as far as he is concerned, he is anxious that the discussions on the Queen's Speech and on the Vote should be, relatively speaking at all events, brief and concise. On that matter there is no divergence of opinion between the two sides of the House, and, under these circumstances, I hope we may be able to postpone to a more favourable opportunity all those subjects of embittered controversy which may, and perhaps must, inevitably arise in the ordinary conflict of parties. In the meanwhile, and for this brief session, we may, I hope, be allowed to forget our differences and to carry out the policy on which we are all agreed.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: China?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Oh, yes; papers will, I suppose, be laid on the subject of China. Meanwhile, I do not know that there is anything bearing on policy to mention, or upon our military operations, the object of which was thoroughly explained to the House when the Vote was taken.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): I should not have risen at the present moment but for the extremely perfunctory nature of the reply of the right hon. Gentleman on the last subject. The right hon. Gentleman was asked a definite question with regard to the Anglo-German agreement. [AN HON. MEMBER: No.] Yes, a definite question was put as to what explanation the Government had to give of the isolated agreement lately entered into by them with a single Power. [AN HON.

MEMBER : No.] I am in the recollection of the House, and I appeal to the recollection of the House. I distinctly assert that the Leader of the Opposition put to the right hon. Gentleman this question : Why did you make an isolated agreement with a single Power ? I should like to repeat the question put by the Leader of the Opposition on that point. In August last the statement was made that the Russian flag had been hoisted at a port where we had a large trade, Niu-chwang. We are now informed that the Government have taken a most important step since that time. They have announced to the country that they have concluded a convention with Germany which they say essentially changes the condition of affairs. The Leader of the Opposition has asked for information, and no reply is made by the Leader of the House. I will put the matter very briefly to the House. We had the Note of the United States asking the Powers for a declaration of their disinterestedness in China, and to that Note all the Powers have made a satisfactory reply. After recent events in China there would have been no difficulty in following the usual course and producing a protocol declaring the disinterestedness of the Powers, which would have been signed by all the Powers. Yet our Government go out of their way to recognise those rights against which we have protested—isolated and exclusive rights in certain parts in China. I wish to know, and the House wishes to know, why that isolated agreement was made with a single Power. It seems to weaken previous agreements on the same subject. We want to know what is the theory that lies behind this new agreement, and why it is preferred to the action proposed in the American Note. I am afraid that a number of Members have represented to their constituents that this agreement is in the nature of an alliance with a military Power, which the Colonial Secretary has recommended to the country as better than a higher standard for our fleet. I am one of those who think that a higher standard for our fleet is far more satisfactory and important than any alliance with a military Power; but it is the most dangerous delusion any Englishman, or body of Englishmen, can harbour, to suppose that it is possible for us to turn Germany from her settled policy of friendliness to Russia. It has been represented that this single-handed German agreement is a step towards an alliance against Russia. That is one of the most dangerous delusions that can possess the British mind. The right hon. Gentleman has told us that we are to limit our debate, and I am quite glad to fall in with that view, but I think it is useful to put certain questions to the Government which have not been put on this occasion. The Government have said nothing to-night about military reform. A specific question was put to the right hon. Gentleman with regard to the information which will be given to us, and the right hon. Gentleman has replied that a large number of despatches will shortly be laid before Parliament. The Queen's Speech seems to me to be wholly unsatisfactory. The right hon. Gentleman talked about antiquarian and pedantic notions on our part. It is not an antiquarian and pedantic matter that we should be asked for money without the information on which alone that money ought to be granted. I should like to put this question. The Government have pledged themselves over and over again not only to give the general despatches to this House, but to give specifically the results of the inquiries held into the surrenders of British troops which have taken place during this war. I do not know that the right hon. Gentleman is familiar with these matters. In February last I brought forward the question of the surrenders, and I brought it up again on 27th July last.* I said it was necessary that we should know, for the sake of the future training and recruiting of the Army, where the blame was to be fixed. The right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State readily assented, and in reply used these words—

> "There have been very large surrenders on the part of our men. That is a question which must be most carefully and searchingly inquired into. No one feels that with greater conviction than the Government, the Commander-in-Chief, and the Adjutant-General."

But the "full publication" which the Under Secretary promised was "at the end of the war." These pledges are very strong indeed. It is for the right hon. Gentleman to consider whether the time has not come when the information might be given to us. We are told that the larger operations of the war are concluded and that Lord Roberts is coming home. The right hon. Gentleman must remember that the Under Secretary has admitted that those matters affect the recruiting and the training of the Army. Many commanding officers have been removed from their commands as the result of the inquiries which have been held. Commanding officers have been sent home, while general officers have been put into civil employ on account of the inquiries which have been held. These inquiries are to be published, and the question is, when are they to be published? There is only one other matter which I should like to put in the form of a question with regard to military affairs. It is a question which ought to be asked to-night. It comes before us now, I think, with singular force. Lord Roberts is coming home, and that fact has been alluded to by every Unionist candidate as meaning that Lord Roberts is to become the trusted adviser of the Government in military matters. No statement has been made as to whether Lord Roberts is to take the office of Commander-in-Chief on the conditions under which it is now held or whether larger powers are to be given to him. If Lord Roberts is to take up the office only with the same powers the Commander-in-Chief now has, it will be necessary to call the attention of the Government to what has been said by the outgoing Commander-in-Chief. In April and July last debates took place in which the question of Army guns was discussed. No exaggerated statements were made on that occasion by my hon. and gallant friend on the other side when we raised the question of the field guns of the British Army, and said that they were not equal to the field guns of certain foreign Powers. Reassuring statements were made to us at that time, but the outgoing Commander-in-Chief, in a speech at the Cutlers' Feast at Sheffield, used these words—

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* See *The Parliamentary Debates* [Fourth Series], Vol. lxxxvi., pages 1541, 1623.

> "A man like himself, charged with the purely military side of our affairs, might feel it necessary to bring before the Government of that day the fact that . . . its guns were old. . . . The nation was not taken into the confidence of the Queen's Ministers and allowed to judge between the specialist who recommended the changes and the Treasury who refused to pay. . . . It was only necessary that the facts should be laid before them that we wanted . . . a different class of guns."

Sir Chas. Dilke.

I mention that because here you have the outgoing Commander-in-Chief, who implies in these words, if they have any meaning at all, that he gave advice to the Government on that question, and that the Government did not take it on the ground of the expense alone. That was never stated to the House, but we were told that in the opinion of the military advisers of the Government—at least, so I understood it—we had the best field gun in Europe. I give that as a specific instance. Is Lord Roberts becoming Commander-in-Chief with only the limited powers attaching to the office as lately held, or with the fuller powers under which it was formerly held? I ask the Leader of the House to answer the question to-night. If it is not answered, we shall have to put it again next week before we vote the money which is asked for in this unusual form.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: There is no representative of the War Office here, owing to the facts which the House is aware of. Perhaps I may, however, very briefly, for the convenience of the House, say one word. I am sorry it falls to me to do it, but the right hon. Gentleman knows that I am deprived of any military advice at this moment. About the surrenders, no doubt any pledge that was given will be fulfilled, but I should doubt whether this is a convenient time to make any of these documents public, as I am afraid that some of the surrenders have been of so recent a date.

*Sir CHARLES DILKE: I am speaking, of course, of the earlier ones.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I think it would be better, perhaps, that the matter should be deferred. Then the right hon. Gentleman asks me another question, as to the position of Lord Roberts as Commander-in-Chief. Lord Roberts, as I understand the matter, takes the office of Commander-in-Chief, and must take it, under the old conditions, because you cannot begin to discuss War Office reforms until he returns. You must take the War Office as you find it, and wait for his return before you discuss any reforms. I need hardly say that the fact that Lord Roberts has taken it now does not necessarily end the matter, but, of course, so great a change as that suggested by the right hon. Gentleman cannot be taken with advantage until we have had an opportunity of personal conference with Lord Roberts.

MAJOR RASCH (Essex, Chelmsford): I only desire to say half a dozen words as to the War Office, which, as has been well said, during the past twelve months has displayed the foresight of the ostrich and the firmness and decision of the jelly-fish. I do not wish to criticise any suggestion made, or likely to be made, in regard to the future. I do not think there is any doubt about the opinion of the man in the street and the constituencies. I know that he is not by any means satisfied with the casual and light-hearted utterances of the great, wise, and eminent persons who have spoken on the reform of the War Office during the past six months. I allude with the greatest possible respect to the speech made on 9th November by Lord Salisbury at the Guildhall. Then there was another speech made by a Cabinet Minister—the Home Secretary—addressing his constituents at Croydon, who said it was not for them to say to whom with reference to the War Office they should award praise or blame. We had a statement by Lord Lansdowne, the late Secretary for War. He said the other day that the War Office had done its work with a degree of success which was admitted by all who had specially watched it for the last twelve months. We were told that we were going to have fresh blood, and although it is not for me, a humble supporter of the Government, to object, I would say that the fresh blood which we have seen is provided by the appointment of the present Secretary of State for War, who himself was for ten years in the War Office, and was imbued with its traditions and its red tape, and must be so. He has been the optimistic apologist for everything the War Office has done since the year 1885, with the exception of five years; he is the man who elevated the position of the War Secretary and lowered the position of the Commander-in-Chief; he is the man who was opposed to every reform that was suggested on either side of the House, and, with Mr. Stanhope, eight years ago, reduced the Horse Artillery batteries in the teeth of every opinion. To him has been added the hon. Baronet, against whom I have not a word to say, but he has been a clerk on the civil side of the War Office. That is how the promise has been kept to introduce new blood into the War Office. It is true that something like 200,000 men were sent to South Africa, but if it had not been for the Militia, the Yeomanry, and the Volunteers we could not have put an army like that in the field. That says absolutely nothing for the War Office. It is like the defending counsel in a case of rape, or arson, or murder telling the jury that it is on record that the accused once gave sixpence to a blind beggar. Perhaps I may say half a dozen words germane to this subject with reference to stores. Of course hon. Members know that the equipment of an army means more than a bag of biscuits or half a dozen nails. Some time ago—I think it was last January—it was found that the War Office was millions of pounds deficient in stores. The other day it was stated that the guns in the eastern and southern fortresses of this country were obsolete, and Lord Wolseley has stated that they might as well be defended by bows and arrows. In June 1895 circumstances occurred which led the right hon, Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition to retire from the War Office. It was said then that they were deficient in cordite. Here the Secretary of State for War admits that he was deficient four millions in stores, and yet at the next General Election he gets a majority of 130 to support him. We cannot get the men we want for the Army. I have not a word to say against the Reserve battalions. I think they are the finest body of men I ever saw, although they measure rather more round the waist than round the chest. That would doubtless cure itself in time, if there was time, but there is not. These battalions were raised in March; part of the time they have been on furlough, part of the time they have had no arms or accoutrements, and sometimes only one officer to about 300 men. The raising of these battalions, and the keeping of them more or less disciplined, would cost something like £3,000,000, and when March comes and they are disbanded there will be absolutely nothing to show for that money except the bill. I regret that I have not been able, like some of my more fortunate colleagues, to go to the front, but that is perhaps another instance of the fatuity and incompetence of the War Office, because if they had let me go they might have got rid of me and never seen me again. People generally, all over the country, are not prepared to put up with the casual and light-hearted utterances of the men in authority; they want the pledges given at the last General Election, in reference to the reform of the War Office, properly carried out.

MR. BROADHURST: I take it as exceedingly unfortunate that the Leader of the House did not appropriately finish the very interesting speech which he made in the earlier part of the evening. The right hon. Gentleman had the courage and the good feeling—which is not very prevalent upon his side of the House—to acknowledge the skill, the devotion, and the patriotism of the enemies now fighting against Her Majesty's forces in South Africa. Had a Liberal Member, only a few months back, used such language with regard to the Boers he would probably have been hooted out of the hall and most certainly would have been called a pro-Boer, and it would have been said that he was making speeches in the interests of the enemies of the Queen's rule in South Africa. The right hon. Gentleman made a noble, manly, and courageous speech, in which he appealed with considerable eloquence and with a great deal of effect, so far as the Members of this House are concerned, and he expressed the hope that there would be a speedy ending of the unhappy and disastrous conflict which is now proceeding in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. He spoke of the liberties which they would enjoy if these people came back to their homes and assimilated themselves under British rule and British law, but what I think the Leader of the House failed in was that he did not make a specific statement as to the terms to be submitted and offered by this country to the Boers still in the field. I thought he was going to finish his speech by making such a statement, which I am sure would have been cheered and approved by all parties. I thought he would have said that Her Majesty's Government would adopt some means of communicating to the Boers who are still fighting the terms of settlement which they would receive if they surrendered, together with an assurance that if they surrendered no punishment would follow, and that there would be a restoration to them of the property and effects which belonged to them in their own country. I hope that the Leader of the House has not said the last word tonight upon this question, and I trust that he will have the further courage to make a statement on the lines I have suggested, and make it in such a manner that it can be said to these people with authority, in order that they may have an opportunity of ceasing this conflict upon terms which will be acceptable to honourable and noble men, such as the Leader of the House has described them. I am sure that if the right hon. Gentleman could do that, although some wild-spirited men, who are more patriotic than they are wise, may rail and disapprove, yet the nation at large would welcome any reasonable proposal or concessions on the part of the Government to bring this unhappy, miserable and bloodthirsty strife to a conclusion. I further wanted to ask the Leader of the House, had he been present, what assurance he can give to the country in regard to the information we are to receive as to the future progress of this war. I want to know whether what has appeared in newspaper paragraphs upon this subject is true. What I understand is that all war correspondents are now to be kept at the rear, and they are not to be allowed within the fighting area of the army at all. I understand that Lord Kitchener is to have supreme command, and that he will control all things in connection with this conflict. What I wish to ask Her Majesty's Government is, how are we to obtain news and information as to what is going on at the front under these circumstances? Lord Kitchener is not a man renowned for liberality of information as to his own operations. We have had considerable experience of him in this respect in times past in other parts of the world, and this does not inspire us with confidence as to future arrangements in South Africa. Is Lord Kitchener to be the sole source of communication and information as to the war to the people of this country? Is there to be a still stronger press censorship in that country of news before it reaches England? These are all things which we should like to know something about. We should like to know as to the truth or otherwise of the alleged burning of farms and the destruction of property in the Transvaal. There has lately been a long list of allegations specific in their nature. There have been many charges of the wanton destruction of property in that country. What we want to know is, are those statements true or false. If they are false then they are capable of being disproved, and I should be very glad if they can be disproved. If they are true, then why not admit the fact and tell us so, instead of leaving us in doubt? Do not leave us for our supply of information to unofficial or unreliable channels. The policy of the sword we accept, but the policy of the torch is hateful to the British mind. Hundreds of thousands of the people who have hitherto stood by the Government are horrified beyond description at the harrowing accounts of the destruction of property which is taking place, or which is alleged to be taking place, in South Africa. They do not believe that the soldier is the best man to remain in charge after the people have been practically conquered, for the soldier's policy is always destruction. He can spend and waste money, and, as my right hon. friend the Leader of the Opposition has said to-night, money has been poured out in South Africa as though it were water, and of no value. We do not want, and the Government do not desire, the complete annihilation of every home in the Transvaal. If you are going to destroy all means of sustenance by the destruction of farms and property in the country, what prospect is there in the future of the return of the population and of any return of prosperity to the people? I cannot imagine a more unwise policy than that of destroying the property of the people whose country you have invaded, and whose country you have to a large extent conquered. I should have been glad if the Leader of the House had gone so far as to declare that this policy should cease except in cases where it was absolutely necessary for the defence of the lives of our own men. In such circumstances any policy is justifiable to protect our men from treachery, but to make war in this way upon men because you cannot beat them otherwise is not a policy associated with the best history of the British Army. Our soldiers like to fight their men fairly and squarely in the open, and then act as soldiers and as Britishers afterwards towards their foes. I am making no accusations against the soldiers. I am simply appealing to the Government, because they are responsible for this policy. Can this policy not be stopped? I know of nothing that is doing more injury to our sense of self-respect and to the good name of the British Empire, its Army and its traditions, than the allegations which are being sent broadcast throughout the country and throughout the world of the wanton destruction of the property of non-combatants in South Africa. My contention is that if these allegations are not true the Government should tell us so, and give us some proof of their untruth, or an assurance that if they are true this policy shall be stopped. There is only one other subject which I will mention now, and that is the question of the General Election. The Leader of the House, by a very clever manœuvre, of which he is a great master, wriggled out of the corner into which we had put him with regard to the charge of bringing on a General Election by an unconstitutional practice. The General Election was sprung upon the country when there was absolutely no necessity for it, and the time of the election was so appointed as to give the Government the greatest advantage in the contest against the Opposition. [Ministerial cries of "No, no."] At any rate that is my charge, and, of course, I do not expect hon. Members opposite will agree with me. I do not believe that hon. Gentlemen opposite have gone fairly into the subject and mastered the facts. I assert that the Government did wantonly and with malice aforethought, without any justification except self-interest, bring on an election at a time when the greatest number of our countrymen were disfranchised. That is the charge which I make against the Government. We went to war to enfranchise a few men in Johannesburg, a great number of whom had been charged with attempted murder, and many of whom had been ordered out of South Africa. This is the class of men we went to war to obtain the franchise for. And this Government, after having gone to war to give foreigners the franchise, defends that war by having the General Election at a time when it practically disfranchises our own countrymen by the million. At any rate they were disfranchised in large numbers by the policy of Her

Majesty's Government. We were startled when we were told that the war was virtually over, because we could not believe it. This statement was made throughout the country at the General Election, and we sincerely hoped then that it was true. That statement, however, turned out to be absolutely untrue, and it was only invented for electioneering purposes by the Tory party. But that is not the whole of the case against them. They fixed the Proclamation dissolving Parliament upon a day which made it impossible to have any contest upon a Saturday, and why? Because by so doing they avoided the election taking place on the day which is the most suitable for the overwhelming masses of the people to record their votes. The Colonial Secretary is still left in the Government, and there is no man in England who is a greater master of electioneering arrangements than the right hon. Gentleman. I speak from personal experience of him, and I am sure that the cunning has not yet forsaken his hand in these matters, as it has not done in other matters. I say that it was a grave and serious unconstitutional act on the part of the Government to dissolve Parliament at a time when no dissolution was necessary, and at a time when it disfranchised hundreds and thousands of people, and the Government must have known this. The Government dissolved Parliament under such circumstances as made it impossible to have the polling day on the one day of the week which is the most convenient to the greatest number of the wage-earners of this country. I think these are complaints which we are quite justified in making. We made these complaints at the time upon our platforms, and we are entitled to make them here at the very first opportunity we have got of facing the Government. The Leader of the House seemed to think that nobody suffered any particular disadvantage in this respect during the recent election, but the Government had got the power and the machinery and other advantages over the Opposition, and they took a mean advantage over the Liberal party in that contest. Nothing could exceed the vulgarity of the machinery used by the Government at the last election. We had to wade through a perfect forest of lies, and through oceans of vituperation and vulgar abuse. There never was an election known to equal it in this respect. Before this debate closes to-night I hope the Leader of the House will find an opportunity to make a further offer of a peaceful settlement calculated to bring this war to a conclusion upon honourable terms, and if he does this I am sure his offer will be received with universal acclamation throughout the length and breadth of the land. We are all tired of the war; many of us are ashamed of it; and others think that they have paid already more for it than ever they intended, and we are all anxious that it should be brought to a conclusion. I do hope the noble Lord opposite will make an appeal to the Leader of the House when he returns in the terms I have indicated. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will be able to supplement the latter part of the speech which he made to-night by a more definite offer to our enemies in the field, to the effect that, if they will surrender, honourable conditions will be offered to them, in the interests of peace and the future welfare of that unhappy country.

*THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Viscount CRANBORNE, Rochester): The hon. Member who has just sat down has made an appeal to the Government to put an end to the war. I am confident that every member of the Government is anxious that the war should come to an end; but we are convinced that there is no means of bringing it to an end except that every friend of the Boers, whether in this country or elsewhere, should impress upon them the absolute hopelessness of resistance. As soon as the leaders of our enemies are convinced that such is the case the war will be brought to an end. Until then I am afraid the war must be continued. In replying to certain questions put to me in the course of the evening I should like to claim the indulgence of the House in addressing it for the first time as the representative of a Department which has to deal with many important and grave subjects. The Leader of the Opposition asked a question with reference to the presentation of papers on China. Undoubtedly papers will be presented, though there will be some difficulty, amounting almost to an impossibility, in presenting complete papers. I shall probably be able to-morrow to inform the House how far the papers can be presented. The right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean asked me one or two questions with reference to the recent history of the Chinese question. The first question had reference to Niu-chwang, and he wished to know whether the Government could give any information to the House in respect to what had taken place there. There is no doubt that the Russians occupied Niu-chwang, and that they hoisted their flag on the Custom-house there. I certainly am not inclined to complain of the right hon. Gentleman being particularly sensitive to British interests, whether there or elsewhere, but I think it is quite impossible to apply the same kind of criticism to the action of Russia, or of any other Power in China, in time of war as might have been applied in time of peace. And that is not merely a technical observation; it is not merely that it is a time of warlike operations in China, but that there are in the district in question disturbances attaching to those warlike operations. With regard to Niu-chwang, there was a Boxer propaganda in full swing in the neighbourhood, and disturbances arose which had connection with the troubles in China. Under those circumstances the Russian commander on the spot occupied Niu-chwang, and though, of course, opinions may differ as to the necessity which was laid upon him to take such a step, I think it would be impossible to condemn him, without further information, for doing so. However, the representatives of several of the Powers were anxious that the interests of the countries they represented should not suffer, and they at once made representation to the Russian officer, asking him why he thought it necessary to occupy Niu-chwang, and why he had hoisted the flag of his country there. He explained perfectly candidly that it was a temporary operation, and that the rights of other persons and other Powers would not be prejudiced in any way by his action. I think that is a sufficient answer.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE: Has the Government any information as to the new step of collecting the land tax there, which looks a little like a claim of sovereignty?

*VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: I have no information to give the House on that point, but undoubtedly, as we all know who know anything of South Africa, when once a military occupation has taken place, it is necessary to transact all the business of the Government without exception while that occupation is continued. The right hon. Baronet then asked me about the Anglo-German agreement. I may say, parenthetically, that I believe it has not actually been laid on the Table, but I believe it will be in the course of a few days. He complained that we had singled out one Power, and gone to that Power and made an arrangement of a character which he described. I think we acted in a very natural and proper manner, and one which need give no reason for surprise in any quarter. We were aware that the interests of Germany in China were closely analogous to our own, and we were therefore glad to join with Germany in making an agreement which declared the policy which both the Powers were prepared to pursue. The House is aware that the Government have never varied in declaring the main principles upon which their policy is based—equality of opportunity and territorial integrity—and those two declarations are to be found in the Anglo-German agreement. I do not mean to say they are carried to their full logical conclusion, but the spirit of those two principles governs the whole of that agreement. No sooner had we come to that agreement than we invited the adhesion of all the other Powers, so that there was no desire to have what the right hon. Gentleman complains of—namely, isolated action as between us and Germany.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE: Isolated action after the general agreement had been come to, after the replies to the Note of the United States.

*VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: If charged with isolated action, we say, in reply, that we at once invited the adhesion of the other Powers, and we have no reason to be dissatisfied with the response they made. The right hon. Baronet complains that the agreement followed upon the replies to the American Note, and is in some way to be differentiated from it. Certainly it is to be differentiated from it; it was a step in advance upon the reply to the American Note, because that dealt only with equality of opportunity; it did not deal with territorial integrity. Both those principles are to be found in the Anglo-German agreement, so that it was a substantial advance on what had gone before. But, of course, even if that had not been so, if the new element which I have shown was introduced had not been introduced, the mere fact of the formality of the agreement was, diplomatically, a step in advance. The right hon. Baronet is very familiar with these subjects, and knows how the diplomatic history of these questions may begin with discussion, and go on with exchange of views, until a definite proposal is made and a final compact or agreement of some kind arrived at, and that is the step which was taken in the Anglo-German agreement. There was a solemn declaration on the part of two Powers, who invited the adhesion of all the other Powers to the view that, in their opinion, equality of opportunity, as far as the littoral of China is concerned, and territorial integrity were the two pillars upon which their policy was based, and to which they looked for future action. We conceded nothing, and, in that view, neither did Germany; we have always declared that such is our policy. It was an agreement of mutual advantage to the Powers concerned, who did not intend to isolate themselves from others; it was a ready method of obtaining the agreement of others, and I think it can be said to have been a diplomatic success.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE: Will the replies of the other Powers to the agreement be communicated to the House along with the agreement?

*VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: I imagine so. If the right hon. Gentleman will put a question to-morrow I will give him a definite reply.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): I confess that the declaration of the noble Lord with regard to South Africa gives me some apprehension. It differs in a very remarkable way from the declaration made this evening by the First Lord of the Treasury. The First Lord of the Treasury breathed a hope of conciliation; he pointed out to the House that we are dealing with persons whom we profess to regard as our fellow-subjects, but whom certainly we hope to have as fellow-subjects in the future. The noble Lord took quite a different tone. He says the only hope of peace and a settlement is to persuade the Boers that their cause is perfectly hopeless.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. JESSE COLLINGS, Birmingham, Bordesley): Hear, hear.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I congratulate my right hon. friend on that cheer, and even more on the fact that he is still able to cheer from the Treasury Bench. Hon. Members may cheer, but these are two opposite views, and I really do hope that it will not go forth that it is the settled resolve of Her Majesty's Government that they will listen to no terms and consider no scheme that does not involve absolute and immediate surrender on the part of the Boers. Take the question of the treatment of the country. It has been stated that we are burning farms all over the country. If that be so, I think it is a most unfortunate preparation of the country for its habitation by our future subjects. If we find that on certain farms murders have been committed on our men, or that acts of treachery have been committed, then burn these farms; but there is a great difference between that and burning farms as a settled policy over whole tracts of country. I am giving the noble Lord an illustration of the sort of difference which I find between his declaration and the declaration of the First Lord of the Treasury. The declaration of the First Lord of the Treasury inclined me to hope that the general burning of farms as a policy would be abandoned; whereas the declaration of the noble Lord leads me rather to understand that it would be continued. I am dealing with the inference which I draw between the difference in character of these two declarations. I hope there may be no such difference, and that the use of the term "hopeless" by the noble Lord was an inadvertence. I do entreat the Government to remember that this is not an ordinary case of waging war in an enemy's country which you are going to leave, and to which you do not care what happens when you have finished the war. This country is our own country. All the property destroyed is the property of our fellow-subjects and of people with whom we hope and intend to live in amity in future. I do hope that instead of acting in a spirit of hopeless resistance and unconditional surrender there will be rather a tendency on the part of Her Majesty's Government to deal with the Boers in the spirit indicated by the First Lord of the Treasury, which is a proper and admirable spirit, and one which I hope will be confirmed by the Colonial Secretary when he comes to speak on the subject. There is one other point. I cannot understand for the life of me why, during the whole continuance of these affairs in China, no papers have been presented to the House. I think it is without precedent that this House should be left to learn from foreign newspapers as to what is passing in China, what action England is taking, and what other countries are doing in consequence of that action. We have had German books, French books, and all sorts of books, but no single paper has been submitted to us. Of course Parliament was not sitting, and no Member was able to put an embarrassing question to the Government. But at least it shows a want of consideration for this House, and also a want of consideration for the country generally, that while the world was furnished with foreign accounts as to what was taking place in China, we had no official accounts whatever. I think that is very regrettable. Some of us have very serious doubts as to whether it was to our interest to enter into such a close alliance with the "Mailed Fist," and whether what we have done is as absolutely correct as it ought to have been. But I will not enter into that now. I find there is no representative of the Navy present, and I think that several other departments might also be represented here to-night. I do not know, whether, in the absence of the Minister responsible, it would be any use to ask if there is any further information with regard to the doings of the Navy in the South African War. I have more than once complained of the fact that the Naval authorities have failed to secure accurate information, the consequence of which has been that we have been seizing goods not liable to seizure, and that when vessels have been seized they have had to be released by orders from this country. There is one other matter I should wish to mention. I believe it is wholly unprecedented for the Sovereign to make a demand for money to any other body than to this sole and only House of Commons. This House of Commons believes it is the possessor of—and it does possess—the sole right of imposing burdens on the people. That undoubted right has never yet been questioned, and has always been acknowledged by the Sovereign herself in the Royal Speech summoning a new Parliament, which, by the way, we have not yet had even in a very limited degree. Any special demand for money should be addressed to this House alone, but no such demand has been made. The House has not been promised that any estimate of the sum required will be laid before it, and whether there is to be any such estimate we know not; the demand of the Sovereign for funds is addressed to both Houses of Parliament. But I would point out that invariably the compliment has been paid to this House of addressing to it, and to it alone, the demand for the supplies required. That is a recognition of the position of this House in the country as the special representative of the taxpayers, and I am afraid that this is only another attempt to pass by the House of Commons as though it were not the special guardian of the public purse and the special authority for voting charges upon the people. I am afraid this attempt is only one of a series of attempts, which I have witnessed with concern, to regard the House of Commons as a body rather to be got rid of than reasoned with, and its rules and conditions as ancient and musty, and to be evaded rather than to be complied with in their spirit and letter. It is the act of the Ministry, not of the Sovereign, and I think it right to protest against the rules of the House of Commons being evaded and its traditions set at nought in this manner.

MR. E. J. C. MORTON (Devonport): Mr. Speaker, at the commencement of a session the subjects of debate on the Address, during the first day, cover so large a ground that it is almost impossible for those who desire to bring forward a particular subject to follow consecutively argument in debate, and, therefore, I feel to a certain extent that I must apologise to the House for harking back on a subject which I daresay is of less interest, at any rate to hon. Gentlemen opposite, than the subject matter of debate in the last two or three speeches. Nevertheless, it is one which I feel I must refer to, because this evening is, I believe, the last occasion on which it will be possible to bring the matter before the House. The matter itself occupied a considerable position of importance in the speech of my right hon. friend the Leader of the Opposition, and it also occupied a considerable portion of the speech of the Leader of the House. I refer to the conduct of the last election by Her Majesty's Ministers. I think that, perhaps, the actual facts of the conduct of the election have not been completely put before the House even yet. I would like to ask attention to two facts. The first is that during the whole five years of the last Parliament the Government received the practically unabated support of a majority of 130 in this House; that furthermore, it has been generally recognised that a Government that is supported by a great majority can go on—and there is no reason why it should not go on—for six years. The late Government only went on for five years. In addition to that—I do not think it has been specifically stated yet, and it is the gravamen of the charge against the Government that was made by us at the last election in our several constituencies — the election was held after the Revision Courts had decided that at least 1¼ million of electors were entitled to vote and before, by the beautiful arrangement of our registration laws, that 1¼ million of electors were able to vote. That is an absolutely unique event. I have gone through the history of all the elections since the Reform Bill of 1832—I think it will be universally acknowledged that no precedent before 1832 holds good—and I find that there is no instance since 1832 of an election having been held between the time when the Revision Courts declared that an enormous number of new electors were entitled to vote, and the time when they were actually enabled to vote according to our Registration Laws. That is an absolutely unique condition of things. It has been already mentioned by the Leader of the Opposition that there is no precedent for an autumn election except on two occasions; and on both those occasions special Acts of Parliament were passed to accelerate the coming into force of the register, so that these elections were fought on the new and not the old register. Those two occasions were the General Elections of 1868 and 1885. There is one point that I myself have noticed, and I never heard anyone else notice it until it was noticed by the hon. Member for Leicester in debate in this House. I want to reiterate this remarkable fact—and I think it is remarkable—that the proclamation of the dissolution was made on a Tuesday, and the effect of making it on a Tuesday was that the first day of the week on which an election could be held in any borough was a Monday, and the last the following Friday, the result being that no borough election could be held on Saturday, which was the most convenient day. I do not think that can be altogether held to have been accidental. I think we know the electioneering methods of Birmingham. Again, there was absolutely no issue put before the electors. What was the issue? Can any hon. Member tell us? The Hospital enquiry was still on in South Africa, and the war was not finished, and it is not finished yet. The only conceivable issue that could have been put before the electorate of this country was the issue of annexation or no annexation. But every party in the State, and every hon. Member, on whatever bench he may have sat in this House, including the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Montrose Burghs—probably the most extreme opponent of the war who sat on the Front Opposition Bench—had declared that, whether they liked it or not, annexation was inevitable. I claim that there was absolutely no issue whatever put before the country. Were there any grounds of public policy for holding the election under such circumstances? The Government had a majority of 130; if they wanted money they could have summoned the last Parliament and have had it voted, with the absolute certainty that at least half the Members on this side of the House would have supported any demand they made to prosecute the war to a successful issue. We had good reason for doing so. This is the first time for fifty years in which a Tory Government, having landed us in war, have had to pay the bill. It was not to our interest that they should not. I could name dozens of individuals, people who have been Liberals all their lives, and who have always voted Liberal, who abstained or voted with the Tories in the last election for the simple reason that they were determined, as one of them said to me, "to force the Tory party to wipe up its own mess." Under those circumstances the Government went to the most bogus election ever held in this country. There was no genuine appeal made to the electorate. It was a bogus election, not decided by the genuine electorate of this country. I will undertake to say—and I have been, in an amateur sort of way, a student of the history of the elections—that for half a century past there has never been an election in which such infamous calumnies were hurled against Liberal candidates as were hurled against the Liberal candidates at the last election. I wish the Leader of the House were in his place, because I acknowledge that, so far as he is personally concerned, he is an exception as regards the charges that we bring against some other prominent Members of the Government. In common with a large number of Members on this side of the House I was almost amazed at the protestation of ignorance the right hon. Gentleman made as to some events that had taken place during the election. Therefore it is just possible that the right hon. Gentleman is ignorant of what took place in one constituency. I know that probably the great majority of Members who are here present are perfectly well aware of this instance, but there may be one or two who are not, and possibly the Leader of the House may be one of them. I do not think that the English language can adequately supply a word which would stigmatise the abominable way in which the recent election was fought in the Newmarket Division of Cambridgeshire. The Liberal candidate in that division was a gentleman named Rose. Mr. Rose had only three sons, and all of them volunteered to the front. Two were killed, and the third got enteric fever. His father went out to nurse his only remaining son, and this so-called Unionist party put about the walls of that constituency a placard in which they represented Mr. Rose in the figure of a man with a rose as his head, pulling down the Union Jack, and announcing that he was a pro-Boer. A figure of ex-President Kruger was standing beside him helping to pull down the Union Jack. On the same placard was a figure of the Unionist candidate, and another representing Lord Salisbury, pulling at a second rope trying to keep up the Union Jack. I am not going to bring charges against the legitimate Tories who are in the Cabinet. I see a representative of the Government here, the newly appointed Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, an appointment which I hope he will allow me to congratulate him upon, and which I believe has given great satisfaction. I believe Lord Salisbury has had a son at the front—a very clever son who has been risking his life. Go through the legitimate Tory party, and you will find that all of them have risked something for the cause—all except the Birmingham gang; and it is that gang which has brought those charges of treason—the most scandalous that can be brought against any politician. It is they who have embittered the politics of this country, and I venture to say that the time will come, and will come within the next two or three years, when the whole of this country will be sick and disgusted at the calumny and corruption that have been introduced into the politics of this country.

*SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT (Sheffield, Ecclesall): I venture to think that a great deal of the discussion to-night has been singularly futile. The question as to whether the General Election was taken at a time fair or desirable is surely a question of the past. The country gave a decision which was unmistakable, and that decision, I believe, was based not, as has been said this evening, upon the past record of either party, but upon the fact that the people of England and Scotland realised, with that common-sense which has always marked their decisions at a great crisis, that it would be absolutely unwise to trust the settlement of this great African question to a party so hopelessly divided as the party opposite—a party, moreover, without a leader or a policy. The decision has been made, and it is unmistakable. I do not propose, however, to deal with this subject to-night. We have all listened with the greatest possible interest, and I venture to say with considerable admiration for its ability, to the speech of the right hon. the Leader of the Opposition—a speech which will certainly rank very high among the speeches delivered in this House. During the last session of Parliament I rigidly abstained from saying anything whatever about the war or the question of South Africa generally. I thought it undesirable to do so, though I had some right to speak on the subject, because I had seen something of the war, and had for many years devoted considerable study to South African matters. But I felt that until the war was practically settled it would be wrong, in the national and imperial interest, to indulge in criticism which might possibly have the effect of weakening the force of the party and of the Government which, in my humble judgment, were alone able to carry this question to a satisfactory settlement. But I think that the time for silence may now be considered to be passed, and that we shall be justified in addressing some criticisms with regard to the conduct of the war and the policy of the Government in South Africa. I do not propose to say much on this subject to-night. I think there will be other more favourable opportunities later on. I believe it is the general wish of the House that the debates before Christmas should not be protracted, and that the House should be able to rise as soon as possible. I would only indicate one or two questions to which I think the country will expect, and which it has a right to demand, an answer. This war has been costly, both in human life and in treasure, beyond all expectation, and I believe that one of the principal reasons for its great length and the great sacrifices of both life and money has been the fact that our military forces before President Kruger's ultimatum were not sufficiently strong in South Africa. I think we have a right to ask the Government why the demands that we have reason to believe were made by the military, and perhaps by the political authorities, for the reinforcements before the Boers made their attack, were denied to them. I think we have also the right to know—though this is perhaps more a military question—from the right hon. Gentleman who is now present on the Front Bench, and who was the mouthpiece of the sentiment, why the extraordinary mistake was made of advising that infantry should be sent out rather than mounted men. [MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN dissented.] The right hon. Gentleman sent a telegram.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I did not interfere in the military question at all.

*SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: I have not got the telegram by me, but I have a very distinct recollection of his sending a telegram to one of the principal colonies—I think it was to Canada—saying that infantry rather than mounted men were desired.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I was only the mouthpiece. I asked for both.

*SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: Exactly what I said. I said I presumed it was a military matter, and that he was acting under advice. Now he accepts my view of it. Another question which I would press very much on the House has already been dealt with by the right hon. Member for Forest of Dean, and that is why there have been no inquiries or no court-martials—or, at all events, why we have no knowledge of such tribunals—with regard to some of those most regrettable, and I venture to say, most disgraceful disasters which have occurred during the war. I do think that the course which, so far as we know, has been taken with regard to such surrenders as Nicholson's Nek, Sanna's Post, Roodeval, Lindley, and Dewetsdorp the other day, are events which call for the closest examination in the interests of the Army. I am not speaking from a desire for punishment, but in the interests of these men who have done their duty and sacrificed themselves. It is most desirable that some such inquiry should have taken place. It is most clearly laid down in the Army Regulations that there shall be a court martial or inquiry in every case of the surrender of any considerable body of men in the field; and, therefore, we should like to know whether these inquiries have been held, and if not, why not. The right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition made a statement in regard to charges of cruelty against our own forces, which, as the Leader of the House has pointed out, met with the general consensus of the House, and he showed a most laudable disinclination to make himself responsible for these charges. I am satisfied from what I saw during four months of the conduct of the war and of our soldiers in South Africa that these charges are absolutely false. I was present at some of the most interesting phases of the war—the march from the Modder River to Paardeburg, the surrender of General Cronje, and other engagements—and I believe that what the Leader of the Opposition has stated with regard to our soldiers and officers is true—that, if anything, they are too soft-hearted in war, that their whole conduct, their ideals, and practice of life, render the charges made against them absolutely unfounded and impossible of belief. I venture to say that when these charges are brought into thorough examination—the examples, for instance, given by the right hon. Member for Montrose in the papers, and those adduced by certain Boer officers now prisoners at Simonstown—they will be found to amount to very little. Certain farms have been burned, but it must be remembered that a Boer farm does not very much resemble a farm in other parts of the world, and the damage done would be comparatively slight. These farms are generally built of cement or stone, and the furniture is exceedingly rough. The reason why there may have been so much burning is that the hidden ammunition is almost always stored in the roof, and in cases of rapid movement it is almost impossible that it can be got at except by setting fire to the roof. It will be found that the amount of damage done in money value is very slight and easy to repair. I pass over the sniping of our troops, the abuse of the white flag, the treachery of the inhabitants of the farms, the giving of information to the enemy, etc., but would point out that the cases given by the Dutch officers related to a single district round Winburg, where partisan and guerilla warfare is particularly active, and where there have been many cases of the treacherous use of the white flag. I say again that our troops are wholly incapable of the offences brought against them. I think it is possible that more may be done to bring an end to this unfortunate guerilla warfare by allowing the Boer leaders and the Boer forces still under arms to know if it is possible—I do not pretend on this matter to offer any decision on the military question—to assure them that if they laid down their arms they would not be deported from the Transvaal, and that the mortgages on their farms would not be foreclosed, and that they would not be treated with severity. That might have a very great effect. I feel, however, that the decision of this question should be left in the hands of those on the spot. I have the most absolute confidence in Sir Alfred Milner. I believe everyone who knows him, who has seen his work, who has watched his career and his conduct of affairs in South Africa, has that absolute confidence. He is one of the most moderate, one of the ablest and most statesmanlike men in the whole Imperial service. If Sir Alfred Milner is of opinion that the present course is the best to bring the war to a conclusion I am satisfied he is right. Again, I have absolute confidence in the leaders of the Army, especially in Lord Kitchener. The charges made against Lord Kitchener of cruelty and injustice are absolutely false. I believe Lord Kitchener is a thorough, perhaps a stern, but not a cruel soldier. No charges of injustice and cruelty against non-combatants have ever been proved against Lord Kitchener. I believe a certain idea prevalent of Lord Kitchener's severity is largely due to the fact that the Dervish forces suffered severely at Omdurman. That victory was due to Lord Kitchener's brilliant strategy, but the great Dervish loss was principally owing to the tactics of the Khalifa and to the reckless daring of the misguided Dervishes. I repeat that a great deal of the impression which exists as to Lord Kitchener's severity is based on a wrong assumption. I wish to say a few words about China, which is the only other subject mentioned in the Queen's Speech beside South Africa. We know very little of what is going on in China; but we do know that a great many most serious mistakes have been made there. We know, in the first place, that the Government unfortunately delayed moving troops for the relief of the embassies until almost too late. We know that they delayed their invitation to Japan to carry out the relief almost until too late. If Japan had been invited six weeks earlier, as might have been done in conjunction with one or two other Governments who were willing to press the same policy, the whole of this most difficult, most dangerous, and in many ways most horrible campaign in China might have been avoided. However, the opportunity was lost; and owing to the belief which the Government have professed in what I have before described as the most mischievous of all fictions, the Concert of Europe, we have been led into a combined expedition into China, which, so far, has been of no advantage to this country, and which the more it is examined will prove to be more mischievous and full of peril for the future. The Concert of Europe, happily, has now, except in name, been practically abandoned, although no doubt that will be denied, and the Government have substituted for it an agreement or alliance with Germany and with other Powers in regard to China. They have recurred to the policy which Lord Beaconsfield twenty-two years ago carried out with such signal success in the settlement of the Russo-Turkish question. If that understanding is a practical one, and carried out with courage to a proper conclusion, it will be satisfactory to China. I congratulate the Government heartily on the agreement with Germany. I was sorry to hear the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Forest of Dean speak in the disparaging way he did of an alliance with a great military Power.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE: No.

*SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: The right hon. Gentleman has previously spoken in the same sense.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE: What I said was that the Secretary for the Colonies had set up an alliance with a great military Power as against a higher standard for the fleet; and that I personally preferred a higher standard for the fleet.

*SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: It is very difficult to corner the right hon. Gentleman, who for the last twenty years has never lost an opportunity of sneering and snarling at a possible German alliance—he having once tried to bring about an alliance with France and Russia.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE: Never.

*SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: My recollection is different from that of the right hon. Gentleman. I refer to this matter not from any feeling against the right hon. Gentleman, or from any desire to obtain an advantage over him in debate, but to enable the House to appreciate the fact that he is always agitating against a German alliance. Well, we have got a German alliance, and we have seen one of the benefits of it in the fact that the German Emperor has declined to receive President Kruger at a very critical moment. This alliance with the stable German Monarchies is the true policy for this country. The Concert of Europe is impossible. It cannot exist. You cannot have a real Concert between Powers like England and Russia or Germany and France, whose interests are diverse. You have a mere superficies, a mere pretence of a Concert which does not exist, which deludes the Government and the people, which informs our enemies of our aims, and gives them a lever for counter-working us. If you substitute for that Concert a real alliance or understanding with Germany, as I believe can also be done with Japan and with the United States, then you have an alliance with the dominant force not only in the East, but elsewhere, and you can practically impose your policy on China. It is pretty clear that Russia realises that Her Majesty's Government are in possession of that dominant force, although she and France have pretended to fall in with the conditions of the Anglo-German agreement. Now the point I wish to bring before the House is this: that if this German agreement for any settlement of the Chinese question is to be really permanent, if it is to save China and protect British interests, you must prevent the permanent possession of Manchuria by Russia. The right hon. Gentleman I have quoted said that it was the fashion last session to declare that Manchuria is lost. Sir, the possession of Manchuria by Russia does not merely represent the possession of a certain tract of territory. The gravity of its possession by Russia is this: that Russia always imposes her military conscription on every country she conquers; and from among the ten millions of hardy Manchurians she could in ten years raise a splendid army, led and officered by Russians, which could overrun the central provinces of China—in fact the whole of China. It would be almost impossible for any European Power, or combination of Powers, to resist the sturdy, armed population of Manchuria, drilled and led by Russian officers. That is the danger. And that danger, small now, will be increased tenfold the moment the Trans-

Siberian Railway is completed, for then Russia will be able to transport troops, guns, munitions, supplies, etc., across Asia to any extent. If this Anglo-German agreement is intended to stop Russia obtaining that advantage, then it is a most efficient instrument, and the country will owe Her Majesty's Government a debt of gratitude for having carried it into effect. I want to say one word about the way in which the campaign in China has been conducted. I think it is most regrettable—and this is one of the reasons I deplore our association with some other countries—that we read of the exceedingly cruel brutality with which this campaign has been carried on by some of the allies. I do not believe our own forces heve been guilty of these crimes, but there is no doubt that there have been wholesale massacres, looting and plunder of every kind in the north of China. There have been massacres deliberately committed by the Russian troops, which are almost without parallel in modern times. We know what an outcry was raised against another Eastern Power—Turkey—during the Armenian troubles. We remember how the ruler of Turkey, and his army generally, were denounced because of what are called the Armenian massacres—denounced a whole year before the massacres took place. I confess with some feeling of shame that these horrible events in China have been passed over with hardly a comment by the Press or the Government. I have amassed evidence which proves beyond doubt that in a vast territory, five hundred miles in extent, the whole population, men, women and children, have been wiped out. The evidence is so strong that it cannot be denied. We have it from the Belgians, from the French, from the Americans, and English officers, all of whom have been eye-witnesses; but I will only quote what has been said by a Belgian eye-witness. He says, in a private letter home—

> "The scenes I have witnessed, during the three days since the steamer left Blagovetschensk, are horrible beyond all powers of description. 2,000 Chinese were deliberately drowned at Narxo, 2,000 at Rabe, and 8,000 in and around Blagovetschensk. Navigation was all but impossible. Every moment the boat had to plough her way through a tangled, mangled mass of corpses, strung and lashed together with their long hair. The river banks were literally covered with them . . . There is not a village left. The silence of death was around us."

We are demanding at this moment the punishment of Chinese who took part in the massacre of 200 or 300 Europeans. Those massacres were horrible, and certainly demand condign punishment, but what must the Chinese think of those people—of those countries who are associated with such a country as Russia—when they find punishment of the Chinese criminals is demanded of them, whilst no mention is made of the punishment of Russian officers who have ordered the slaughter of thousands upon thousands of Chinese? That is an inconsistency which must attract the Chinese world, and I think that is a reason for abandoning association with a Power guilty of such acts. I did not have the advantage, being absent from the House at the time, of hearing the speech of the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, but I congratulate him upon the position he now occupies. I hope the Anglo-German agreement may be effective. I understand the position with regard to the Shan-hai-Kwan Railway has now changed, and the possession held by Russia is only temporary. But we have had similar things happen before with regard to the railways both at Tien Tsin and Shan-hai-Kwan. Both of those railways were seized by the Russians in defiance of international rights, and one only has been given up. But many things of this kind are occurring, the effects of which are most serious to this country. I allude to the insults put upon our flag and upon our soldiers by the Russians. It is possible, no doubt, to exaggerate events of this character, but hardly in this case. These offences are done with a motive. If we had English troops there it would not much matter, but they are Indian troops; and if these affronts are allowed to continue and we allow the Russians to march before us through Peking, there is no knowing what the influence may be upon our Indian soldiers. I trust that we shall soon be rid of this mischievous conjunction with certain other Powers in China, which can only tend to injure China and to diminish British credit and power.

*MR. JOHN ELLIS (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe): I do not propose to follow the hon. Member who has just sat down in his wide survey. His views are well known to us, and receive the respect that they deserve in this assembly. I have taken part in the business of this

House for a number of years in various capacities, but I think, nay, I am sure, that it is the first time I have ever troubled the House with words of mine upon a matter which had a personal element in it. If I do so now it is because I believe the matter of which I am going to speak has more than a personal element in it. I rise to call the attention of the House of Commons to the publication, since the last Parliament rose, of certain letters in a Parliamentary paper, headed: "The Correspondence relating to the Recent Political Situation in South Africa." Now, the first time that this matter came before the attention of the public of this country (not the first time it came to the attention of the public elsewhere; I do not propose to speak to-night of what happened at Cape Colony) was in the House of Commons on 3rd August, rather late in the session—within a week, in fact, of its termination.* On the 3rd of August the hon. Member for Wandsworth—who, I believe, again represents that constituency in the present Parliament—had a question on the Notice Paper. The hon. Member for Sheffield, who has just sat down, also had a question on the Paper, as also had my hon. friend the Member for Merthyr Tydfil. The hon. Member for Wandsworth asked if certain documents—

> "had been discovered during the search of the Government offices at Pretoria affecting certain Members of the House of Commons and other politicians who have taken a prominent part in the agitation in this country in favour of the Boers; whether there is any information he can give to the House on the subject, without detriment to the public interest; if such documents have been found, whether they will be laid before Parliament; and whether Her Majesty's Government are in possession of any correspondence between British Members of Parliament and Transvaal authorities; and, if so, whether it can be laid upon the Table."

The right hon. Gentleman in his reply used this language—I do not propose to read the whole of his reply, but that part which is germane to the matter—

> "When the Boer Governments fled from Bloemfontein and Pretoria they left behind them in the archives a mass of private correspondence."

He then went on to indicate the character of some of these letters, and said—

> "It includes copies of a number of letters purporting to have been written by an English M.P. Her Majesty's Government have also in their possession copies of letters, and an extract of a letter purporting to have been written by two other M.P.'s. Two of them were dated just before the outbreak of war; the other is a request couched in a form which is certainly open to criticism for information respecting martial law."

The right hon. Gentleman then used some other language which I do not quote, and concluded by saying—

> "I propose to send them in the first instance to the alleged writers and ask if they desire to offer any explanation. Her Majesty's Government will wait their reply before deciding on the question of publication."

Four days after, on 7th August, he whom I regret to call Sir Wilfrid Lawson, and whom we should still like to be able to call the hon. Member for Cockermouth, had a question down on the Paper. The right hon. Gentleman again replied—

> "Copies of the letters attributed to these gentlemen were only sent to them last night, and I have had no time to receive an answer."

On the next day, the 8th August, the debate on the Appropriation Bill took place, and, as it proved, was the last opportunity of speaking or doing anything in that Parliament. The right hon. Gentleman, in reply to criticisms made by one or two hon. Gentlemen in this matter, said—

> "We cannot govern the time at which a matter of this kind becomes public property; but as we only received this correspondence from Bloemfontein a very few days ago—the first part only a fortnight ago—and as we were told there was more to come, my own idea was that we should wait until we had the whole of the alleged correspondence in our hands before coming to any conclusion."

And he concluded by saying—

> "As soon as we can get the replies we will come to an immediate decision as to whether the correspondence should be published or not."

There was some other correspondence, but that is all that is material, and, as I have said, the session concluded on that day. Before passing from this I should like to say, both on the 3rd and 8th of August the right hon. Gentleman gave a sort of paraphrase of one or two of the letters, and he did not confine himself to that; he made use of language with reference to the merits of the letters, and, in fact, indicated his opinion of them; he did not quote the letters, but used language of his own to describe them. The next stage was the publication of the Parliamentary paper to which I have alluded, which was divided into four sections. The first section contains four letters from the Chief Justice of Cape Colony, the Right Hon. Sir Henry de Villiers, a man whose name I cannot mention in this House without paying him the highest tribute of respect that it is possible to pay. The second section contains four letters from Mr. Merriman; the third contains certain letters of Mr. Le Water; and the fourth the correspondence of the Members of the Imperial Parliament. Now I take first the four letters from the Chief Justice of Cape Colony. The Secretary of State for the Colonies, in one of his election speeches, said that when the letters came into the hands of the Government he sent the letters to the Chief Justice of Cape Colony, asking his consent to their publication, and got it. Two questions I wish to ask with regard to those letters. In the first place, why was his consent asked and the consent of no other person asked as to the publication of this correspondence? Why was there any differentiation made between one person and another, and why, if his consent was asked, did not the Colonial Secretary publish his letter asking the consent of the Chief Justice with the reply which he received? In that reply the Chief Justice may have made suggestions in the letter giving his consent. He may have thought if he did not give consent his action might have been misconstrued in Cape Colony and in this country, and he may have suggested to the Colonial Secretary that all the correspondence, of which these four letters were only a part, should be published. That is my first question. Now the next case is that of Mr. Merriman; in that case consent was neither asked for nor obtained. Why was not the same policy pursued in that case? Mr. Merriman thirty years ago performed the duties of a Minister in Cape Colony, and has many times since been a Minister there. Why was not consent asked from him? I must also call attention to the action of the Governor of Cape Colony. Mr. Merriman was in constant association, as a member of the Ministry, with the Governor of Cape Colony, and yet, all the time, the Governor had in his pocket the private letter of Mr. Merriman, which he subsequently sent to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Can you find in the long roll of Colonial Governors any one who would have stooped to a thing of that kind—who, having such a letter in his pocket written by one of his own Ministers, sends it home behind his back and without his knowledge? Now I turn to the fourth section, which contains the letters written by the Members of the Imperial Parliament. One of those has disappeared. [Ministerial cheers.] I was prepared for that cheer, but two of them have not disappeared. [Opposition cheers.] I am one of those Members, and I propose to deal with my share in this transaction. The right hon. Gentleman did me the honour to write me a letter—

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* See *The Parliamentary Debates* [Fourth Series], Vol. lxxxvii., p. 630 (3rd August); p. 904 (7th August); p. 1006 (8th August).

> "Downing Street, 6th August, 1900. Sir,—I beg to call your attention to the enclosed copy of an extract from a letter containing what purports to be a letter written by you, and to enquire if you desire to offer any explanations or observations with regard to it."

I think I need not trouble the House with the enclosure contained in that letter. I do not dwell upon the question of whether this is a correct copy of the extract from my letter. I take it the Colonial Secretary, as a man of honour, would not send me an extract unless it was accurately copied in this Parliamentary paper. I replied to the Colonial Secretary in these terms—

> "8th August. Sir,—Your letter dated the 6th inst., with its enclosure, has reached me here to-day. The extract to which my attention is drawn appears to speak for itself. It occurred, I think—for I did not keep a copy—in a private letter, written by me in response to communications with respect to censorship and martial law in South Africa, and requests to bring certain alleged incidents before Parliament. I pointed out to the sender that the statements lacked precision, etc., and, so far as I recollect, summed up the matter in the extract forwarded in your letter."

I have given a good deal of consideration to the matter, and I think now, as I thought then, that the extract speaks for itself. I am bound to confess that it was in my mind when I first received the right hon. Gentleman's letter to deny his right to ask me to explain, but I did not wish to expose myself to what no doubt would have been a certain risk of misconception, so I wrote these lines. That is the story so far. Now I should like to thank the Leader of the Opposition for the protest he raised to-night, not for the first time, against the publication of private correspondence, and I protest in the most emphatic manner against a Government Department publishing private correspondence. The Postmaster General himself cannot publish private correspondence; he has to obtain the authority of one of the Secretaries of State even for seizing it. The sanctity and inviolability of the mail-bags is enshrined in Acts of Parliament. The rules are most close and strict. I sat as a member of a Committee to inquire into the business of the Post Office, and it was brought very forcibly to my mind at that time. Old Members of this House will remember that few things have ever excited so much indignation in this country as disclosures of the rifling of mail-bags or the seizing and opening of letters by the authorities of the Post Office. The Government may, after due formalities, go to the Post Office and open letters for the preventing of crime; but though they can seize letters they cannot publish them. I shall probably be told that these letters were seized under martial law for military purposes. But can anyone honestly pretend that this Parliamentary paper was issued for military objects, or the prevention of crime? No, Sir, the right hon. Gentleman gave himself away on that point, because on the 3rd of August he entered into a dissertation as to the merits of these letters, and by so doing at once put them upon a political plane. I say that the publication of this extract of a private letter from me to a personal friend in Cape Colony is a wanton violation of constitutional usage and most unprecedented in its nature. I now turn to the use which has been made of it. At the end of August the campaign of calumny, I think I am justified in calling it, commenced. At a small meeting held in my constituency a not very prominent M.P., who has now disappeared, like many others at the General Election, said Mr. Ellis had been false to his oath and a traitor to his Queen and country. That was the key-note struck, and the same note was echoed by the press, and then what happened all through the election? There were leaflets and pamphlets and placards—the hon. Member for Torquay, whom I am glad to welcome to-night, had as his opponent a young man who actually published in his address that I had been giving the enemies of this country—the Boers—advice. [Cheers.] Somebody cheers that, but where do you find it here in this extract? A remarkable thing about these leaflets and placards was that they did not come into my own constituency; I suppose they did not dare to send them there. One thing I am surprised at is this: the right hon. Gentleman sent congratulatory telegrams and addresses to various candidates, but he did not send one to the gentleman who was opposing me. If he had done so it would have been worth its weight in gold to me. I will say this: that although in the constituency I represent these things were not circulated against me, it did make my blood boil that in the town in which I was born, and for which my grandfather sat in this House fifty years ago as its honoured representative, I should have been branded as a traitor to my country. I have to thank the Member for Leicester, who sits on the other side of the House, for at once withdrawing the placard on his attention being called to it. The present Secretary of State for War made an allusion to my conduct which was entirely erroneous, but upon my calling attention to it he immediately withdrew it and expressed his regret. That was conduct to be expected of a Secretary of State, and it is conduct which I am glad to say is still sometimes seen. The charges may be summed up in these words: that at the time when delicate negotiations were pending I invited and requested a damaging stream of facts, that I have been in treasonable correspondence with the enemy, that I have given advice to the enemies of our country, and that in fact I was a traitor. Anyone who desires to form any judgment or express any opinion as to my conduct or action with regard to this extract must, I respectfully submit, inform himself on three points—to whom was the letter addressed, where was the letter containing the extract seized by the authorities, and what was the matter and substance of the extract. The letter was addressed to a certain Mrs. Solly, an English lady in Cape Colony, a friend of my own, who married there a gentleman who occupied a high position on the Cape railways. Where was the letter seized? Now I come to a point to which I wish to call the particular attention of the House. On the 3rd August the right hon. Gentleman, in his reply to the question, spoke of the archives of Bloemfontein and Pretoria, and of a mass of private correspondence found there. On the 8th of August he mentioned correspondence from Bloemfontein, and on the 28th September he said these letters were found at Bloemfontein. Now I cannot emphasise this point too much, and I want every man who listens to me at this moment to bear in mind dates. Bloemfontein was occupied and taken possession of by Lord Roberts and his forces on the 13th of March this year, and the letter was written by Mrs. Solly, forwarding the extract on the 5th of June. Weeks before the letter was written we were in possession of Bloemfontein. If the letter was found at Bloemfontein it must have been taken there by the British authorities, because they were in possession twelve weeks before. If it was not found at Bloemfontein why mix it up in a statement made in this House with a mass of private correspondence found at Bloemfontein? The extract from my letter was never outside Cape Colony at all. It was found between Cape Town and Lady Grey. I cannot emphasise this point too much, because half the charges against me fall to the ground. As to the matter and substance of my request, I had received during February, March, and April, from this lady, who is an enthusiastic philanthropist, a large number of statements in regard to alleged occurrences in Cape Colony which had horrified her. In May, I sat down and wrote her a private letter. It was written under the stress of a great deal of work. It was not written with any great care as to expression. In it I summed up my advice. I told her in that letter that such statements as she was sending to me were useless for Parliamentary purposes. I see hon. Gentlemen cheering. Does not that show that I was desirous not to trouble Parliament with anything irrelevant? I want to call attention to this specific matter. What I allude to in that extract relates not to military acts in relation to the enemy at all. It relates to acts alleged to have been done by the Government or its agents in places under its control. Then the right hon. Gentleman tenders me advice, and I appreciate it. He said at Bilston, on 28th September—

> "If Mr. Ellis had asked for the truth about anything he had heard it would have been different, but he asked for a stream of facts."

Is he quite sure I did not ask for the truth previously in the letter? I summed up by asking a stream of facts as to particular points. The right hon. Gentleman brought the thing to a climax when he said—

> "Even now, if Mr. Ellis will say he made a mistake and he regrets what he wrote, he himself would not be inclined to press hardly upon him."

I did not respond to that kind invitation, and I do not now respond to it. My conscience is perfectly clear; I made no mistake, and I have no regret to express to the right hon. Gentleman or to anybody else. The right hon. Gentleman really misconceived his position when he used those words. The fact that in 1895 and again in 1900 Lord Salisbury recommended him to the Queen for the high and onerous office of Secretary of State for the Colonies gave him no title whatever to ask his colleagues in this House to express regret for their mistakes. The whole constitution of Parliament is that we are all on a level here, and the Speaker treats us as such. I pass from the personal matter to the wider aspects of this subject. An English Member of Parliament is requested by an English lady to bring certain alleged matters before this House. He takes no notice for some time, but at last he writes the letter containing the extract which had been quoted. Is a man to be pilloried as a traitor for writing a letter like that? How does such action bear on the rights and duties and responsibilities of a Member of this House? This is the High Court of Parliament. The redress of grievances is one of its primary duties. Our ear should be open to the cry of wrong and suffering from any of Her Majesty's subjects. I remember the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Wolverhampton reminding us all that we were Members for India, in fact, though not in name, and that we were bound to listen to the cry of the oppressed people of India. You, Sir, at the bar of the House of Lords only two days ago claimed for the Members of this House all our ancient rights, freedom of speech, freedom from arrest, and free access to the Crown, not for the private interests of the Members, but for the public good. For what was the machinery of our Committees devised? To inquire, to investigate, to probe, and to gather a stream of facts. Is there any obligation more incumbent upon the Members of Parliament than to test the stories brought to them, to prove whether they are accurate or inaccurate before he troubles the House of Commons with them? Is a Member who writes a purely personal letter to be pilloried and to have it published in the way I have described in a Parliamentary paper? Such a state of things has only to be put into English to prove that it cannot be tolerated for a single moment. We have heard a great deal of the new diplomacy being inconvenient. I think the new electioneering is scandalous. On one occasion the right hon. Gentleman said he thought he might leave it to the constituencies of these hon. Gentlemen to deal with these matters. My constituency has dealt with the matter. A good many more than 6,000 men in Nottinghamshire declared that the man it sent to this House should have uninterrupted and unrestricted power to gather a stream of facts with respect to matters affecting the public. But I am not responsible only to them. I am a Member of this high and honourable assembly, and have been for a good many years. This is not a party matter after all, and I acknowledge with the utmost gratitude the letters that have come to me and the remarks that have been addressed to me even in the last few days by hon. Members sitting in all parts of the House. The last few weeks have tried me in some ways, but they have revealed an amount of kindness and generosity among my fellow-countrymen which I shall remember to the end of my days. I assure the House that I have no higher ambition in life than to endeavour to the best of my ability to do nothing, to say nothing, even to think nothing, that is unworthy of a Member of this high assembly.

Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN: Mr. Speaker, I think the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down is justified in claiming the attention of the House in order to give an explanation as to his personal position in reference to the matter he has brought before us. He is entitled to make any explanation he thinks fit, and, of course, to ask questions of the Government with regard to the matter of which he complains. I will endeavour to give him a full answer, though I am not certain that it will be a satisfactory answer to him; but I am bound to bear in mind that the hon. Gentleman is not the only Member of the House who, on the first occasion of our meeting after the election, has made an elaborate and carefully-prepared attack upon the Colonial Secretary. I shall have to deal, therefore, with other speeches besides his, and I hope he will not think I am in any way disrespectful to him if I take them in their order. But meantime I think I owe it to him to say that I for one have never for a moment accused him either of treason to his Queen or his country, or of any offence of a very serious character. [Cries of "Oh!"] I say I have never done so.

Mr. LOUGH: You used the word "traitor" on the 22nd of September.

Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I do not know whether the ignorance that is shown by these interruptions justifies the slanderous attacks upon me. But, at all events, the interruptions are grossly ignorant. I have never used any strong language whatever about the hon. Gentleman, and I shall probably use stronger language to-night than I have ever done during the course of these events.

Mr. LOUGH: I am entitled to say that on the 22nd of September, speaking in Birmingham, the right hon. Gentleman applied the word "traitor" to the whole of us.

Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN: The statement of the hon. Gentlemen is inaccurate, but that is a matter I intend to deal with in the course of my remarks. To come back to the hon. Gentleman the Member for the Rushcliffe Division, I would remind the House that when I referred to the hon. Member's letter in the first instance, I said it was a request, couched in a form which was certainly open to criticism, for information respecting the administration of martial law. That is not an accusation of treason, nor an accusation of a very serious character. I think I was very gentle with the hon. Gentleman, but I certainly had no desire to provoke anything like a personal controversy between him and myself. During the turmoil of the election I had very little time to see what was going on outside my own constituency. [Laughter.] I do not understand why hon. Members laugh. I say I had very little time to see what was going on outside my own "sphere of influence." I find, myself, when I am speaking every night, almost continuously and at great length, that I have not much time to read the newspapers, and therefore I learned for the first time, with very great regret, from the statement of the hon. Gentleman, that he was the subject of accusations of treason, which certainly I should never have supported, and which I believe to be wholly unjustifiable. I sympathise with him when he says that in his own district, where he has lived so many years, he was the subject of a campaign of calumny—of a conspiracy of vile insinuation. Is there nobody else living in his own district the subject of a campaign of calumny, of a conspiracy of vile insinuation? The right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition sent down thousands and tens of thousands of leaflets attacking my private character. Not my public action—that is a question upon which everybody is entitled to express an opinion—but my private and personal character were attacked in my own district—in a district where they did not even dare to bring forward a candidate against me, where, if they had brought forward a candidate, he would have gone back smaller than he came. In the meanwhile, what has been the course of this debate? Surely it is an extraordinary thing when we are met for a special purpose—a great and important purpose—which raises many issues, on the first night of this debate, from the right hon. Gentleman who opened it down to the hon. Member opposite, the time of the House has been taken up chiefly with an attack on one member of the Government. I cannot understand it. I cannot understand why gentlemen, who I may assume, from the malignity with which they pursue me, are enemies of mine, should take such pains to advertise me and recommend me to the confidence of my fellow-countrymen. Of course, they clothe their attacks always under the pretence of public interest. At one time it is in the interest of fair play; at another time it is in the interest of purity of public life; then, again, it is the desirability that there should be no personalities. The case would have been very different indeed if there had been no personalities in the course of the late election. I treat most of these attacks with contempt; I know that many of them are made in a Pickwickian sense, by people who do not believe in them themselves. But, at the same time, I am bound to say it is with an ill grace that those who have lent themselves to attacks of this kind now come to the House of Commons and whine because, forsooth, hard words were used against them in the course of the General Election. Here is the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition. What was part of his speech, with very slight cover—a cover which was removed by the cheers of the gentlemen behind him—directed to? What did it amount to? It was a protest against the verdict of the people under cover of an attack upon the Colonial Secretary. It is ludicrous. Suppose that the right hon. Gentleman and his party had been successful, suppose that they had won instead of us, suppose that they had even done what they expected to and had reduced our majority to eighty. Do you suppose you would have heard of "a seat lost to the Government is a seat gained to the Boers," or of any of the other complaints which they make now? No, Sir, it is simply because they are unsuccessful litigants. They complain of the verdict, they complain of the judge and the jury, and, above all, they complain of the prosecuting counsel. The right hon. Gentleman commenced his speech in an admirable manner. He said now the election was over he was not going to rake up episodes of this extinct controversy, he was not going to impute motives, as he was prepared to admit the patriotism of his opponents to be equal to the patriotism of himself and his followers. Yes, and what was the conclusion of this part of his speech? It was that we called for the election and promoted the election at a time which was to our advantage, and that we were animated by a sordid desire to gain a party advantage. [Cheers.] And you cheer him, and you complain of hard language. Well, you shall have the truth.

AN HON. MEMBER: It is the first time you have told it.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN was understood to say that that was the language of a cad. [Cries of "Order, order!" and "Withdraw."]

MR. DALZIEL (Kirkcaldy Burghs): On a point of order I wish to ask you, Mr. Speaker, whether it is within the power of a Member of this House to accuse another hon. Member of being a cad?

*MR. SPEAKER: I did not hear that expression, but if it was used it should be withdrawn. [Cries of "Withdraw."]

MR. DALZIEL: It was used.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: Whatever I said was said under irritation caused by a statement which was called across the House that it was the first time that I had told the truth. It was rather in the nature of an ejaculation; but, whatever it was, I desire to withdraw it. The right hon. Gentleman complains of the time at which the election was taken. Well, my right hon. friend the Leader of the House has replied very fully to that allegation. But let me put one other point to the House. What was the state of affairs a few weeks before the election was taken? Why, hon. Gentlemen opposite were declaring, and their newspapers were declaring, that there was a reaction in the country. I remember a leading article in a most influential and able organ of the Opposition. It was headed, "The gilt off the gingerbread," and it stated that the party cry was worn out, that the misconduct of the War Office, that the accusations which were made against our generals and soldiers, and the expense of the war were all producing their effect, and the people of this country would give a very different verdict then to what they would have given a few weeks before, when the relief of Mafeking, and Kimberley, and Ladysmith was announced. Well, Sir, that was a challenge, and a most mischievous challenge. If we had allowed it to pass unnoticed, what effect would such a statement, repeated as it would have been day by day, have been likely to have upon public opinion abroad and in Africa? We did not think public opinion was so fickle as hon. Gentlemen opposite represent it to be. We accepted what was equivalent to a challenge, and we asked for the verdict of the people on the policy we had pursued. We asked for it, and we got it. The verdict was what I for one expected. I have more confidence in the people than hon. Gentlemen opposite, who flatter them at one time when they want something from them, and abuse them afterwards when the verdict is against them; they treat them as the Chinese treat their gods: when good fortune follows them they adore them, but when ill-fortune comes they put them in the rain. The Opposition appeared, only a few weeks before the dissolution, to be anxious to take the verdict of the country on the mismanagement of the Government, which they said existed in every department of the Government, with regard to this war. Why do they complain, then, because we appealed to the people at a time when, in our opinion, it was of the gravest importance that we should stand before the world as really having the nation at our back? When we gave them this opportunity which they desired the note was changed. Before the dissolution we were being criticised every day for the injustice of the war, the policy of the war, and a policy of annexation. How mny of the party opposite at the last election stood to those principles? My right hon. friend the Member for Montrose Burghs did certainly. He, with the courage we all know him to possess, although unable to appear personally, put his views in the clearest and most lucid way before the electors, and did not suffer in consequence, and we are glad he is returned again. But how many men followed his example who were pro-Boers?—I do not mean that in an offensive sense. I have never used the word "pro-Boer" in an offensive sense. [Opposition cries of "Oh!"] I have used the word because I know of no other way of describing the thing. A pro-Boer is a man who believes the Boers are right and the English are wrong. How many gentlemen opposite stood as pro-Boers at the recent election? The Leader of the Opposition, forsooth, in his speech to-day—that speech from which all imputations of motive were to be absent—accused us of using patriotism for party purposes. What about Newcastle-upon-Tyne? The Liberal party went about at the last election disguised in khaki in order to turn out Imperialists. To a small extent, no doubt, they succeeded. But on the whole I think the people saw through the plan. They had a plan of campaign, it is evident, because from the moment the dissolution was declared this kind of work was going on in every constituency. In my own district, where we have returned thirty-three Unionists out of thirty-nine Members, we were not opposed by a single man who professed the principles of Little Englanderism, or who professed the principles which were voted for and adopted by one-third at least of the party opposite before the election. When we are accused of an attempt to misrepresent the issues of this election, I reply that the whole plan of campaign of the Opposition was a deliberate attempt to mislead the electors. They complain of my action and language. Why particularly of me? They pay me a great compliment. I think I heard one gentleman who interrupted the Leader of the House to-night say that one phrase which I used, but did not invent, was worth millions of votes to us. It is an extraordinary compliment to pay to any member of any Government or party to say so great an influence is attached to his casual expressions. They complain of my actions and language. I will deal with my actions. What is the action of which they complain? They complain of the publication of the letters. With regard to that I admit that the hon. Gentleman opposite was perfectly entitled to take the course he has done. Whether he has been well advised is a different question. The right hon. Gentleman opposite described the publication of these letters as a most serious offence. He went so far as to say—I am not using his words, but I think he will agree that I do not misrepresent him—that a person who could be guilty of publishing these so-called private letters ought to be cut off from decent society.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I said that he would be in private life.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: Well, that is a very painful thing. I regret deeply that I am to be cut off from the society of the right hon. Gentleman, which I never enjoyed — [Opposition cries of "Oh"]—and from others of his way of thinking. But there are two sides to the question. When you cut off a man from society—well, society cuts itself off from the man. In this case it is not a man, but a Government. Now I challenge the right hon. Gentleman, as I have before challenged him in the country without effect.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: When?

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: Oh, often. I now challenge him in the House of Commons. This act, he says, is an act which renders the person who committed it unworthy of his society. Very well; it was the act of the Government. Does any one suppose that I would have taken the responsibility in a matter of this importance without consulting my colleagues, with whom I hope I have always acted as loyally as they have acted to me? No, Sir, the right hon. Gentleman cuts himself off from the society of every Member of the Government. His accusation, so far as it is a just one, applies not only to me, but to the Prime Minister, to the Duke of Devonshire, to my right hon. friend the First Lord of the Treasury, and to all my colleagues. That is the first thing I have to say. Perhaps that may give occasion to hon. Gentlemen opposite to reflect whether, after all, an action which has been taken by such men is necessarily a dishonourable action which justifies the language of the right hon. Gentleman. What were the circumstances? The hon. Member for Rushcliffe has given them but incompletely. Let me complete the story. Certain papers were found at Bloemfontein. The knowledge that those papers had been found got out—how I do not know—in South Africa. Everybody in politics there knew that they had been found, and knew that among them was some correspondence affecting Members of Parliament. That information, which was common property in South Africa for some days and I think for some weeks before any rumour got to this country, was repeated in this country with very great exaggerations, and thereupon I was asked in this House by two Members of Parliament on my own side, and by one on the other side, whether I had in my possession—that is, whether the Government had in their possession—any correspondence of the kind. I gave a reply which was strictly accurate, and in which I endeavoured—I will not say to minimise, but rather to prevent the exaggeration with regard to this matter which had previously prevailed.†

*MR. JOHN ELLIS: Was that reply on August 3rd?

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: Yes. I spoke of the correspondence found at Bloemfontein. I said—

"I have received instalments of it, but I am informed that there is more to come. The portion that I have seen is all previous to the outbreak of the war, and consists chiefly of letters passing between British subjects at the Cape and persons in the two Republics, but it includes copies of two letters purporting to have been written by an M.P. Her Majesty's Government have also—"

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† See *The Parliamentary Debates* [Fourth Series], Vol. lxxxvii., page 574; refer also to same Volume, pages 630, 904, 971, 991.

I did not say they were found at Bloemfontein—

"in their possession copies of letters and an extract of a letter purporting to have been written by two other M.P.'s. Two of them were dated just before the outbreak of the war; the other is a request, couched in a form which is certainly open to criticism, for information respecting the administration of martial law."

Then I went on to say—

"The most interesting feature of the South African correspondence—"

(that is, the correspondence of Sir Henry de Villiers, and the other gentlemen, which appears in the three first sections of the Blue-book)—

"is the general admission of substantial grievances and of the necessity for reform. There are, however, some suggestions that President Kruger might make temporary concessions and wait for a reaction in this country. I observe that the hon. Member for Merthyr Tydfil speaks of the correspondence as treasonable—"

(that was an hon. Member on the other side of the House)—

"I am, of course, quite unable to give a legal opinion; but so far as my personal opinion is concerned, the letters ascribed to British subjects in this country are not treasonable, but they are not proper letters to be written by British subjects when Her Majesty's Government were engaged in difficult and important negotiations."

I stand to every word of that; it is absolutely correct.

*MR. JOHN ELLIS: Will the right hon. Gentleman allow me to say that no negotiations were going on at the date of the letter containing the extract, namely, 5th June, 1900?

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: No, certainly not; but that is a purely technical point. I stated distinctly that as to certain letters, they were written before the war. If I had not done so the inference would have been more unfavourable than it was intended to be. I did not state that the hon. Gentleman's extract was written during the war; that might have given a totally wrong impression to the House; it might then have been thought that a letter written at such a time would certainly have been of a treasonable character. Well, that was the answer I gave. I further said that the Government had not decided on the question of publication, and that I intended to send the letters in the first instance to the gentlemen concerned for any explanation they might desire to give. Now the hon. Member did not choose—I do not blame him; he was quite within his right—to give any explanation; he said his letter explained itself. We shall see how far that is the case; but to me he gave no explanation. He might have given an explanation so satisfactory that it would have been ridiculous to have published the letter. It would have had no public interest or importance whatever. The hon. Member for Northampton published his letter himself. The other hon. Gentleman, who also gave no explanation, simply acknowledged receipt of my communication. The hon. Member for the Rushcliffe division seemed to have forgotten what happened subsequently to the House. I was waiting for an answer to my communication, but, owing to the absence of the hon. Member for Northampton, I did not get his reply for a week or so later.

MR. LABOUCHERE: It was sent after the House had broken up, I think.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: No, the letter was sent before the House had broken up: it was sent to the hon. Gentleman's office, and I believe his letter —I speak from memory—

MR. LABOUCHERE: The right hon. Gentleman is quite right.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: You agree? Then I need not pursue that. The delay in publication was entirely owing to the fact that I was not able to get his reply. But what happened? My hope and expectation was that if after receipt of the replies the Government decided to publish the letters, the whole might be printed and presented in time for the House to express itself upon the subject, and the only reason why it was not possible was because of the absence of the hon. Member for Northampton from the country. What happened, however, was this. On two occasions attacks were made on me, violent attacks, by Sir Wilfrid Lawson, by the hon. Gentleman the Member for South Donegal, by the hon. Member for Carnarvon Boroughs, and the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy.

MR. DALZIEL: I beg pardon; I never alluded to the subject.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I think the hon. Gentleman is mistaken.

MR. DALZIEL: I may have asked a question.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: The hon. Gentleman is quite right; he did not make an attack. I have the exact words. The hon. Member asked—

> "In the event of the alleged writers refusing permission to publish the letters, as the allegation is a serious one, will the right hon. Gentleman give the public the opportunity of judging of the correspondence by himself undertaking the responsibility of publishing?"

Now that is the whole point. I was accused of deliberately withholding the letters, of refusing to publish, in order to damage my political opponents, in order that a General Election might take place with a general suspicion hanging over the heads of all the Liberal Members. The challenge was made to me to publish the papers in order that whatever was in them might be known, and if there was anything wrong that only the Members concerned might suffer, and that there might not be a general feeling that other members of the party were concerned. Under these circumstances I really think that hon. Members are very unreasonable. If we do not publish we are accused of taking a mean, dirty party advantage by placing a whole party under suspicion, and if we do publish we are equally accused of taking a mean, dirty advantage by using private letters for political purposes. Now there is one observation made by the Leader of the Opposition and repeated in a different form by the hon. Member for the Rushcliffe Division to which I must take emphatic objection. He talks of the sanctity of private letters, and goes on to say that however criminal a private letter may be it ought not to be published. Now this I hold to be a monstrous doctrine. It is contrary to common sense and practice, and it is perfectly absurd. Suppose there had come into our possession a letter from Mr. Kruger to Mr. Stead, are we precluded from publishing it because it is a private letter? Some of these were witten to Mr. Kruger, and they are not letters as between Boer and Boer. A member of this House wrote to Mr. Kruger and another wrote to Mr. Kruger's agent. What is the difference? Where is the sanctity attaching to letters of that kind? The only question was, Was any public interest to be served by the publication of these letters? And I say, Yes, there was. The letter from Dr. Clark contained a suggestion that the Boers should take the passes. ["No, no," and "Hear, hear."] Oh, yes, that will not do; we all know the significance of the advice, "Don't put him under the pump." The letter said:—

> "I do not desire to advise you or them"

—this is to "My dear President Kruger"—

> "as to the course which you should pursue. It might strengthen you in this struggle that seems inevitable if you were to seize all the passes in order to defend yourselves against attack, but if you were to do this I am afraid it would have a bad effect morally in this country, and would give rise to accusations that you have been all along intending to commence hostilities in order to have an anti-British South African Republic from the Cape to the Zambesi."

[AN HON. MEMBER: That is a clear attempt to dissuade.] If there is any hon. Member who is prepared to defend language like that written by a British Member of Parliament to the President of a State with which we are negotiating in critical circumstances, I do not envy him the task. Although I have not called, in terms at any rate, either Dr. Clark or the hon. Member traitors, I have said that language of the kind they have used in the circumstances amounted to moral treason. But I now come to the other letters. These are letters from Sir Henry de Villiers. The Leader of the Opposition spoke very strongly in the country on that subject, but he spoke less strongly to-night. I had an idea that a Member who says anything against another in the country should repeat it in the same terms in this House. This is what the right hon. Gentleman said in the country—

> "Supposing the letters were criminal, no man has a right when he accidentally came into possession of private letters"—

I do not call it accidental; when we find them as prize of war, or when we find them under the military censorship, it is not accidental—

"to select one, two, or three"—

how does he know that I selected one or two?—

"and to publish them."

The right hon. Gentleman makes no imputation of motive; the one thing he desires is moderation and the absence of imputation of motive!

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I did not say that I imputed no motive.

Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN: The right hon. Gentleman said he was not going to impute any motive in this House—where he could be answered.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: No, I beg pardon. I rather implied the motive if I did not expressly state it. What I said was that I would use moderation of tone in the language I would employ in describing the act.

Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN: Whatever the intention of the right hon. Gentleman might have been he certainly failed, and if he calls it moderation of language to impute dishonourable conduct to political opponents, and to assert that they are animated by a sordid desire to obtain a party advantage, I do not agree with him. He says—

"to publish them because they might happen to do good to his cause and blacken his opponents."

This is in reference to Sir H. de Villiers—

"He saw it publicly stated, and it was not denied—"

Good Heavens! if it were expected that a Minister should deny every lie, our speeches would have no end—

"that the nature of the so-called assent of Sir Henry de Villiers—startled, no doubt, as he was"

—how does the right hon. Gentleman know that he was startled?—

"at the idea of any public man doing such a thing"—

(this is all imaginary and put into the mouth of Sir Henry de Villiers, whom

Mr. J. Chamberlain.

the right hon. Gentleman professes to admire and respect)—

"'was 'Publish my letter if you like, provided you publish other letters I have written at the same time to Sir A. Milner and others.' Did he receive that letter with that condition? If so, why did they not hear of that letter? Did Mr. Chamberlain stand up at a public meeting and say that an assent given under such conditions was a free assent?"

The facts are that when I read these letters of Sir Henry de Villiers, for whom I have a respect and an admiration equal with that professed by some hon. Members opposite, I thought they were most creditable to his patriotism, and at the same time that it would be most useful both to the Boers and to British interests that they should be published. I thought that when a man of his well-known character and capacity expressed himself as he did with regard to the merits of the controversy between President Kruger and ourselves it was desirable that his fellow-countrymen should know it, and desirable that we should know it in order that we might appreciate the patriotism he had displayed. I wrote to him a private letter—one of those private letters the sanctity of which the right hon. Gentleman is so anxious to preserve—and I said—

"These letters have fallen into my hands; I think they are most creditable to you, and I hope you will make no objection to their publication."

Sir Henry de Villiers replied to that letter and said that he should not object to the publication, but that I must understand that they were only part of a correspondence which he had in communications with Mr. Reitz, President Kruger, and Sir A. Milner, and he wished that the whole correspondence could have been published. [Opposition cheers.] Yes, but that is a very different thing from saying that he made it a condition that the whole correspondence should be published. I wired again to Sir Henry de Villiers, thanking him for his permission, and saying, what was of course the case, that the only letters that were in my possession, the only letters I had ever seen of his, were the four I had submitted to him. I did not know, and I do not know, what he had written to Mr. Reitz, to President Kruger, or to Sir Alfred Milner, and I could not have published those letters under any conceivable circumstances, although I have no doubt they would have been equally creditable to Sir Henry de Villiers. I have told the House all the facts. Could I have done more? If Sir Henry de Villiers had said, "I object to the publication of those letters," although it would have been a difficult and almost a risky thing to do, I do not hesitate to say I should not have published them. I have such an opinion of Sir Henry de Villiers that, if he had thought it was undesirable, I should have felt that his opinion ought to have prevailed. But is it not a monstrous thing that in these circumstances the right hon. Gentleman should get up in the country and accuse me of dishonourable conduct, and invent a whole series of imaginary facts for which there is not one atom or one shred of foundation?

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir Henry de Villiers did not use the words that the right hon. Gentleman has just imputed to him. Anyone can understand that under the circumstances, it being demanded of Sir Henry de Villiers whether he would object to this publication, it was not open to him to object. [Ministerial cries of "Oh" and "Why?"] Of course he could have objected, but he would have lain subject to the greatest misapprehension. Does the right hon. Gentleman think that you are obtaining a man's consent when you present a pistol to his head?

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I hope the House will appreciate that. The right hon. Gentleman's explanation has made the matter worse. Where does he get it that I presented a pistol to the head of Sir Henry de Villiers? I asked his permission to publish. I do not know the exact words I used, but I asked, "Have you any objection?" If he had said he had any objection, as I have told the House, I should not have published them. Is that presenting a pistol to his head? Why should he object? What possible reason could Sir Henry de Villiers have for objecting to the publication of the letters? He did not, and I venture to say that his sagacity and character for patriotism and loyalty did him greatest possible credit. Then there were published other letters by other gentlemen, some of them Dutchmen and colonists at the Cape. I did not publish them, as is now insinuated, to blacken their character; on the contrary, I thought, considering that undoubtedly they were all strong partisans of the Boer cause, their letters did them great credit. I am not aware that any single one of them, although Mr. Merriman has objected, has said—I believe they have said exactly the contrary—that he was in any degree ashamed of the letters, or that he thought any harm whatever was done to him by their publication. I published these letters because I thought that it was in the public interest that it should be generally known that even those who were, as I said, favourable to the Boer cause thought that President Kruger was wrong in not making the concessions we asked for, that the concessions were reasonable, and that we had offered the olive branch. They expressed their surprise—in some cases more than their surprise—that they had not been accepted and the war prevented. I come now to the letter of the hon. Member for Rushcliffe. Well, in the first place, it is perfectly true the letter was not found at Bloemfontein; it was intercepted by the censor, and sent by Sir Alfred Milner to me. The letter was written to a gentleman who has since been arrested for treason; he may be perfectly innocent—I am not prejudicing the case—but the fact that he was suspected of treason at that time is the reason why his letters were censored, and this letter was, no doubt, censored among others. I will read an extract once more to the House, although I have no doubt it is in their minds. This is the letter the hon. Gentleman wrote——

*MR. JOHN ELLIS: The extract—not the letter.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: If the context in any way affected the words in my possession the hon. Gentleman should have sent it to me as his explanation. He said, "We want a stream of facts." Now that is an extraordinary expression by itself; it is not "We want the facts," but "We want a stream of facts," continually arriving. What about? About the general position in South Africa, or the general conduct of the war, or about a particular case submitted to his correspondent? Not a bit of it.

> "A stream of facts, concerning suppression of telegrams, opening of letters, arbitrary arrests, unfair trial, unjustifiable prison treatment, interference with free speech at meetings."

That is to say, we want from you a stream of facts discreditable to the British Administration. And the motive of it is contained in the next sentence. This stream of facts, which are vital——

*MR. JOHN ELLIS: No; the right hon. Gentleman must not leave out the words; if he reads the extract he must read it through.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I beg the hon. Member's pardon. [Opposition cries of "Oh!" and Ministerial cries of "Order!"] It is absurd to suppose that it was not quite unintentional.

*MR. JOHN ELLIS: I agree that it was quite unintentional.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I thought I had read on. "Interference with free speech at meetings"—I had finished with the things as to which the hon. Gentleman called for a stream of facts. He then says—

> "But much information sent lacks the element of fulness, detail and accuracy which are vital for Parliamentary purposes."

I quite understand that the hon. Gentleman was a searcher after truth, but for Parliamentary purposes; and he is already in the position of a man who has received a number of damaging facts, but they lack the element of fullness, detail, and accuracy. The right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition in the country said that this was a most praiseworthy and reasonable request. Is it a praiseworthy and reasonable thing to ask from anybody—because I have nothing to do with the character either of the lady to whom the letter was addressed or the gentleman to whom she in return replied—is it a praiseworthy or reasonable thing for any man to ask any other man for a stream of facts discreditable to somebody whom he wants to injure? If that were done in private life the person who did it would deserve to lose the society of the right hon. Gentleman. The hon. Member says I have no right to call upon him to make explanations or to make apologies. Certainly I have none whatever, and if the hon. Member is satisfied with his position—if he is still ready to justify the language which he used —all that I can say is that in that case I think his conduct was not creditable. If he were to say, on the other hand, "These are not exactly the words I should have used if I had been writing in cold blood, and I admit that the letter bears the interpretation that I am asking for the views of one side only," I am quite sure the House and I would not be inclined to take a serious view after such an explanation. The hon. Member rejoices in his letter, confirms his letter, justifies his letter, but I say this is not a letter which I believe even a prosecuting attorney would be justified in writing with regard to a criminal he was prosecuting. You have a right to ask for the truth, and the whole truth, but that was not what the hon. Gentleman asked for. He asked for a stream of facts which he could use in Parliament to damage his opponents. My right hon. friend reminds me that there was another paragraph or sentence, which I have not got here, in which it was stated that the names were to be kept secret.

*MR. JOHN ELLIS: That is in the extract as published in the Parliamentary papers.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: But it is not in the extract I have got here. It is one that I used during the election. Whatever may have been the sort of reports that were coming home, the right hon. Gentleman in one of the most eloquent passages of his speech, in which, I believe, the whole House sympathised, defended British soldiers and British officers against the cruel, wicked, and baseless accusations which have been brought against them and which have been copied into a good number of newspapers in support of the right hon. Gentleman. He, at all events, cleared himself by his disclaimer. But can you wonder, if inquiries of this kind are made, that there are plenty of answers and that people are ready to supply a "stream of facts" when they are asked for them in these terms? I confess myself I always look with the greatest doubt on these anonymous accusations where names are kept secret —anonymous accusations against British soldiers and officers—and I think I can understand how they are procured. The right hon. Gentleman and other speakers have complained not only of my action in regard to the letters, but also of the language I used during the election. I spoke, I believe, a great number of times. I filled many columns in the papers, and I have not had the pleasure or the interest to read over any of those speeches since. But I am prepared, notwithstanding, to stand substantially by every word I said. I say substantially, because it is possible that in the hurry of a great deal of impromptu speaking a word may have slipped in here and there which was not intended, or that my speeches may not have been in particular parts as lucid as they should have been. One difficulty with which I had to deal in all my speeches was the character of the Opposition. We have not to deal with one Opposition. We have to deal with six, and, accordingly, when one is speaking at a public meeting of what one section of the Opposition has done it is always possible—I do not know whether it did occur—that I may have confused one with the other, that I may not have made it perfectly clear that I was applying to one section only words which I certainly should not have been inclined to apply to the rest. The right hon. Gentleman did not accuse me, but he said generally, I think, that the whole of the Opposition had been accused of being traitors.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Most of us traitors.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I ask who accused you? Does the right hon. Gentleman mean that I accused him? Does he mean any one else?

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: It is not usual to discuss these matters like an Old Bailey cross-examination. I have in my recollection a speech of the right hon. Gentleman at Birmingham when he spoke of two-thirds of the Opposition being traitors and desiring the success of the enemies of their country.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I beg the right hon. Gentleman's pardon for daring to cross-examine him. I wanted to know what I was to reply to. Now I do know, and I am perfectly satisfied. He was referring to my speech at Birmingham, on 22nd September. My attention was called to that speech by a newspaper, and it is the only speech of mine at which I have looked for a second time. I must admit that there is a certain want of lucidity in the report, and I have no doubt that it is correct, but I would even appeal to the right hon. Gentleman who is my accuser to read that speech as a whole; and I am perfectly certain that he will see clearly that I was not so foolish —I will not use any other word—as to accuse him or the majority of the Opposition of being traitors. I never had it in my mind to do anything of the kind; and if I appeared to do so, I will explain to the right hon. Gentleman how it occurred, and I hope he will excuse me if he has been misled by my want of lucidity. I was speaking of the writers of the letters —of those particular letters which I have already stated to the House were, in my opinion, morally treasonable; and afterwards, in a kind of parenthesis, I went on to speak of the position of the rest of the Opposition. Then I did say of those men, "I will not call them traitors, I will call them misguided individuals." But what I wish to explain is that in that part of the speech I was speaking of the gentlemen who were in direct communication with our opponents.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: How about the two-thirds?

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I will point out what I said about the two-thirds. I have spoken with some indignation about them. I have said again and again that the last important division which we had in the House of Commons showed that the Opposition was divided into three parties; that one party was professedly pro-Boer and Little Englander; that another, under the guidance of the right hon. Gentleman, sat upon the fence; and that the third section commonly described themselves as Liberal Imperialists, but had not given us any assistance in the critical period immediately before the war. As regards these two-thirds, and especially as regards the right hon. Gentleman, I said again and again that by their speeches and action they encouraged the Boers to believe—though they did not intend it, they did as a fact encourage the Boers to believe that there was a large party in this country, including two-thirds of the Opposition, to whom they might look for support and who were opposed to anything in the nature of war, or preparation for war.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I am rather in doubt as to the phrase which the right hon. Gentleman used.

The right hon. Gentleman says that he did not intend this dreadful thing. But I think he went on to say that we desired the success of the enemies of our country.

Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN: No, Sir, I certainly should not have said that of the right hon. Gentleman. But now he reminds me, I may have said, not of him personally, but of Members of the Opposition, that they desired the success of the diplomacy of the Boers rather than of our own. Why, they have always condemned my diplomacy; and some of them have stated and still state that the Boers were in the right. Appealed to by the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House to say whether the war was a just war, the right hon. Gentleman opposite replied "No."

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I said that I never said it was just.

Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN: The right hon. Gentleman is thoroughly consistent. But the man who believes that the war is an unjust war is still justified to his conscience in wishing success to the diplomacy of the party which is in the right rather than to the diplomacy of the party which is in the wrong. But the issue which I endeavoured to press upon the people of this country was that in the state of the Opposition, divided as it was, with only one-third of it heartily in favour of the policy which I believe to be the national policy, it would have been nothing else than a disaster to commit to that party the conduct of affairs, the prosecution of the war and the settlement after the war. Who are my accusers? Who are the gentlemen who complain that I used strong language? The gentlemen who, two or three days before the election, and down to the very end of it, entered into a perfect conspiracy of insinuation and charges against myself and against those who are nearest to me. I will not speak of that now, because I shall, perhaps, have another opportunity. Look for a moment—drop all allusions to personal and private character. I believe they are absolutely unknown in the history of our Parliamentary life. I have fought my battles as hard as I knew how, but I defy anyone to say that I have ever attacked any man's private character. I have attacked his public policy and public character, which I thought I was justified in doing, but I have never attacked or gone into private or personal affairs, or endeavoured to damage him as a man, although, as I have said, I may have endeavoured to damage his policy. But that is not the way I am treated by my opponents. Whether they will gain by it remains to be seen. Take the ordinary course of the political orations on the other side. What did they say during the elections? The right hon. Gentleman, in a letter he wrote, said that the country was rising against this Government of swagger, muddle, and electoral manœuvres. [Opposition cheers.] Yes, the country did rise, but not against us. But, while you talk about strong language, you say that the Government consists of cowards, knaves, and fools, for that is what you mean by a Government of swaggerers, muddlers, and persons given to electoral manœuvres. Then another right hon. Gentleman, an ex-Cabinet Minister, on the other side, used this expression. He said—

> "I believe that if a murderer were put up for Parliament, and were prepared to worship the right thing according to the Birmingham mandate, the whole party would vote for him."

That is a courteous phrase to use. I do not object to it, and I do not suppose that the Tory party object to it; but I think it is rather cool for these wolves to come down and to accuse this lamb of using truculent language. The real fact is they have been beaten, and they take their beating badly. I wonder whether the right hon. Gentleman, in the leisure he has had since the election, has read a most admirable and interesting essay by one of his colleagues—the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Montrose, who has published a study of Cromwell. Whether we agree with him or not, we all have read it with admiration. In the course of that study, which I do not quote verbally, there is a quotation which I am not certain that I can give accurately; but it seemed to me to be worthy of the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Montrose describes Charles I. He says Charles I. was vindictive in proportion as he was impotent, and he was a man who could not be beaten with impunity.

Debate adjourned till to-morrow.

Adjourned at five minutes before Twelve of the clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, 7th December, 1900.

BARONIES OF DARCY DE KNAYTH, MEYNILL, AND FAUCONBERG.

Petition of Marcia Amelia Mary, in her own right, Baroness Convers, the wife of Charles Alfred Worsley, Earl of Yarborough, one of Her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, and of Violet Ida Evelyn, the wife of George Charles, Earl of Powis, Her Majesty's Lieutenant for the county of Salop, the daughters and co-heirs of Sackville George, Lord Conyers Darcy and Meynill, deceased, to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty (1) to terminate in favour of the said Violet Ida Evelyn, Countess of Powis, one of Her Majesty's Petitioners, the abeyance now existing in some one of the three Baronies of Darcy de Knayth, Meynill, and Fauconberg, together with the rights, privileges, pre-eminencies, immunities, and advantages, and the place and precedence due and belonging thereto, to hold the same for her and the heirs of her body lawfully begotten, and to be begotten for ever; and (2) to terminate in favour of the said Marcia Amelia Mary, Countess of Yarborough and Baroness Conyers, the other of Her Majesty's Petitioners, the abeyances now existing in the remaining two of the said three Baronies, together with the rights, privileges, pre-eminencies, immunities, and advantages, and the places and precedences due and belonging thereto, to hold the same to her and the heirs of her body lawfully begotten, and to be begotten, for ever; together with Her Majesty's reference thereof to this House, and the report of the Attorney-General thereon, thereunto annexed: Presented (by command), read, and referred to the Committee for Privileges to consider and report.

LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE.

Petition of Geoffrey Henry, Baron of Oranmore and Browne, in the Peerage of Ireland, claiming a right to vote at the elections of Representative Peers for Ireland; read, and referred to the Lord Chancellor to consider and report thereupon to the House.

House adjourned at Four of the clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, 7th December, 1900.

Several other Members took and subscribed the Oath.

ADJOURNMENT.

Resolved, That this House, at its rising this day, do adjourn till Monday next.—(*Mr. Fellowes.*)

PETITIONS.

LICENSED PREMISES (HOURS OF SALE) (SCOTLAND).

Petition from Selkirk, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY.

Petition from Blakeney, for prohibition; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

POST OFFICE (DISTRICT MESSENGERS' COMPANY).

Return (presented 6th December) to be printed. [No. 381.]

POST OFFICE (TELEPHONE SERVICE).

Return (presented 6th December) to be printed. [No. 382.]

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1884.

Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 17th November, 1900, declaring that Mr. Alexander MacDonald, Commander of the cruiser "Vigilant," under the Fishery Board for Scotland, was appointed without a Civil Service Certificate, through inadvertence on the part of the Head of his Department [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

COMMERCIAL TRAVELLERS (INDIA AND THE COLONIES).

Copy presented, of Reports as to the Indian and Colonial Regulations respecting Commercial Travellers [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION (JUDICIAL RENTS).

Copy presented, of Return of Judicial Rents fixed during the month of April, 1900 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION (PROCEEDINGS).

Copy presented, of Return of Proceedings of the Commission during the month of September, 1900 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

RESTRICTIONS UPON BRITISH INDIAN SUBJECTS IN BRITISH COLONIES AND DEPENDENCIES.

Return presented, relative thereto [Address 11th May, 1899; *Sir William Wedderburn*]; to lie upon the Table.

QUESTIONS.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR.—NOTIFICATION TO FOREIGN POWERS OF THE ANNEXATION OF THE REPUBLICS.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs have Her Majesty's Government notified to any foreign Powers the annexation of the Transvaal and of the Orange River Colony by Great Britain; and has this annexation been recognised by any foreign Power; if not, what steps do Her Majesty's Government propose to take in order to secure such recognition.

*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Viscount CRANBORNE, Rochester): The annexations have not been notified to any foreign Powers. The precedents have been examined, and it has not been found that such notification is necessary, or that recognition of the fact of annexation by foreign Powers is dependent on formal diplomatic notice.

WAR OFFICE CONTRACTS.—TENDERS FOR BICYCLES.

MR. CHARLES MURRAY (Coventry): I beg to ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office whether his attention has been called to the issue of forms of tenders for bicycles on terms which directly contravene the spirit and letter of an undertaking given by the late Financial Secretary to the War Office on 28th July, 1898,† and whether he will suspend the issue of such forms of tender until he has given an opportunity to the firms interested of conferring with the Secretary of State.

MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS (Birmingham, S.) (for Lord STANLEY): I have examined with the Secretary of State the forms of tender recently issued for 130 bicycles required for further experiment in South Africa. I find that although tenders were issued to sixty-seven firms in conformity with my undertaking given on 28th July that there should be no monopoly, in certain particulars where interchangeability of parts is essential the tenders, which specify the manufactures of one firm, do not altogether conform to the instructions given. I have, therefore, ordered them to be amended, leaving it to the tendering firm to provide of their own manufacture parts interchangeable with those already supplied.

REPORT OF THE INTELLIGENCE DEPARTMENT.

MR. DALZIEL (Kirkcaldy Burghs): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether, in view of the fact that the Report of the Intelligence Department of the War Office on the Military Forces of the Transvaal previous to the outbreak of war has been published in certain American newspapers, he will, for the information of Members, consent to lay it upon the Table of the House.

MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: Yes, Sir.

MR. DALZIEL: Will it be published in the present session?

MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: I cannot say. I will inquire of my right hon. friend.

COURT MARTIAL PROCEDURE.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he would make some statement which would recognise or discountenance the apparent innovation of one court martial inquiring as to how the members of another court martial have voted.

MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: No question regarding the unanimity of opinion of the members of a court martial previously held should be allowed to be raised before a court martial. Some instructions to this effect have been issued, and will be made general.

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† See *The Parliamentary Debates*, Fourth Series, Vol. LXIII., page 301.

THE WAIMA INCIDENT—ARBITRATION.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he can give information with regard to the progress of arbitration on the subject of the affair which took place at Waima in 1893, as to which arbitration was announced as having been agreed upon in principle at the time of the discussion of the Foreign Office Vote in 1899, and on which immediate arbitration was promised in the discussion of the Foreign Office Vote in August last.

*VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: All points in connection with the Arbitration, including the selection of the Arbitrator, are settled with the exception of certain details as to procedure, in regard to which a reply is now being awaited from the French Government.

CONSULAR TRADE REPORTS.

MR. BRIGG (Yorkshire, W.R., Keighley): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether, in order that the Trade Reports issued by the Foreign Office may be more easily understood and consequently rendered more commercially valuable, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs will request the Consuls and others who furnish Trade Reports to give the amounts contained in those Reports referring to weights, measures, and coinage in their English equivalents.

*VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: Instructions were given in 1889 to Her Majesty's Consuls that in every case the equivalents in English money, weights and measures should be used. Exceptions to this rule are occasionally made in case of lengthy tables in well known currency or measure, such as francs or metres. The attention of Her Majesty's Consuls will, however, be again called to the importance of strictly observing the instructions of 1889.

MALTESE COURTS OF LAW—OFFICIAL LANGUAGE.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, whether any deputation waited on the Secretary of State for the Colonies during his recent visit to Malta relative to the proposed imposition of the English language in place of Italian in Courts of Law; and, if so, will he state the nature of the reply which was given, or lay upon the Table of the House any Papers on the subject.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN, Birmingham, W.): The matter referred to by the hon. Member was not mentioned at my interview with the elected members. Parliamentary Paper No. 287 of 1899 gives the latest information which is available on the subject.

POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANK—LOSS ON TRADING—ASSETS AND LIABILITIES.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he is aware that for the last four years the trading of the Post Office Savings Bank has resulted in a yearly loss amounting, for the four years to the end of 1889, to £34,123; and, whether he can say what the reason is of this loss being sustained, and whether he proposes to take any steps to place the Post Office Savings Bank on a sounder and more satisfactory footing.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir M. HICKS BEACH, Bristol, W.): The answer to the first paragraph of the question is in the affirmative, but it is probable that the current year will show a profit. The reason of the loss was that it was impossible for some years to invest the Savings Bank funds so as to pay the rate of interest to the depositors fixed by law. The subject is one which I think should engage the attention of Parliament.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he is aware that the balance-sheet of the Post Office Savings Bank on the 31st December, 1899, showed an excess of liabilities over assets of £504,928 1s. 10d., the assets being valued at the market price of the day. Whether these assets included £67,330,884 of $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. Consols; and whether the market price and consequent value of those Consols, at that price, has since increased or decreased. Whether the liabilities of the

Savings Bank, amounting to £130,138,344 on 31st December, 1899, consisted almost wholly of deposits payable at call. Whether in case of the assets of the Post Office Savings Bank being insufficient to meet the claims of the depositors the Consolidated Fund is liable to make good the deficiency. And whether he proposes to take any steps, either by forming an adequate reserve in cash, or in any other way, to secure the Consolidated Fund from having to make good any such liability by placing the Post Office Savings Bank in a position to meet the claims out of its own assets.

SIR M. HICKS BEACH: The answer to the first four paragraphs of the question is in the affirmative, except that the deposits are legally payable at ten days notice—the price of Consols has decreased since the date named. I introduced a Bill last session to deal with this subject, though I was not fortunate enough to be able to proceed with it or to secure the support of the hon. Member for the remedy which I proposed. I can take no steps in the matter at the present time, nor make any promise as to the future.

METROPOLITAN POLICE—PAY.

CAPTAIN NORTON (Newington, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department what steps, if any, have been taken towards raising the pay of the members of the Metropolitan Police force, seeing that some time has already elapsed since the members of the City Police force received a substantial increase of pay.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. RITCHIE, Croydon): I must deprecate the comparison suggested in the hon. and gallant Gentleman's question, but I may say that the matter of the emoluments of the Metropolitan Police was under the consideration of my predecessor when he left office, and is now receiving my attention.

RAILWAY RE-BOOKING CHARGES.

COLONEL NOLAN: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade if his attention has been drawn to the habit of re-booking goods, particularly those of small weight, on or between the railway systems of Ireland, and if he could issue regulations which would limit the powers of the railway companies to charge for this re-booking.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. G. W. BALFOUR, Leeds, Central): My attention has not been directed to this matter, and I am not aware of the precise point of hardship upon which the hon. and gallant Gentleman desires the intervention of the Board of Trade. It is clear, however, that the Department has no power to issue regulations limiting the powers of railway companies to charge for re-booking.

DELETERIOUS MATTER IN BEER.

MR. FREDERICK WILSON (Norfolk, Mid): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board if he will take steps to define the word "beer" like bread, butter, etc., or whether beer is still to be made of any article grown, manufactured, or imported into this country.

*THE SECRETARY TO THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. GRANT LAWSON, Yorkshire, N.R., Thirsk): Legislation would be necessary to give effect to the wishes of the hon. Member. My right hon. friend fears he could not undertake to introduce a Bill for the purpose; but desires to point out that adulteration of beer may be dealt with under the existing law.

POST OFFICE TELEPHONES—BREAKING UP OF LONDON STREETS.

MR. BARTLEY (Islington, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, whether he is aware of the inconvenience that has been caused all over London by the taking up of the streets for the telephone, and that Victoria Street has been almost impassable for six months, and that each house has been blocked up for about six weeks; and whether some steps can be taken to reduce this inconvenience to the public.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.): The Postmaster General is aware, and he is sorry that it should be so, that great inconvenience has been caused by the works for the new telephone service in London. The facts are not, however, quite as stated by the hon. Member. Excavation in Victoria Street was not begun until

24th August, and the duct work was completed more than a week ago. The Postmaster General is satisfied that every endeavour is and will be made to minimise the inconvenience to the public. It should be understood that the Post Office is not responsible for the whole of the inconvenience which has been caused. Electric light companies have made and are making extensive excavations in many cases along the same routes as those followed by the Post Office.

MR. BARTLEY: If the Post Office did not commence the work until August, someone began it for them a month or two previously.

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS—APPEALS AGAINST DISMISSAL.

SIR JOSEPH LEESE (Lancashire, Accrington): I beg to ask the Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education whether a measure giving the right of appeal to teachers in cases of their alleged wrongful dismissal by managers of schools receiving grants under the Day School Code will be introduced by the Government during the session of 1901, in accordance with the statement in the House of Commons on the 2nd of August, 1900, that, having considered the question, the Board of Education are of opinion that legislation is necessary, and they hope to introduce a Bill dealing with the subject next session; and whether he will include in the Bill a power of appeal against dismissal for teachers employed in schools under the Endowed Schools Acts, 1869 to 1889.

THE VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION (Sir JOHN GORST, Cambridge University): Her Majesty's Government intend to deal with the question of the dismissal of elementary school teachers in the session of 1901, but they cannot undertake to include the teachers of endowed schools referred to in the question.

SCOTTISH CROFTERS—ISLAND OF BARRA.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Lord Advocate whether he is aware that crofters and cottars in the Island of Barra, many of them the sons of crofters who were evicted from lands now forming large farms in Barra, have repeatedly applied to be located on some of the lands in the islands which have been scheduled by the Deer Forest Commissioners as suitable for occupation by the people, and that the people failing in their object and being on the verge of starvation have signified their intention to seize certain lands on the estate of Lady Gordon Cathcart, known as Northbay Farm, Barra; is he aware that the Barra Parish Council petitioned Lady Gordon Cathcart on behalf of the people without avail, and that efforts to secure land for the people under the Allotments Act of 1892 have likewise failed; and, in view of the fact that Lady Gordon Cathcart is sole owner of the island, will he state what action he proposes to take to bring about a solution of the land question in Barra, and other parts of the Highlands of Scotland.

*THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR SCOTLAND (Mr. C. SCOTT DICKSON, Glasgow, Bridgeton) (for Mr. A. GRAHAM MURRAY): Without accepting all the statements contained in the first part of the hon. Member's question, I deeply regret to say that it is the fact that some of the cottars in the Island of Barra signified their intention to take forcible possession of some land let to a tenant on the estate of Lady Gordon Cathcart. At the same time they sent petitions to Lady Gordon Cathcart and to the Congested Districts Board. The Secretary for Scotland, with the concurrence of the Lord Advocate and on behalf of the Congested Districts Board, sent Mr. McIntyre, of the Crofters Commission, to inquire and report on the whole circumstances. The report has been received, and the Secretary for Scotland is now in communication on the subject with Lady Gordon Cathcart, who has always shown a warm interest in the welfare of the island, and he hopes to be able to find a solution of the difficulties which undoubtedly exist. The attempts to secure land under the Allotments Act, 1892, were not successful.

SMALL HOLDINGS IN GALWAY AND MAYO.

COLONEL NOLAN: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he will take steps to empower the Congested Districts Board to enlarge small holdings in all of the counties of Galway and Mayo instead of merely in those parts entitled Scheduled Districts; and if he will propose a suitable increase for this purpose either in the total funds of the Congested Districts Board or in its borrowing powers.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. ATKINSON, Londonderry, N.): At the request of my right hon. friend I will reply to this question. Legislation would be necessary to give effect to the suggestion of the hon. and gallant Gentleman. Such legislation is obviously impossible in the present session, and I cannot give any undertaking that it will be proposed in the next session.

MINISTERS AND PUBLIC COMPANIES —POSITION OF MR. G. W. BALFOUR.

MR. WHARTON (Yorkshire, W.R., Ripon): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade a question of which I have given him private notice—namely, whether the statement which appears in the report of the speech made yesterday by Lord Rosebery in the House of Lords that the right hon. Gentleman is a director of several public companies is correct?

MR. G. W. BALFOUR: No; the statement is not correct, and I think it is to be regretted that Lord Rosebery should have made it without taking the trouble to ascertain the facts. During the last five years I have been a director not of several companies, but of one company in which I myself and my family were largely interested. Since my appointment to the Board of Trade I have resigned that directorship, and at the present moment I am not a director of any public company.

LICENSING COMMISSION—PROPOSED LEGISLATION.

MR. TRITTON (Lambeth, Norwood): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether Her Majesty's Government have considered the Report of the Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws; and whether they intend next session to introduce legislation in accordance with, or to give effect to, any of the recommendations contained in either of the two parts of the Report.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): As regards this question, I think it premature to make any statement with regard to legislation which cannot take effect, of course, during the present session.

THE PRIME MINISTER'S SALARY.

MR. DALZIEL: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the Prime Minister is in receipt of any salary from public funds; and, if not, whether it is the intention of the Government to make any provision for same.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: There will be in the next session an Estimate put upon the Votes for reviving for the Prime Minister a salary of £2,000 a year, I think it was, that used to attach to the office of the Lord Privy Seal.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: Is that the office the salary of which was abolished by Act of Parliament in 1884?

[No answer was returned.]

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S SPEECH OF YESTERDAY—PERSONAL EXPLANATION BY MR. DALZIEL.

MR. DALZIEL: Sir, I rise to ask your permission and the indulgence of the House to make a brief personal explanation. It will be within the recollection of the House that during the debate last night the remark was made by some hon. Member to the effect that the right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary was speaking the truth for the first time. I notice this morning that, in many leading newspapers, I am credited with that remark, and I further understand that several hon. Members of the House are of the opinion that I made it. [Ministerial cries of "No."] Many hon. Members have expressed that opinion to me. I only rise to say that I did not make the remark. I accept no responsibility whatever for it, and I therefore think it is due to the right hon. Gentleman and the House, and above all to myself, that I should entirely dissociate myself from it.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MR. JAMES LOWTHER (Kent, Thanet): I wish to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, in view of the fact that there is no Private Bill business, he sees any objection to public business commencing at a quarter past three?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I understand that the business of the swearing in

Members—the only business which practically has to precede public business—is now so far advanced that no objection exists to public business beginning at a quarter past three. Perhaps this may be taken as a public notification that we shall so commence on Monday. I beg now to move the resolution which stands in my name on the Paper, and which, I think, requires no word of explanation. It is exactly similar to the Order moved under like circumstances in the autumn of last year. It is designed entirely for the convenience of the House, and I hope that it will be accepted without discussion.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That, during the Winter Sittings, no Motions for leave to bring in Bills be given except by a Minister of the Crown; that on every day Government Business do have precedence, and that at the conclusion thereof Mr. Speaker do adjourn the House without Question put; and that the provisions of Standing Order No. 56 be extended to all the days of the week."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): I do not rise to offer any objection to the intention of the resolution, but I think the phraseology of it is, to say the least, remarkable. It refers to the "Winter sittings." May I point out that if we are to meet again in January or February, that also would be a winter sitting. Would it not be better to substitute some other words, such as "until further notice"?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: This is a Sessional Order, and would only have operation as such.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.) said he objected to that portion of the motion which provided that the Speaker should adjourn the House "without Question put." He would suggest to the right hon. Gentleman that on several occasions considerable inconvenience had been caused to Members by their being unable to ask for information to which they were entitled. He remembered one case, in regard to a colliery explosion, where that occurred, and where some information was very greatly desired, but could not be obtained because of a rule of this kind. Without offering any objection on the present occasion to the motion, he would appeal to the right hon. Gentleman to agree to the elimination of that particular provision should such a resolution be brought forward in some future session.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES wished to ask the First Lord for some information as to the real import of the resolution. It stated that Standing Order 56 was to apply to every one of the sittings. What did that Standing Order do? It said that the question that Mr. Speaker leave the chair should not be put unless "on first going into Committee of Supply on the Army, Navy, or Civil Service Estimates respectively." Now this was a new House. There was no Committee of Supply and not even a Chairman of Committees. Could it rightly be said that Estimates presented to a new Parliament were Supplementary Estimates? Were they not rather original? Before he agreed to the resolution he wished to know what its effect would be. In his belief, according to the true and proper reading of Standing Order 56, its effect was that only on first going into Committee of Supply was it possible for Members to move Amendments and to raise a general discussion on the Estimate. He had derived, from the "Votes and Proceedings," the knowledge that a Supplementary Estimate for war was to be presented. It had, in fact, been presented. He was surprised that no information to that effect was conveyed in the Speech from the Throne, and that the Estimate had been smuggled on to the Table in some way hitherto unknown to the constitution and practice of the House. This resolution implied that hon. Members were to be deprived of the power of moving Amendments and raising a general discussion on the motion to go into Committee of Supply on those Estimates, although, according to his belief, this was a first going into Committee of Supply. If it did not imply that, then he was in accord with the resolution. As this was a new Parliament it certainly ought not to be deprived of its constitutional right of bringing forward grievances before it dealt with Supply; and if, as he feared, the resolution of the First Lord was intended to take away that right from them on this occasion, he, for one, would have to vote against the motion. He noticed that the new Estimates were called "Supplementary Estimates." Were they really so? This was a new Parliament, which knew nothing of what was done by the last Parliament. If it was to be taken to have such knowledge, then they might just as well go back to the Votes in Supply for the war year 1805 as to those of the last Parliament. He wished to put two questions, and he would address them to the Speaker, if he might be allowed to do so. First he would ask whether, when it came to consider the so-called Supplementary Estimates, the House would have the power of dealing with the policy and principles underlying the original Estimates. The Speaker's predecessor in the chair solemnly ruled, after a heated debate, that on the occasion of Supplementary Estimates being presented it was not competent for a Member of the House to go into the policy raised by the original Estimates, because on those original Estimates an opportunity had already been afforded for doing so. He was afraid that the feeling in official quarters was strongly against him, but he did press for an answer to his questions—whether this new Parliament was to be precluded from raising a general discussion on the motion that Mr. Speaker leave the chair, and whether it was to be prevented from dealing with the principle of the Estimates originally submitted, and to which these new Estimates professed to be "supplementary." This was a very important question, and he was anxious to have it made clear what would be the effect of passing the resolution.

*Mr. SPEAKER: The second question of the hon. Member is premature. It may never arise, but if it does arise, and I am in the chair, I will then answer it. With regard to the first question, I understand it to be whether, when Committee of Supply is called on as an Order of the Day for the first time in the present session, the question must be proposed that I leave the chair, and debate may arise thereon. I think no such question can be proposed, and for this reason: The words of the Standing Order are that no such question can be put "unless on first going into Committee of Supply on the Army, Navy, and Civil Service Estimates respectively." The Army, Navy, and Civil Service Estimates mentioned there are, I take it, and I think they have always been understood to be, the Estimates of the year for the services of the year. Subsequent Estimates presented to the House for the services of the same year are Supplementary Estimates, whether they are presented in a new session or in a new Parliament. When the ordinary Estimates for the year are presented in February they are dealt with by the House, and the grants are supposed to be sufficient for the services of the year; the Appropriation Bill is passed, and the whole business, financial and otherwise, is put an end to by a prorogation as completely as it is by a dissolution. But in a new session, where Supplementary Estimates are presented, there is no question that I leave the chair, and consequently no debate can arise; and the same rule must apply to the case put by the hon. Member.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES: I am afraid that, after that answer, I shall be forced to vote against the resolution.

Mr. DALZIEL said he wished to move as an Amendment the omission of the words which provided that the Speaker should adjourn the House without question put. As the motion at present stood, every opportunity for private Members was taken away, and he thought there was absolutely no precedent in the history of Parliament for a House containing hundreds of new Members to be called together, and the Government thus taking upon itself the responsibility of saying that they should discuss one question and one question only. Hon. Members had just come back from their constituencies, having, no doubt, made many promises, and they ought, at least, to have an opportunity of raising cases of urgency on the motion for adjournment. But if this motion were carried in its present form, the result would be that, immediately Government business was disposed of the Speaker would leave the chair, and, no matter how urgent a local question might be, an hon. Member would not be allowed to ask a question in regard to it. As they were meeting at the present time solely in consequence of the absence of foresight and capacity of the Government, and entirely because time after time blunders had been made in the framing of the Estimates to provide for the cost of the war, he submitted that Ministers ought not to make that extraordinary claim upon the House. He appealed to the right hon. Gentleman to allow the motion for adjournment to be put in the ordinary way, as there was not the slightest chance of the opportunity being unduly taken advantage of. It was conceivable, especially while military operations were going on, that serious questions might arise in the course of the day upon which both the House and the country would desire information. Of course, a Minister might, by leave of the House, make a statement, but then, if that were allowed, the Government would be breaking their own rule. As the right hon. Gentleman was always ready to make reasonable concessions, and as he believed this privilege would not be abused, he asked him to assent to this Amendment. They all recognised that in this session they were not to raise questions unassociated with the war. But he did want to secure that, if a Member had brought to his notice a matter of great importance to his constituency upon which he wished information, he should have an opportunity of putting the question at the rising of the House. In the interests and to safeguard the privileges of private Members he urged the right hon. Gentleman to grant this small concession.

MR. HERBERT LEWIS (Flint Boroughs) seconded the Amendment, and endorsed the appeal made by his hon. friend. He pointed out that the privilege had never been abused in the past—at any rate during the time he had been a Member of the House. All they wanted was that they should have on the adjournment an opportunity of raising any urgent question, and of asking Ministers questions in regard to it.

Amendment proposed—

"In line 4, to leave out the words from the word 'precedence' to the word 'and' in line 5."—(*Mr. Dalziel.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The resolution is strictly in accordance with numerous precedents set by both sides.

MR. DALZIEL: At the end of sessions.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: What difference does that make to the argument of the hon. Member? I see no reason for differentiating between the beginning and the end of a session when the House desires, as it undoubtedly does in this case, that the only business discussed shall be Government business. The interruption of the hon. Gentleman was not only irrelevant but incorrect in its imputation that this provision has only hitherto been adopted in resolutions brought forward towards the end of sessions. Although I do not deny that there may occasionally be some slight inconvenience because a Minister on the adjournment of the House is not able to answer some question, I think that to modify the resolution as suggested would open the door to very serious and grave inconveniences. Government business might have concluded some night at eight o'clock, and many Members have gone away in the belief that no other business would be taken. But some private Member might keep the whole machinery of the House at work in order to discuss some matter in which he was specially interested. I am, however, quite willing to consider whether, on the next occasion when such a motion is made, a degree of flexibility which will permit questions to be put cannot be introduced. I do not think that the method proposed by the hon. Gentleman would attain that end, except at the cost of great public inconvenience. It must be remembered that questions can be put at half-past three the next day, and that when any important information does arise, it is promptly sent to the press, so that hon. Members, as well as the public, see it the first thing the next morning.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON (Dundee): I think the right hon. Gentleman is correct in saying that the adoption of the Amendment would open the way for private Members' motions after Government business had been finished, and I am sure that that is not what the House would desire. The object of my hon. friends might be attained if in lieu of the words, "That the Speaker do adjourn the House without Question put," were inserted, "That Mr. Speaker do put the Question for the adjournment." If this were done, hon. Members would retain the right and privilege of addressing questions to members of the Government.

MR. T. M. HEALY said the Leader of the House had dropped a remark of the greatest significance. He suggested that on the motion for adjournment there might be something in the nature of a surprise. He gathered from that that the right hon. Gentleman feared the action of the Colonial Secretary, for the only occasion on which, so far as he could remember, the privilege of making a statement on the motion for adjournment was abused, was at a time when we were nearly getting into a war with France, because the Colonial Secretary suddenly came down in a most menacing manner, and announced that an unwarrantably aggressive attack had been made upon British officers and soldiers by French troops. Of course, if the Leader of the House was of opinion it was desirable that the Colonial Secretary should not have opportunities of repeating such conduct, that was a matter they must settle between themselves. He held there was a considerable difference between the beginning and the end of a session, and that while such a motion as this might not be warranted at the commencement, it might be reasonable in the month of July, when the House had had an opportunity for five or six months of threshing out questions. Still, as the right hon. Gentleman had given a sort of promise that he would consider the point before a similar proposal was made on a future occasion, it would be for his friends to consider whether the Amendment should be pressed.

MR. DALZIEL: Will the right hon Gentleman accept the suggestion of the Member for Dundee? If so, I will withdraw the Amendment.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am afraid that is hardly practicable. Supposing Government business came to an end early in the evening, we might go on discussing the adjournment until midnight.

MR. DALZIEL: The discussion would have to be pertinent to the adjournment.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: There can be no question pertinent to an adjournment.

MR. DALZIEL: I believe it has been held by the Speaker that Members may only put questions of urgency on the motion for adjournment. It is, therefore, quite impossible to raise a variety of subjects, or to have an academic discussion.

Question put.

The House divided.—Ayes, 215; Noes, 100. (Division List No. 2.)

AYES.

Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Aird, John
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Ashmead-Bartlett, Sir Ellis
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herbert Henry
Atkinson, Rt. Hon John
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baldwin, Alfred
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Rt Hn Gerald W (Leeds
Balfour, Maj. K. R. (Christch.)
Barry, Sir Francis T. (Windsor)
Bartley, George C. T.
Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir M. H (Bristol)
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, A.
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bowles, Capt. H. F. (Middlesex)
Bowles, T. Gibson (King's Lynn)
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Bullard, Sir Harry
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J (Birm.
Chamberlain, J Austen (Worc'r
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Chapman, Edward
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coddington, Sir William
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colomb, Sir John Charles Ready
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cranborne, Viscount
Cross, H. Shepherd (Bolton)
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale, Sir Joseph C.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Duke, Edward Henry
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir Wm. H.
Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Ellis, John Edward
Emmott, Alfred
Faber, George Denison
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn Edwd.
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Man'r
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Fisher, William Hayes
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Fitzroy, Hon. Edw. Algernon
Flower, Ernest
Foster, Sir M. (Lond. Univ.)
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Galloway, Wm. Johnson
Garfit, William
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert J.
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gordon, Maj W (Tower Hamlets
Gore, Hon. F. S. Ormsby-
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Sir E W (B'ry S Edm'nds
Greene, W. Raymond (Cambs.)
Grey, Sir Edward (Berwick)
Groves, James Grimble
Guthrie, Walter Murray
Hain, Edward
Haldane, Richard Burdon
Hambro, Charles Eric
Hamilton, Marq of (L'nd'nderry
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashf'rd
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th)
Hay, Claude
Hayne, Rt. Hon. Chas. Seale-
Hayter, Sir Arthur D.
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords. N.W.
Helder, Augustus

Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Higginbottom, S. W.
Hoare, Sir Samuel (Norwich)
Hobhouse, Henry (Somerset, E.
Hogg, Lindsay
Hope J. F (Sheffield, Brightside
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Horner, Frederic William
Houldsworth, Sir Wm. Henry
Howard, Capt. J (Kent, Faversh
Howard, J. (Midd., Tottenham)
Hozier, Hon. James Henry Cecil
Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir John H.
Kenyon, Hon. G. T. (Denbigh)
Kitson, Sir James
Knowles, Lees
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Langley, Batty
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Lawson, John Grant
Lee, Lt-Col. A. H (Hants. F'ham
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington
Leigh-Bennett, Henry Currie
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N. S.
Lockwood, Lt.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col. Chas. W. (Evesham)
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Bristol, S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Lowther, Rt. Hon James (Kent)
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maclure, Sir John William
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
Majendie, James A. H.
Maxwell, W. J. (Dumfriesshire)
Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
Middlemore, J. Throgmorton
Milward, Colonel Victor
Mitchell, William
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
More, Robert J. (Shropshire)
Morgan, D. J. (Walthamstow)
Morley, Rt. Hn. John (Montrose
Morris, Hon. Martin Henry F.
Morton, Arthur H. A. (Deptford
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Nicol, Donald Ninian
Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
Parker, Gilbert
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, Herbert P. (Darlington)
Peel, Hon. William Robert W.
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Richard
Pirie, Duncan V.
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Walter R.
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Radcliffe, R. F.
Randles, John S.
Rankin, Sir James
Reid, James (Greenock)
Reid, Sir R. T. (Dumfries)
Rentoul, James Alexander
Ridley, M. W. (Stalybridge)
Ridley, S. F. (Bethnal Green)
Ritchie, Rt. Hon. Charles T.
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Ropner, Colonel Robert
Rothschild, Hon. Lionel W.
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Seton-Karr, Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Sinclair, Capt. John (Forfarsh.)
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Smith, H C (N'rth'mb. Tyneside
Smith, Jas. Parker (Lanarks.
Spear, John Ward
Spencer, Rt. Hn. C. R (N'rth'nts
Stanley, Hon Arthur (Ormskirk
Stewart, Sir M. J. M'Taggart
Stock, James Henry
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Thomas, David A. (Merthyr)
Thomas, F. Freeman-(Hastings
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Tufnell, Col. Edward
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. H (Shef'd
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walker, Col. William Hall
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warde, Lieut.-Col. C. E.
Warr, Augustus Frederick
Wason, John C. (Orkney)
Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E. (Ta'nt'n
Wentworth, Bruce C. Vernon-
Whiteley, H. (Ashton-under-L.
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Williams, Rt Hn J Powell-(Birm.
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wills, Sir Frederick
Wilson, John (Falkirk)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson-Todd, W. H. (Yorks.)
Wodehouse, Hn. Armine (Essex
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-
Wylie, Alexander
Young, Commander (Berks, E.)

Tellers for the Ayes—
Sir William Walrond and
Mr. Anstruther.

NOES.

Allan, William (Gateshead)
Allen, Charles P (Glouc., Stroud
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Atherley-Jones, L.
Barlow, John Emmott
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Bell, Richard
Black, Alexander William
Blake, Edward
Brigg, John
Broadhurst, Henry
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Caine, William Sproston
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbysh.
Channing, Francis Allston
Cremer, William Randal
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duncan, James H.
Dunn, Sir William
Edwards, Frank
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Fenwick, Charles
Fuller, J. M. F.
Furness, Sir Christopher
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Gurdon, Sir William Brampton
Hardie, J. K. (Merthyr Tydvil)
Harmsworth, R. Leicester
Harwood, George
Healy, Timothy Michael
Helme, Norval Watson
Hobhouse, C. E. H. (Bristol, E.)
Holland, William Henry
Hope, John Deans
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, Wm. (Carnarvonshire)
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kinloch, Sir John George S.
Labouchere, Henry
Lambert, George
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leigh, Sir Joseph (Stockport)
Leng, Sir John
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
M'Cann, James
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Laren, Charles Benjamin
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Markham, Arthur Basil
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Murray, Hn. A. W. (Midlothian
Newnes, Sir George
Nolan, Col John P (Galway, N.)
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
Oldroyd, Mark
Pickard, Benjamin
Rea, Russell
Reckitt, Harold James
Rickett, J. Compton
Rigg, Richard
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Robson, William Snowdon
Schwann, Charles E.
Scott, Chas. Prestwich (Leigh)
Shipman, Dr. John
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Stevenson, Francis S.
Strachey, Edward
Taylor, Theodore Cooke
Thomas, Alfrd (Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas, J A (Glamorg'n, Gower
Thomson, Frederick W.

Tomkinson, James
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Warner, Thomas CourtenayT.
Wason, Eugene(Clackmannan
Weir, James Galloway
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley, George(York, W.R.)
Whiteley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, A. O. (Merioneth)
Wilson, Chas. Henry(Hull, W.)
Wilson, Fred. W. (Norfolk, Mid
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)
Woodhouse, SirJT(Hudd'rsf'd)
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Dalziel and Mr. Herbert Lewis.

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Ordered, That, during the Winter Sittings, no Motions for leave to bring in Bills be given except by a Minister of the Crown; that on every day Government Business do have precedence, and that at the conclusion thereof Mr. Speaker do adjourn the House without Question put; and that the provisions of Standing Order No. 56 be extended to all the days of the week.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[SECOND DAY'S DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming adjourned Debate on Question [6th December], "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, as followeth:—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Gordon.*)

Question again proposed. Debate resumed—

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) said the Colonial Secretary on the previous night made a somewhat aggressive speech, and as he continued speaking till close upon midnight there was no opportunity of replying, and he had consequently to move the adjournment of the debate. It would be admitted that the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman in reference to his conduct were not absolutely complimentary. The Colonial Secretary made a very singular statement during his speech, one which showed the tone of recklessness of the statements he was fond of making both inside and outside the House. His hon. friend the Member for the Rushcliffe Division had complained that the letters which formed the subject of the debate had been received by the right hon. Gentleman before the prorogation of the last Parliament, and yet were not submitted to the Members concerned until after the Parliament had broken up. The right hon. Gentleman, in reply to that, said "Not at all; I sent them on the 6th of August." The right hon. Gentleman was right, no doubt, in the letter, but not in the spirit of his answer, because on the 8th of August Parliament was prorogued. Now, if the right hon. Gentleman had been exceedingly anxious that the Members concerned should have an opportunity of discussing these letters before Parliament was prorogued, it was evidently absolutely impossible if he only sent them in order that the hon. Members might make their observations upon them on the 6th August. Assuming that these hon. Members were in London, an answer might have come on the 7th, and then these would have had to have been printed, and the papers could only have been presented to the House on 8th August. Now, the House met at an early hour on the 8th—it was a purely formal proceeding—and how on earth could hon. Members have come down at ten o'clock in the morning and entered into a long discussion of these letters? He thought his hon. friend the Member for Rushcliffe had been most unfairly treated, and he could not help thinking that hon. Gentlemen opposite, after having heard the statement of his hon. friend, would share to a very great extent in that opinion. His hon. friend had received letters from the Cape, where martial law was going on, saying that certain transactions had taken place which were most undesirable. His hon. friend did not come down to the House to make a statement without full knowledge, but simply wrote out to the Cape to say that he wanted to have the facts before him. What else ought he to have done? The Cape was an English colony, and surely, as the representative not only of persons in that House but persons in the colonies, and especially in a colony where martial law had been proclaimed, his hon. friend had only performed his duty by writing to his correspondents, and asking them to furnish him with facts. As far as he could understand, the Colonial Secretary would not have objected if he had asked to be furnished with mere facts; but he observed that what the hon. Member did ask was, "Furnish me with a stream of facts." Now, when one wanted to have facts one could not have too many; and that was an exceedingly small point on which to found a charge against his hon. friend of the nature he so much objected to. Then the right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary went on to say that his hon. friend wanted these facts in order to damage Her Majesty's Government. He did not know whether his hon. friend wished to damage Her Majesty's Government. Personally he himself would be delighted at any time to damage Her Majesty's Government. He did not believe that his hon. friend took these strong views, because he was a very staid gentleman, but even if that was not his object, it might have happened that he would have damaged Her Majesty's Government. Were they really to say that if a Member of the House thought there was due cause to bring a matter before the House he was to be restrained, declaring to himself "No, I will not do so because it may damage Her Majesty's Government"? If that was to be done they had better all go home; they had better have no Opposition at all, although hon. Gentlemen opposite did their best to tell them that they would be delighted to have a good strong Opposition. It seemed to him that it was not his hon. friend who wanted to damage Her Majesty's Government, but it was the Colonial Secretary who wanted to damage a political opponent in the person of his hon. friend. That appeared to him was the conclusion to be drawn from what went on the previous night. What they had found out at last in regard to these letters was that they were laid hold of by the Censor from among the papers of a gentleman who was believed to be, where martial law existed, a rebel. He could perfectly understand, if there had been a case against that gentleman, and if they really believed that he was a rebel, that they should look into his papers; but he did not consider that they had any sort of right to publish a private letter found among these papers addressed by his hon. friend to that gentleman's wife. As he had said, he thought his hon. friend had entirely cleared himself from the slightest imputation of disloyalty or conduct not proper to the Empire. And he believed that hon. Gentlemen opposite, if they stated fairly their own views, would be of the same opinion. Now in regard to his own letters, the Colonial Secretary took a more unfavourable view of these than he did of the letter of his hon. friend the Member for Rushcliffe. The right hon. Gentleman said that these letters showed "moral treason." He did not know what "moral treason" was, although he could conceive of immoral treason. He did not care for these adjectives that were always being invented nowadays; they were only words. What was the position at the moment when these letters were written? He did not think that anyone in the House would say that he had ever sought in any sort of way to conceal his opinion of the war. He considered that one of the reasons which were leading us to the war was the personal antagonism that existed between the right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary, and Mr. Kruger. The negotiations, he thought, suffered from that antagonism. He was not one of those who thought that everything was perfect in the Transvaal. Very far from it. It seemed to him a thorough Conservative Government, and if he had been there he should in all probability have been an opponent of Mr. Kruger. But he did not think that the wrongs which the Uitlanders were suffering from were worth our going to war for, all the more as the right hon. Gentleman had told us they had agreed on nine-tenths of the questions at issue. At that moment a conference was proposed by the right hon. Gentleman himself. Well, what was it that he (Mr. Labouchere) did? He recommended President Kruger to accept that conference, and he mentioned to Mr. Kruger arguments which he thought would have some weight with him in agreeing to it. That was the best way; that was what was called diplomacy. It was not the new diplomacy, which appeared to him to be to insult as much as possible your opponent, and to drag in every sort of thing you could imagine to make him hostile to you He told President Kruger that if he assented to this conference he would have a full opportunity of discussing the questions in detail—on what might be called the Committee stage of the conference. He had never seen any objection either to Mr. Kruger going into details, or any reason why they should be forced upon him if he did not accept them. They were merely little details of alterations in the registration law, and it seemed to him a piece of insufferable impudence for us to go to a foreign country and claim a change in its registration law, considering that we had without exception the worst registration law in the whole habitable globe. His object was to get the whole matter out of the hands of the right hon. Gentleman, and, he admitted, out of the hands of President Kruger also; for he did not think that either of them was a negotiator whose ways were particularly likely to make for peace. He thought that time was everything in these matters—it gave an opportunity for feeling to cool down; and he believed that if the conference had been agreed to in principle we should not have had war; that we might somehow or other have come to a friendly arrangement with the Transvaal. Time was in our favour, and if general principles were agreed on we should not have gone to war on questions of minor details. He gathered from one of the speeches which the Colonial Secretary had made in the country that what seemed to have irritated him was that he had said to President Kruger that he would have the advantage of giving a second fall to the right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary. He thought that would have been a very pleasing thing to President Kruger, and he believed that President Kruger would have done it. He quoted also an incidental remark, which he thought well summed up the situation, made in the course of a debate in the House by a right hon. friend—namely, that the Colonial Secretary's speech was a little "bluster" of his own with the main points arranged by his colleagues, who sat like policemen to watch and see that he read them. He appealed to hon. Members on this side of the House and to some on the opposite benches, whether that was not the general opinion. It might have been right or it might have been wrong; but it was the current opinion, and he thought that it was quite right. It was said to be encouraging Mr. Kruger to lead him to suppose that in yielding to the proposal for a conference he would not be enabling the Colonial Secretary to score a point, but rather that he would get the better of him on the occasion. Did the right hon. Gentleman want war or not? They had been told that the whole matter in debate was a question of registration law; but when the war had taken place hon. Gentlemen seemed to have thought that that was a little too thin for the country. So they had, he would not say invented, but evolved or realised from their moral consciousness that there was a great conspiracy in South Africa—that the Transvaal people had united with the Dutch in our colonies, and that they were determined sooner or later to go to war, and that it would be a good thing if we went to war at once and nipped this conspiracy in the bud. The right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary had to a very great extent accepted that view. In one of his speeches in the country he said he was charged with the responsibility for the war, and that if that were true it was a feather in his cap. He did not know whether it was or was not; but if the right hon. Gentleman did want war it was evident that he would have been sorry if a conference had been accepted and had led to some sort of arrangement which would have tided over this conspiracy. Certainly a great many gentlemen opposite were of that opinion. What did *The Times* say when President Kruger refused the conference, or rather when he said, "I would first put in a counter-proposal, and if you do not agree to this counter-proposal, it must be understood that I fall back on the conference." Why, when the counter-proposal was refused by us, and the right hon. Gentleman told us that the conference was not to take place, did *The Times*, which represented the views of hon. Gentlemen opposite, deplore that? Not at all. On the contrary, *The Times* said it was a happy escape—that we had very nearly missed going to war by coming to an arrangement which would have prevented the war. So that certainly he was justified in believing that, if not the Colonial Secretary, a great many hon. Gentlemen opposite, and their organs in the press, would have regretted if President Kruger had accepted the conference, since they rejoiced that he had refused to do so.

Now what was the object of his letters? We were not at war with the Transvaal at that time. The right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary seemed to think that when the Government was engaged in what he called very delicate negotiations, nobody even in this House, no Englishman, had got the right to step in and try to aid negotiations leading up to peace. That was, he need not point out to the House, a perfectly new doctrine. Everybody knew of a famous case last century in regard to Mr. Fox, when Mr. Pitt wanted to go to war with Russia. The charge made against Mr. Fox was that he had recommended the Empress of Russia not to yield, and Mr. Fox's defence was that he had made that recommendation to prevent our being dragged into war. But he (Mr. Labouchere) had recommended Mr. Kruger to yield, and he could not really understand—it might be stupidity on his part—how in the world any patriotic Englishman who did not want war, and who desired that we might get what we wanted without war, could object to the letter he wrote, seeing he recommended President Kruger to yield. The Colonial Secretary had been good enough to send him copies of these letters, and had invited him to make observations upon them. Never before had he been invited by so eminent a person as a Secretary of State to make observations on any letters of his, but he was afraid the invitation was given not in a friendly but a hostile manner. What business had the Colonial Secretary to issue any such invitation? He had no right whatever; all Members of the House were equal and had equal rights, and the Colonial Secretary had no more right to invite observations from any Member than he (Mr. Labouchere) had to invite the right hon. Gentleman to make observations upon any letter he might have picked out of a waste-paper basket and intended to publish. He wished to be courteous to the right hon. Gentleman, and therefore he had made the observations asked for, and as an exchange of views, suggested that the right hon. Gentleman should make a few observations as to what was going to be done with regard to the Hawksley letters. He had always understood that the refusal of the right hon. Gentleman to produce the Hawksley letters had led Mr. Kruger to infer that the right hon. Gentleman was in some way connected with the Jameson raid, and in the interests of the House he had suggested that the right hon. Gentleman should confide to him a few observations. But when he received the letter from the right hon. Gentleman he smelt an electioneering trick. The right hon. Gentleman had been in America, and might be compared with Mr. Croker, in so far that he was a past-master as an electioneering boss. He suspected that these letters had something to do with a General Election, and would be published just at the time of the election, so he endeavoured to stop that by publishing the letters himself. He was absolutely indifferent to the right hon. Gentleman's opinion with regard to any political action of his, and he had no doubt the right hon. Gentleman was equally indifferent to any opinion which he might entertain with regard to the political actions of the right hon. Gentleman. He now differed absolutely and entirely from the right hon. Gentleman in almost every particular, politically, but the time had been when the right hon. Gentleman was his Gamaliel, when he sat at his feet, and when the right hon. Gentleman was his especial leader. His opposition to the right hon. Gentleman was purely political, and would disappear if the right hon. Gentleman returned to the true faith. If he came back as a repentant sinner, he would welcome him with open arms. He had told the right hon. Gentleman that in the matter of the letters he was responsible to his electors, and his electors alone. At the last election, when his electors knew all about these letters, they gave him a majority, and indeed the only pledge he was asked to give at the election was when an elector got up and asked, "Will you pledge yourself to keep your eye on Joe?" and he promised to keep his eye on Joe. He might be wrong, but he was proud of those letters, and he was only sorry that Mr. Kruger did not take his advice. If he had the Government would not have had the "happy escape" they had when Mr. Kruger would not agree to the conference. Passing to the letters of Dr. Clark, who was not a *persona grata* at the present moment to hon. Gentlemen opposite, but who was a friend of his, he must remind the House that when Dr. Clark told Mr. Kruger that there would be some military advantage in passing the frontier and attacking our colonies he also said that those advantages would be outweighed by the bad moral effect that it would have here. That was advice, therefore, to Mr. Kruger not to do it. Another thing to be remembered was the fact that Dr. Clark had long been in the Transvaal, and for many years had been the recognised Consul in this country for the Transvaal. He had been so recognised by the right hon. Gentleman, who had treated him as a sort of go-between, between Mr. Kruger and himself. Dr. Clark's letter commenced with the statement that he had had a long interview with Mr. Chamberlain, and had discussed with him some of the questions between the two Governments. The right hon. Gentleman could not have thought that his interviews were with Dr. Clark alone. He must have known that Dr. Clark would have transmitted his views to President Kruger. There was one paragraph in the letter which threw a searching light on the matter, and that was the paragraph alluding to the refusal of the right hon. Gentleman to consent to a tribunal composed of the four Chief Justices of South Africa, presided over by Lord Russell of Killowen, on the ground that such a tribunal must be a partisan tribunal. Such an objection, having regard to the head of the proposed tribunal, showed the temper and animus of the right hon Gentleman—that he should suggest that a tribunal presided over by Lord Russell would be partisan in its character. With regard to the letters of Chief Justice de Villiers, the right hon. Gentleman no doubt asked for permission to publish them, but if he did why did he not publish his own letter also? The Chief Justice could not refuse to have them published, because such a refusal would have cast an imputation upon him, but he said he had no objection to their publication. But the right hon. Gentleman knew perfectly well that those letters were only part of a correspondence. All the letters which had passed between the Chief Justice and Mr. Kruger, and Mr. Reitz and Sir Alfred Milner ought to have been published. The Chief Justice held the balance between them. Was the House to understand that Sir Alfred Milner threw the protests which he received from the Chief Justice into the waste-paper basket? The right hon. Gentleman said he had not got them, but if he had not it would be easy to get Sir Alfred Milner to telegraph them over. Another point which had to be considered was the fact that these letters were written to President Kruger before he made any concessions. What he would like to see were the letters which Mr. De Villiers had written after Mr. Kruger made concessions. The House had a right to complain of the one-sided view which had been placed before it. All sorts of statements were sent over to this country, backed up by affidavits, but no man could form an opinion of only one side of a case. Then with respect to the letters written by Mr. Merriman. He was the minister of Sir Alfred Milner himself, and was one of the most distinguished men in Cape Colony. Surely if we had a colonial Governor who took, he would not say surreptitiously, certain private letters written by him he ought to have told him—he met him every day—that he had got these private letters, and that he intended to send them over to the Colonial Secretary. Sir Alfred Milner was a subordinate, and what he did he did in carrying out orders. Surely on every principle of fair play Mr. Merriman was badly treated when Sir Alfred Milner sent over these letters to the Colonial Secretary. So much for the letters. He had one or two remarks to make on the subject of the right hon. Gentleman himself. The right hon. Gentleman, in his speech on the previous night, had bitterly complained that insinuations had been thrown broadcast against him and attacks made upon his private character. There had been no insinuations made. There had been statements made, and those who made those statements were ready to stand by them. They were taken from the records of Somerset House and the reports of various public companies. There was no attack on the private character of the right hon. Gentleman, and all that could be said was that there had been an attack on certain financial matters affecting his position as a Minister of the Crown, which he thought everyone had a right to bring fairly before the House of Commons. They knew what occurred in the case of Mr. Mundella. Mr. Mundella was one of the most honourable of men, but he got himself mixed up unfortunately with some company. It was not in connection with a contract for the Government, but he got mixed up with the company in some way, and it was found that he ought to resign his position in the Cabinet. He did resign his position. It was perfectly wrong for the right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary to imply that it was unfair and unjust to make insinuations, when they were dealing with a practical matter of this kind affecting his position as a Minister of the Crown. His hon. friend the Member for Carnarvon had given notice of an Amendment on this subject, and he would state his case. He did not think they would accuse that hon. Gentleman of making insinuations. He generally called a spade a spade in that House. The right hon. Gentleman would have a convenient opportunity of replying and they would be able to form their own conclusions on the matter. The right hon. Gentleman, knowing that there was to be an Amendment brought forward on the subject, went out of his way to talk for a long time about his private character. He was very angry with his right hon. friend the Leader of the Opposition. He (Mr. Labouchere) thought the Leader of the Opposition made an uncommonly good speech. He knew there was a tendency on both Front Benches to indulge in a sort of official Brahminism which united them together very much. He was always glad when that was broken through, and when gentlemen on the Front Bench on that side of the House talked to the gentlemen on the other Front Bench in strong, firm language. He was glad that the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition stated his views in language which could not be misunderstood. The right hon. Gentleman said in reference to the publication of the letters, that such an act, if done in private life, would exclude a man from the society of honourable men. Did anyone deny that proposition? He thought it was a true one. Nobody doubted that these were private letters. The question, then, was not whether his right hon. friend was right in the proposition he had laid down, but whether it was not absolutely necessary in the interest of the whole country that these matters should be published, and that although they were private letters this salutary rule of dealing between man and man should be overruled. All he could say was—he could not go into men's minds—that they were used for the purposes of party, and the right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary must have known perfectly well when he published them a little while before an election that they would be used for electioneering purposes. What was the Colonial Secretary's answer to that? He said his right hon. friend the Leader of the Opposition would do well not to associate with him. They had nothing to do with whether these spirits associated or not. He was always upset when there was a consultation between gentlemen on that side and the other side of the House behind the chair. He would be very glad if they would make a vow not to speak to one another while in that House. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition would be obliged to break social relations with the Colonial Secretary. The Colonial Secretary went out of his way to say that he had had some sort of social relations with the Leader of the Opposition, and had not enjoyed them, and so everything was for the best in this best of worlds, so far as that was concerned. He said: "You must not only drop my acquaintance, but you must drop the acquaintance of every member of the Cabinet, because I submitted them to the Cabinet, and the Cabinet agreed."

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Monmouthshire, W.): No, he did not say that.

MR. LABOUCHERE: My right hon. friend says he did not say that. My right hon. friend is more cautious than I am. I will take it that he submitted them in some sort of way. This was entirely a departmental thing. Mr. Goschen the other day had stated that he could not go closely into every matter connected with the government of the country. They could easily suppose that Mr. Goschen and the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House had really no time to go into the subject of the letters, and therefore he did not think they could be made responsible for the publication of them.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): Yes, Sir, we are certainly responsible for them.

MR. LABOUCHERE: All the Cabinet.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Certainly.

MR. LABOUCHERE was sorry to hear it. They knew what sort of responsibility this was. The matter was a departmental one, not a thing of paramount importance, and, of course, it would be left to the head of the department. The next thing that the right hon. Gentleman complained of was that the Leader of the Opposition had said that the Colonial Secretary stated that most of them were traitors. The right hon. Gentleman to some extent denied it. He admitted that he had not spoken in amiable language, and he (Mr. Labouchere) did not think he had. An hon. Member pointed out that he had used the word on 22nd September, and what was the reply of the right hon. Gentleman? The right hon. Gentleman said the report was not very lucid. He did accuse the writers of the letters of being traitors, and afterwards went on to speak of a portion of the Opposition. He said he would not call them traitors, but misguided individuals, but in his mind was the word "traitors." He could only say to the right hon. Gentleman that if the report was not lucid the explanation was not lucid. There was no doubt that the right hon. Gentleman did go about the country bringing charges against them, and it seemed to him that he went a little further than he intended in this particular case. If he did not on every occasion call them traitors, he used language which implied that that was his opinion. As to the date of the election, the right hon. Gentleman said that suddenly he and his colleagues had read an article headed "The gilt off the gingerbread." He believed the newspaper was the *Westminster Gazette.* That article said that a reaction was taking place, and possibly the Government had not so strong a hold on the country then as they had formerly. They were asked to believe that the Government having read this article in a Liberal paper, at once said, "We must have an election." Well, never had an article such an effect—especially an article in an Opposition paper—since the world began, and he could only congratulate the paper. He would tell the House what he thought was the position of matters. If they had had an election in July he believed their opponents would almost have cleared them out of Parliament. He was speaking generally. The party opposite would have gained more than they had gained if the election had been earlier. He believed that if the election had been put off till January the Liberals would have come much nearer winning the election than they did in October. A reaction had set in. The Government saw the tide was rising, and they said, as practical people, "Let us look to our own interest." There was no use of the right hon. Gentleman or the First Lord of the Treasury being indignant with their opponents when they said that they looked to their own interest in fixing the date of the election, because the Duke of Devonshire had admitted it himself. He was an honest man. They were told by the right hon. Gentleman that they were misleading the electors. Why, the Government supporters not only appealed to the passions of the electors, but they declared again and again that it was not a party election. The whole idea of hon. Gentlemen opposite—and he said it with the greatest respect—judging by their organs in the press, was that they should dictate the policy of the Opposition. They were to carry on the Opposition under certain limitations. On minor details they might oppose, but they must recognise the great principles of the national faith. He had to tell them that they were not going to have such a dummy Opposition. They were there to oppose and they must oppose. He believed one of the reasons why they lost the election was their weakness during last Parliament. Yes, they were too flabby. They did not do their duty. They came back in no great numbers, but they made up in quality. They had come back determined not to be any longer open to those reproaches which had been thrown upon them. Gentlemen on the Front Bench were burning to oppose. A right hon. Gentleman opposite—he was not sure whether it was the First Lord of the Treasury or one of his colleagues—said his great anxiety was to have a strong Opposition. Well, so far as they could accommodate him they intended to give him a strong Opposition. They admitted freely and frankly that they were beaten at the last election. It came at a moment of excitement, but they did not think they did badly at that election, considering all the circumstances. The Colonial Secretary demanded an unanimous vote for the country; he did not get it, but he beat his opponents, and that, after all, was the object of an election. The Government had a good working majority, and it was no good sneering at the Opposition because they frankly admitted that majority. But they had come to the House to put forward the great principles of the Liberal creed, and they were determined to keep those principles alive. In regard to the war they considered themselves as patriotic as the supporters of the Government, and, although they might differ upon matters which they considered to be to the advantage of the country, they were not going to be bullied and cozened out of their views. They had been sent to the House to state those views, and they intended to do so, in season and out of season.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—TERMS OF SETTLEMENT.

*MR. EMMOTT (Oldham): I rise with considerable diffidence to move the Amendment standing in my name to the Address in reply to the gracious Speech from the Throne. Although this is not the first occasion on which I have had the honour of addressing the House it is the first occasion on which I have spoken in one of the more important debates. There is one thing in which I am sure I shall carry the whole of the House with me, and that is in the observation that what we all desire is that this war, which has been so prolonged, should be ended as speedily as possible To us this war is no light matter. It means a constant loss of precious lives and of countless treasure, but we can bear the strain. To the Boers, however, it means not only loss of life and great destruction of property, but also the entire upheaval of the old order of things for them, the upset of their most cherished traditions, and the continuance of a struggle which, in my opinion, is absolutely hopeless, but in which we may all admit they have fought gallantly and well. I feel diffidence also, because my task is a very difficult and delicate one. Even a humble member of the rank and file of the Opposition like myself has a responsibility at a time like the present, and it will be my earnest endeavour to say no word which can possibly encourage the enemies of the Queen or do anything to prolong and embitter the already lengthy struggle. I have never yet expressed in this House my views on the war, and I shall not this afternoon follow the mover and seconder of the Address in discussing the questions of its justice or inevitability. I have explained my views to my constituents, the people most concerned, and I need only say now that as regards the later stages of the negotiations my own opinion, for what it is worth, is that the principal blame of their failure lies with Mr. Kruger. But to argue this point would be to detain the House unnecessarily, and, furthermore, it has no bearing on my Amendment. What is the present condition of hostilities? What has been occurring in these partly conquered States during the last few months? When Kimberley, Ladysmith, and Mafeking were relieved we annexed what is now the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal. By that annexation we displaced the Government they had had in the past, and the fact that there is no Government with which to negotiate adds a little to our present difficulties. Our early treatment of those colonies was of the mildest character. We were told that the burghers were delighted we had come, and that they were rapidly laying down their arms. We had every hope the war would soon be over, but we soon found that was far too rosy a view. The war, I regret to say, is not yet over; those States are annexed, but not conquered; there is no effective occupation apparently at a greater distance than twenty miles from the railway, and often it falls far short of that. Our generals, I think, very naturally altered their tactics somewhat. They issued proclamations more severe in character. We are told now, and I accept the statement, that the struggle has degenerated into a guerilla war. I do not care very much about names—although I am not very fond of hearing myself or my hon. friends on this side called "traitors" and "pro-Boers"—and I do not care whether this is now a guerilla war or not. What I look at are the facts. The facts are that within the last week or two we have heard of 2,500 men under De Wet, who have unfortunately captured very recently 450 of our own soldiers, besides killing or wounding sixty more. Almost at the same time we heard of another 2,500 men under arms, the commandoes under Viljoen and Erasmus, and of disturbances in other widely-separated parts of these annexed territories; while only yesterday we heard of an attack on a convoy proceeding from Pretoria to Rustenburg, in which fifteen were killed and twenty-two wounded. All I say is that if this is a guerilla war, it is even yet a very serious war. I quite agree that the cause for which the Boers are still fighting is absolutely hopeless, and greatly regret that the bloodshed, though useless, yet remains so great. We are rather short of information from the Government in regard to this matter. I do not suppose they can tell us why the war is continuing, but we are constantly asking ourselves that question. The contest is utterly hopeless; we must win; we have practically endless resources, and I am sure we shall not turn out to be inhuman conquerors. But the Government can apparently tell us nothing. All we do know is the practical matter that we are called together time after time to vote huge sums of money for the continued prolongation of the war. We were told the war was to end three months ago. A member of the Government, the present Secretary of State for War, expressed the belief the Boers would stop fighting as soon as they observed that the Liberals did not win the General Election. He led us to imagine that Botha and De Wet before they planned the day's campaign sat down to read the election returns in *The Times* newspaper. But the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs said last night words to the effect that when the hopelessness of this struggle is brought home to the Boers by their friends the struggle will be stopped. That is a very different story. The noble Lord's chief did not go so far as that, and the First Lord of the Treasury in a speech very sympathetic in tone, but somewhat unsatisfactory in matter, did not give us any hope that he had any plan by which the struggle could be brought to an end. I ask the House, is there anything more that we can do? I venture very respectfully to profess my belief that there are other things we can do; but—and this is very important—they must be done under certain overriding considerations. With very few exceptions practically the whole of the candidates in England and Scotland at the recent General Election stated that they agreed absolutely and entirely to the annexation of these two States. Everything we do must of course be subject to that consideration; secondly, we must continue to prosecute this war with the utmost vigour until the struggle is ended, apart from anything we may do on the political side. But there is another consideration of the utmost importance—namely, that we have to live with these Boers in the annexed States in the future. Lastly, whatever we propose must be, as far as we can make it, just and right and politic in itself. It must not partake of anything in the nature of a bargain or bribe. In other words we must not attempt to give to Botha and De Wet what has been refused to Kruger and Steyn. I want to say one word on the conduct of the war. I cordially re-echo the excellent remarks of the Leader of the Opposition last night. Lord Roberts is generally acknowledged to be one of the most humane generals who has ever filled a great part in the annals of war, and when Lord Roberts says our soldiers have fought like heroes, and out of battle have behaved like gentlemen, I confess that that carries far more weight with me than a very large number of anonymous statements to the opposite effect. At any rate, with regard to our generals, our officers, and our soldiers, we admire the extraordinary courage, skill, and tenacity with which they have fought in this war, and we owe very much to them. The responsibility which lies on a general who is conducting a campaign for his country is enormous; it is greater almost than that which lies on the statesmen of the country. I think we should be very slow to cast any blame on these men who are doing their best for us. The crisis of the war is over, but during the crisis the Prime Minister said that he had abdicated in favour of Lord Roberts, or words to that effect. I have reminded the House that when we first occupied these new territories we accorded them the mildest treatment, but that unfortunately did not lead to an end of the war. There were constant raids on the railways and communications, and a more severe policy has since been tried, under which, I suppose necessarily, a large amount of territory has been laid waste. The question I want to ask is, Can the Government tell us that this more severe policy is proving more successful than the milder treatment did? The present policy is causing serious uneasiness in the minds of a great body of people in this country, and it is causing grave friction and anxiety, I believe, in our colonies in South Africa. I admit to the full the difficulty of the situation. There are obviously two lines of consideration. There is, first, the military line. There is the desire of our generals to end the war as speedily as possible by any methods that may usefully and properly be allowed in war. But at the back of all that there must be also the political considerations—the consideration especially that we have to settle this war in a permanent form. We have to try to make the men who are now fighting against us loyal subjects of the Queen in the future. I do not want to say one word which may be taken to mean that I seek to interfere with anything that is necessary in the way of the military campaign, but obviously the comparatively severe policy now being carried out—the confiscation of large numbers of cattle, the burning of a considerable number of farms, and the deporting of women and children—is inducing a deplorable political and economic condition in these colonies. That economic and political condition, I am afraid, may be consistent with a considerable prolongation of this guerilla warfare, and the situation calls for the highest statesmanship that this country can produce. I think it is time that the Government made a statement on broad and generous lines of what they propose for the political and economic settlement after the war. I have put down as an Amendment to the Address the following words—

> "Humbly to represent to Your Majesty that it would conduce to the pacification of the conquered territories, and to the future good relations of the European races in South Africa generally, if measures for securing the liberty and property of those now in arms who surrender, for the settlement of those territories, and for promoting the reconcilement and well-being of their inhabitants, were announced at the earliest possible date."

As I do not wish merely to talk vague generalities, I should like to make one or two suggestions, because I feel that it would be wrong to move a resolution of this sort without them. Let me say a few words upon the question of the burning of farms. The feeling in regard to this matter both in our colonies and here is very strong, and all of us who are humane men feel that it is repugnant to our feelings to think of the necessity of laying waste these territories of our own and of using measures which are still very hard and very severe. To me war is always hateful and generally unnecessary, and this war is especially hateful in this sense, that we have been forced to fight and crush out the independent national existence of a brave and resolute race. But we did not seek this war as a nation. I do not believe myself that the Government sought this war, but when the war had once begun there could have been no peace in South Africa until we had conquered both States. War being necessary in that sense we cannot make it with rosewater. I fully admit all that, and I am not complaining of this burning of farms, because I have not the facts before me which would enable me to do so. We must leave the generals in the field to judge in a matter of this kind. I do, however, ask the Government to let us know whether this policy is having a good effect or not. If it is not—if they cannot assure us on the authority of the generals that it is—then I do ask the Government, as soon as possible, to put a stop to it. There is another thing that I should like to mention in connection with the farms, and it is that I think it is very desirable that the inhabitants of these colonies should be told that wherever farms are destroyed for military purposes compensation will be given to the owners unless they can be directly proved to be responsible for some act of war which is punishable in that way. And now I wish to say just a word about the political status of the fighters. As regards the Boers in the field we have no responsible Government to negotiate with in these two colonies, and I want to point out what I believe to be correct, and it is that the generals who are leading the armies of the Boers are excluded from any amnesty. I venture to say that it is impossible that a generous nation—and ours is a generous nation—should not admire the skill and courage of the Boers, and the extraordinary ability and resource which has been shown by some of their generals. I do, however, ask, as a practical matter, if they are excluded from amnesty, how can they give in? I make the suggestion with all humility that, instead of demanding an unconditional surrender, we should promise and ensure to all officers and men who will cease fighting against us their personal freedom, their unmolested return to their farms, and the payment of compensation for those farms which have been destroyed for military reasons and not for any treacherous act. There are farms which have been laid waste because they stood within ten miles of the railway. Many of those farms may possibly belong to some persons who are prisoners at St. Helena. I do not want to prolong my remarks unnecessarily upon this subject, but I do not think these farms ought to be given—I do not know that they are being given—to the new settlers who are to be induced to stay in the country, however numerous they may be. I do lay the greatest stress upon the necessity of some efforts being made to inform the Boers what has been promised, namely, that as soon as possible complete self-goverment will be given to them when the war is over. I come now to the question of the prisoners. Can nothing be done by taking some trouble to convey to the mass of Boers who are now fighting, and by telling the prisoners in Ceylon and St. Helena, that as soon as the war is over they can come back to their farms, and that they will receive, as they ought to receive, compensation where their farms have been destroyed in their absence, through no fault of their own? I come now to the question of the rebels. I do not know sometimes whether I ought to be glad that I am not a lawyer, but I am afraid that this is a very difficult legal matter. Can we make rebels simply by proclamation? There are many different kinds of men fighting against us. Some of them are men who have been fighting against us all along, and have never surrendered. Surely we cannot treat those men as rebels. There are other men who have surrendered, and afterwards broken their oath under the threat of death. We cannot treat those men as rebels. There is another class of men who have deliberately broken their oath without sufficient cause, and they present a much more difficult question, but I do not think that they can form a very large proportion of those who are fighting against us. I do attach the very gravest importance to the economic situation which the prolongation of this unfortunate struggle is making. The whole of the cattle, in many instances, are gone. Farm buildings have been destroyed, the land has gone out of cultivation, and recovery from such a condition of things as that must naturally be very slow. I maintain that we shall have to lend money for the purpose of restoring the agricultural condition of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony. We cannot imagine that these countries will be able to do these things for themselves. Very soon the gold mines will get to work, and, however heavily they are taxed, the whole of the money will be required for keeping our army and police to preserve order in those countries. There will be no money for restoring agriculture, or for the purpose of paying the cost of the war to this country. There will be no money for objects of this kind. I have sketched certain lines because I felt that I must say what is in my mind. I may have made mistakes here and there, but I will venture to say in conclusion that this policy, if it is tried, can do no harm, and it may do good; because if it is tried and obtains any measure of success—or if it obtains no measure of success—we should, I think, have done something to conciliate the feeling of our fellow-colonists in Cape Colony and Natal, many of whom are loyal to us, and who yet must sympathise by blood and tradition with the Boers. I am sorry that I have detained the House at a much greater length that I had intended, but I have now done. I simply make one appeal in conclusion. We stand on the threshold of a new century. Behind us lies a great and glorious past, and before us lie new hopes, new duties, and new activities. And what is the most splendid achievement of the century which is just drawing to its close? It is not the triumphs we have won from time to time on the field of battle; it is not even the victories we have won in the peaceful paths of commerce. I believe that the noblest achievement of this century will, in the opinion of future historians, be that we have learned for the first time how to bind our colonies to us by bonds of affection, and how to make our colonists loyal, happy, and contented citizens of a great Empire. That result has been achieved in two ways. It has been achieved, in the first place, because they have enjoyed an autonomy more complete than has ever been granted to colonists before; and in the second place, because our statesmen have had the wisdom, in times of crisis, to adopt a wise, a bold, and a generous policy. I believe a crisis exists in South Africa at the present time which calls for such a policy as this, and because I believe that I do most earnestly and respectfully urge upon the House and upon the

Government the Amendment which stands in my name.

*MR. TREVELYAN (Yorkshire, W.R., Elland): I would much sooner not be seconding this Amendment, firstly, because of my consciousness of my own personal inadequacy to do so; and secondly, because I, in common with a very large number of Members on this side of the House, think that this question of a settlement is a national and not a party one. I am, if I may be allowed to say so, one of the Members on this side of the House who have silently and steadily supported the policy of the nation, and approved, in all the most vital respects, of the action which the Government has taken. Just because of that, I think we, beyond all others, feel a greater obligation upon ourselves to protest against what we believe to be the possible prolongation of the war and the retarding of a settlement, not so much by the ill-action of the Government at the present time, but because of its over-expectation of some happy development in South Africa; and because, as we think, of its unjustifiable reliance upon military methods alone. What is the situation? The Leader of the Opposition yesterday challenged the Government to declare its policy in South Africa openly. We had an eloquent, and what we all recognise to be a well-meaning answer from the First Lord of the Treasury, but it was a vague answer. It was merely a repetition of good intentions, which we all have. He was challenged, in particular, with regard to the destruction of property in South Africa, which, in the opinion of many of us, is more than anything else endangering the prospects of an ultimate peaceful settlement. It is not by the delimitation of the territories or the letter of constitutions that the settlement is going to be made, but success depends much more upon the spirit than the particular forms in which the Government undertakes that settlement. It is for this reason that some of us have, for weeks past, been pressing to get information with regard to the destruction of property in South Africa. Have we not a right to be anxious? We are not painting out of our own imaginations a miserable picture of South Africa. Half the evidence at least which comes from South Africa—I am not going to say whether it is right or wrong—tends to prove that in the Orange Free State and in the Transvaal at least half the farms are already in ashes. I do not say that this is so. There have been letters in Conservative and Liberal papers, letters by pro-Boers and by people who have supported the Government throughout, which definitely say that at least half the farms in South Africa in those two colonies are now level with the ground. Are we not reasonable, then, in discussing what prospect this holds out of a settlement in South Africa if this grim supposition is true,—that not merely a few farms on each side of the railway have been burned, but that whole districts have been desolated? I do not wish to discuss the question in the least this afternoon from the point of view of the international morality of it; I do not wish to discuss it even from the point of view of the efficacy of the military methods which have obtained up to this time. It may be that it is not only correct according to American military handbooks, but also even according to the agreement entered into at the Hague Conference. It may be so, but supposing the burning and destruction of these farms is in accordance with all international understanding in regard to war; supposing, even, it has really been successful in reducing the commandoes under Botha and De Wet, which none of us believe, how can we be blind to the spirit which it is creating in South Africa, and which will breathe after this war is over? Men can fight, and over the bodies of their fallen comrades opponents will be able to shake hands; but we are going to ask thousands of Boers when this war is over—unless the Government adopt some other policy—to go back to farms where there is no grain, no cattle, no farm houses—men who will have no capital wherewith to begin the world again, and with nothing but bitter memories of the war, and of what they will think the injustice—I do not say it is injustice—meted out to their wives and children after they had been driven away to St. Helena or Ceylon. How can these men settle down as good citizens? The thing is impossible. I cannot believe it for my part. The most important thing that we require of the Government is that the Government should say what they are going to do, not merely out of pity for these people—we all have learned to harden our hearts; not out of pity for the women and children—that is not the proposition, but in the interest of the political and economic future of South Africa. Let the Government tell us what their picture is of South Africa, unless they are going in some way or other to replace these people on their farms, except in cases, as my hon. friend said, where there is some reason for burning them down, owing to immediate treacherous action during the war. The Government is bound to give us some notion of the policy which they are going to adopt in regard to these people, who cannot otherwise be good citizens of our Empire; for after all they are our fellow-citizens. If it was a question of devastating an enemy's country, we might leave them to mend the thing after the war is over; but the Boers are going to be citizens of South Africa, and you will have to keep them. There is the doleful prospect of their raiding the country in guerilla bands, or you will have to build prisons or workhouses for them, unless you have a definite economic policy of placing them somehow on the land, whether British or Boer. Now I pass from that question, and wish to say a few words about the general attitude of the Government. I think we were able to understand, from the debate of yesterday, that the general policy or attitude of the Government is that until these unreasonable people unconditionally surrender, you will not declare the details of your policy showing them what really you are going to do with South Africa. Now I suppose we are all agreed upon two main facts—that this country has got to pursue a double policy—a policy of strength, and, side by side with it, a policy of conciliation. There are none of us who will consent again to a condition of things under which it would be possible for war between the Dutch and the English to break out in South Africa again if we can help it. As I understand it, we are going to be the police of South Africa, and the British Empire will see to it that Dutch and English will never again fight. But it is not only force that is wanted—none of us can believe it is only force—and this motion I am seconding is directed in the main to this proposition: that in spite of the fact that the Government give lip service to conciliation, our action shows nothing except force. The First Lord of the Treasury spoke last night and said it was the intention of the Government to give free colonial institutions to the Boers as soon as possible, and as soon as ever the war is at an end. We have had this vague and general statement from the very beginning of the war, though it is true that these have ceased to be rather less emphatic recently. If you read the speeches during the General Election of the chief leaders in the Ministry, you will find there is not much allusion to that particular part of the settlement involved in granting free institutions; and it is rather discomforting, in spite of the speech made by the Leader of the House, to find that the Leader of the other House could suggest that it would be generations before free institutions could be granted to the Boers. But even if the declaration of Ministers in England were everything that could be desired, that is not everything. The Boers, as someone has said already, do not read the daily papers every day. What you want to do is to impress this policy, which we firmly believe the Government wish to carry out, on the Boers, and show them that we mean it as well as that we intend finally to annex the Republics to the Empire. I want to consider two indications which the Government have given in regard to this question. The Government have had opportunities of putting their policy before the Boers in a very distinct way. We all of us remember the exchange of telegrams between President Kruger and the Marquess of Salisbury on the 5th and 11th March. We remember the calamitously unconciliatory telegram which President Kruger sent. By the silence of the House of Commons, we all agreed that the answer that Lord Salisbury sent was in the main agreeable to the ideas of the country. But there were many of us who regretted on that occasion, when it did become necessary for this country to say definitely that we were going to adopt a policy of annexation, that we did not couple that declaration with some further enunciation of our policy; that we did not as well hold out a hope of something more being granted them within the Empire. The Government, however, simply sent an abrupt telegram that we were not prepared to assent to independence. The Government might have declared their policy more fully; without begging or bargain-ing with the Boers they might have offered terms upon which they could have surrendered then. My belief is that if such an offer had been made, at that time or soon after, it is extremely likely the Boers would have accepted your conditions. But there is another feature of the Government action during the summer which, in my opinion, was even more calculated to make the Boers uncertain as to whether they were really to be given full citizenship in the State in which they would have to live. At the end of the summer the question arose as to the punishment of the rebels in Cape Colony. Most of us entirely agreed that it is a reasonable and effective, not too severe punishment which the Cape Parliament adopted of disfranchising the rebels for a period of five years. But the Home Government wrote out to Cape Colony to urge that the rebels in that colony should be disfranchised for the term of their natural life. I do not want to argue the question whether that policy was wrong or right. It seems to me, personally, to be a most unstatesmanlike suggestion if these people are to be citizens fifty years hence of the continent of South Africa. But what did the Boers think of it? Is it not obvious that the Boers would argue: "If the Government say to the Cape rebels—'You are never again to be citizens of a British State, because you, in your hot youth, were foolishly drawn away by sentiment or by compulsion into rebellion, we are not going to give you back free institutions'—does not that go to make it rather unlikely that we, the Boers, are going to live under free institutions?" However, all that we on this side of the House are asking the Government to do by this motion is to try the effect of a Proclamation setting forth the policy they intend to pursue with regard to the Boers when the war is concluded. On 2nd September the policy was initiated of burning down districts in order that peace might ensue. It is not much to ask that the Government should now initiate a new policy, should at any rate give a chance to a Proclamation which would state the most vital and essential things for the settlement of the country. Surely it is worth trying, even if some of the Government supporters have not confidence in its success. I only appeal on the ground that we may, by our action, be allowing the misapprehension to continue on the part of the Boers that what we are doing in South Africa is merely standing there as distant and irreconcilable conquerors. We here are all conscious of our own justice, but what do the Boers know of that? We must show them what our intentions are, and that our Empire is come to South Africa, not as a conqueror, but as the great and patient arbiter between warring passions and to prevent racial feud in that unhappy country.

Amendment proposed, at the end of the Question, to add the words—

"And we humbly represent to Your Majesty that it would conduce to the pacification of the conquered territories, and to the future good relations of the European races in South Africa generally, if measures for securing the liberty and property of those now in arms who surrender, for the settlement of those territories, and for promoting the reconcilement and well-being of their inhabitants, were announced at the the earliest possible date."—(*Mr. Emmott.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN, Birmingham, W.): The subject with which we are now dealing is undoubtedly of the greatest and most urgent importance. I do not think that anything could more worthily occupy the attention of the House, and for my part I congratulate the House, and I congratulate myself, that for a time, at any rate, we have emerged from those strictly party and personal controversies in which we have hitherto been engaged. Therefore, I must say if anything could prove that conclusively to the House it would be the extremely moderate tone which has been taken up by the two hon. Members in the able speeches which they have addressed to the House. I must ask the indulgence of the House in endeavouring to reply, because I have taken upon myself a duty which I am not entirely qualified to fulfil. In dealing with the state of South Africa it must be borne in mind that for many months past the portion of South Africa of which we are speaking has been under military administration, and that therefore all the reports with regard to administration have gone to a different department—the War Office. As the House is aware, my right hon. friend Mr. Brodrick is temporarily absent from our debates, and it is impossible I should adequately fill his place, but still I will do what I can with the information at my disposal, and which I have been able to obtain from other departments. But before I do so I must say one word or two, not at all in an unfriendly spirit, about the resolution which has just been moved. Why is this resolution moved? It must be admitted by anyone who looks at it that it is a colourless resolution. It expresses a platonic desire that certain intentions should be announced which both the hon. Gentlemen have been good enough readily to ascribe to the Government—rightly to ascribe to the Government. There is nothing in the suggestions which are made in this proposal which we are not perfectly prepared to accept in substance. We are to do something that will "conduce to the pacification of the conquered territories and to the future good relations of the European races in South Africa generally"; and in order to do that we are to announce "measures for securing the liberty and property of those now in arms who surrender, for the settlement of those territories, and for promoting the reconcilement and well-being of their inhabitants." Well, Sir, we have announced all those intentions. We have announced in general terms measures—it may be taken that the Government have announced them in the proclamations which have been issued by Lord Roberts—we have announced them in statements made to the country by responsible Ministers, we announced them last night in the speech of my right hon. friend the First Lord of the Treasury, and I hope I may be able, as especially concerned in this matter, to add somewhat to the fulness of these announcements. But I cannot alter in the slightest degree their spirit, which, as I say, is substantially the spirit of the Amendment now before us. Now, speaking as I do, at the very commencement of the debate, I am obliged to anticipate—I am obliged to ask myself, will the future of this debate be conducted on exactly the same lines as those upon which the two hon. Gentlemen who have just addressed us have proceeded? If so, I would go on at once to reply to the questions which they have addressed to me; but it is within the knowledge of the House that there are still, as there were in the last Parliament, three different sections of opinion in the Opposition. There is the opinion, for instance, of those who hold that the war was unjust, and that now the only remedy for the evils which we all deplore is the restoration of independence to those two colonies. I agree with the hon. Member for Oldham that that party is less numerous in the House now than it was before, and that it is probably still less numerous in the country in proportion than it is in this House.

*MR. EMMOTT: I hope I was not comparative.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: No; I am not quoting the hon. Member, but what I mean to say is that I agree with him that it is only a small fraction, in the country at any rate, who would consider for a moment a proposal to restore independence to those colonies, and under those circumstances I think it would be a waste altogether of words to deal with that side of the question. But then there is another section which certainly takes a somewhat stronger view of the situation than the two hon. Members to whom I am replying. Their view is, as I understand their declaration, that annexation must now take place, must be considered an accomplished fact, and can never be reversed, but that we ought immediately to establish self-government on the lines of the self-governing colonies in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony. If they do not go quite as far as that—and I do not want to put it in an exaggerated way—they go as far as the hon. Member who has another Amendment on the Paper, and who says that—

> "The time should be more clearly indicated when there will be extended to these populations the principles of self-government prevailing in the other South African colonies"

—that is to say that we are to be called upon now, at this moment, to declare at what time, or approximately, we consider that full self-government can be accorded to those colonies. And there was a trace of that in the concluding words of the hon. Member for the Elland Division, because he suggested that it would have a good effect upon the Boers at the present time if we were able now, or if we had earlier been able, to meet President Kruger's demand for independence by offering in return the grant of local self-government. Well, now, of course with these later views the Government do not agree. We really think that it is impossible that reasonable men should ask us to fix any time to-day when full self-government can be granted. But we are prepared to lay down three definite objects as the main and principal objects of the Government, and they must be carried out successively; one stage must be concluded before we can possibly commence the second stage, and so on with the third. Well, in the first place we want to put an end to this guerilla warfare. The guerilla warfare which is going on is of the most unsatisfactory and most unprofitable kind. Nobody can gain by it. Lives are being lost, the country is being ruined, the future of the country is being damaged. I am prepared to admit that we are face to face with the possibility of something like a famine in consequence of the destruction caused—

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Hear, hear.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: In consequence of the destruction caused, not merely by the military operations on our part, but also—and I think myself much more so—by the operations of the Boers themselves. We have seen in a great number of cases that Boers, returning to the country in which men have gone back to their farms, having given their parole not to take arms again against us, have treated their own countrymen with what I cannot call anything less than barbarous cruelty, have beaten them, have insulted them, have forced them back into their own ranks, and have robbed them of their property and destroyed their farms; and although I am not able to give any positive statistics to the House at the present time, it would not surprise me in the least to find when we come to sum up the results of this policy that the Boers have destroyed and burnt more farms than the English. That is a most disastrous and distressing state of affairs. These guerilla bands are of different kinds. I think the numbers have been very frequently exaggerated, and I would advise the House not to take for granted what is said in casual telegrams that such-and-such a leader has so many thousand troops under him. There is no doubt they differ in their character. There are bands of considerable numbers and led by leaders of such distinction, such known courage and character, as General De Wet, General Botha, General Delarey, and General Viljoen. There may be others, but I name these, for their men may practically be called at the present moment organised bands under considerable leaders. Unfortunately, the warfare which these bands are carrying on may, in a certain sense at any rate, still be called legitimate warfare. But there is warfare of a totally different kind. There are large numbers of mercenaries, chiefly foreigners, and a certain number of Cape rebels, who are in very small bands, going about the country picking off a Britisher whenever they can snipe him in safety, either from behind a farm or behind a stone, or as often as not plundering the people and natives of the country. That is the state of things deplored by the hon. Gentleman who moved the resolution, and which we deplore as much as he does. The question, then, is—How are we going to deal with it? The hon. Member makes some suggestions. He spoke, in the first place, of severe treatment. He was most moderate in his statement of the case. He said the mildest measures had been adopted in the first instance. He admitted that those mild measures had been insufficient—that they had not produced the result expected of them—and then he said severer measures had been adopted. He did not say they were unnecessary, but he asked that we should say whether they, in our opinion, were successful, and whether the time had come when they could be moderated. What were those severer measures? He spoke of the taking of cattle. Let me say that, according to the proclamation of Lord Roberts, whose humanity is proverbial, and who therefore could not under any circumstances be accused of unnecessary cruelty, cattle are always to be paid for by the troops, or a receipt given, which is as good as payment, except in those cases in which the owner of the cattle has been guilty of acts of war or of outrages which are punishable by all civilised nations who are at war. Therefore the taking of cattle does not mean necessarily that the owner of the cattle is placed in a position of impossibility of continuing his occupation. If he has not got the cattle he has got the money for them, except in the cases in which destruction has taken place as a punitive measure. Never in the history of war has war been carried out with so much humanity on the part of the officers and of the soldiers concerned as in the present war. The hon. Member also spoke of the deportation of women. That sounds like something serious, but I believe it will be found that it is only for their own protection, and as such I defend it. If we are unable in this vast country to occupy and garrison every bit of it, when our troops are removed, if women and children are left alone they remain there in some danger—in danger from those marauding bands of which I have spoken, and also from the vast native population.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): Why send them out of Pretoria?

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: And, Sir, this native population is answerable, I believe, for every case of proved outrage either upon women or children. I believe, and the last reports we have received confirm that belief, that in no case has a British soldier been justly accused of such an outrage. But such outrages have taken place, and in many cases the removal of the women has been with a view to protecting them. In some cases they have been deported from towns. [AN HON. MEMBER: From Pretoria.] Undoubtedly they were taken from Pretoria, because at that time, when our hold upon Pretoria was not so strong as it is now, they were avowedly in many cases acting as spies and communicating with the enemy, and it was quite impossible that they should remain in our lines. Then I come to what, after all, has been the principal, I will not say complaint, but the principal point to which the hon. Member has called attention, and that is the burning of farms. I hope the House will remember the proclamation of Lord Roberts with regard to this matter; he has authorised the burning of farms. But before I go into that I should like to recall to the House the observations of the hon. Member for the Elland Division. He quoted from an anonymous statement, and said that whole districts had been devastated, and that half the country had been destroyed.

MR. TREVELYAN: I said that if the evidence coming to this country was accepted it suggested that half the country had been devastated. I think it is rather for the Government to tell us what has happened.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I am not complaining of the hon. Gentleman. His observation, then, was that if the evidence coming to this country, which I regard as absolutely worthless, is true, it suggests to the hon. Gentleman's mind that half the country has been devastated. I cannot at this moment give to the House exact information as to the number of farmhouses that have been destroyed, but we have telegraphed for it, and Lord Kitchener informs us that, though very difficult, he thinks it may be possible for him to give some statistical information upon the subject. I cannot contradict this anonymous information. I can only say that I shall be very much surprised if it does not turn out to be most grossly exaggerated. I think I ought to make one other observation on that point, not in mitigation of any judgment passed upon the policy of burning farmhouses, but in order to show the House that the matter is not quite so important from an economic standpoint as hon. Members think. A farmhouse in the Transvaal is little better than, if so good as, a labourer's cottage in this country, and accordingly the pecuniary damage done is really not so very great. Of course that does not justify the burning—the mere fact that the loss is small—but it does render me less pessimistic about the consequences than the hon. Member appears to be. Then I come back, and I say the House will bear in mind that Lord Roberts's proclamation was to the effect that, in the first instance, general officers were authorised to burn down farmhouses as a punishment in cases in which they were used as fortified places, or places for the concealment of arms, or in which the white flag had been improperly used, or where they had been the scenes of gross treachery and of acts contrary to the laws of war. As a matter of right and morality, the Government are prepared to sustain Lord Roberts absolutely. The question of policy is always one that may, in my opinion, be open to consideration—that is to say, a better punishment might be found. The punishments by the laws of war include death, and it may be argued that a personal punishment, even of the most severe character, would be more likely to prevent the acts of which we complain than the burning down of a farmhouse. But as to the moral right to punish men guilty of these offences we have not the slightest doubt. Then, Lord Roberts was placed in the most difficult position which a general could possibly occupy. He had his base 1,500 miles away at least from his front, through a most difficult country, and he was served only by a single line of railway, and any catastrophe to the railway might have meant a catastrophe to the whole Army. Now, Sir, it is all very well to talk of humanity, but humanity must first take into account our own people, and it was of the first importance, it was the clear duty of Lord Roberts, to take any steps in his power to prevent the cutting of the line and the danger which would thereby accrue to his force, and he accordingly issued a proclamation that in the case of the destruction of the line persons in the vicinity would be held responsible, and that farmhouses in the vicinity might be destroyed. We understood this proclamation to mean that he would require evidence of some complicity on the part of the persons whose farmhouses were destroyed.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: There were no such words in the proclamation.

Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I am not saying that the words are exactly to that effect. I am saying what we understood, and we inquired the other day, when the matter assumed greater importance, whether the construction we placed upon the proclamation was true, and we have a reply from Lord Kitchener, who has now taken the place of Lord Roberts, that we are perfectly right in that assumption. Now, therefore, we are reduced to the question whether it is necessary in any way to alter the practice of our generals with regard to the burning of farmhouses in these definite cases—cases of people guilty of acts against the usages of war, or guilty of treachery, or involved in the destruction of the line of communication. Let me say that since the proclamation was ordered no doubt the situation has to a certain extent changed, because the position of the British forces is certainly much stronger than it was at that time; that is to say, although there is still all this skirmishing going on, regular warfare has practically ceased. Therefore, it is open to the General now in command to reconsider his position and substitute other punishments, if he thinks it right to do so. The hon. Member who moved the resolution said, I think, that for his part he was content to leave the matter in the hands of the military authorities, and it is perfectly clear that the Government is bound to leave this large discretion in their hands. But the House may rest assured that both the Government and all the generals in the field, including Lord Kitchener, the Commander-in-Chief, are of opinion that this particular punishment should be used as sparingly as possible. They regret that there should ever have been occasion for employing it, and they hope that to whatever extent it may have been employed in the past—and they believe the extent has been very much exaggerated—in the future it will be employed still less than in the past. The hon. Member complained or suggested—he made suggestions in the most moderate way, and therefore I should like to reply to them—that in the proclamation issued to the Boers in arms the leaders have been excepted from the amnesty. That is only partially true, but it is not a complete statement, because the hon. Member will see that in Lord Roberts's proclamation——

Mr. ASQUITH (Fifeshire, E.): Of what date?

Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN: It is 28th September. I think that is his last proclamation.

Mr. ASQUITH: No; the last was 3rd October.

Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I may be wrong, because I am dealing with matters which are really War Office matters; but I am doing the best I can for the House. The proclamation I am going to quote is "Government Notice 115, 1900." It is dated the 28th September, and the notice says:—

> "By the Military Secretary's telegram general officers commanding have been empowered to promise that burghers who surrender voluntarily will not be sent out of South Africa provided they have been guilty of no acts other than fighting against us. This concession does not apply to those who have taken a prominent military or political part in the war, nor to those who have broken their

oath of neutrality, nor to foreigners. In the event of a military or political leader enquiring as to the terms of surrender, the question is to be referred direct to the Army headquarters."

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Can the right hon. Gentleman say whether that is to be distributed to hon. Members?

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I cannot say. I can see no objection. In the meantime if any Member desires to see it, it is at his disposal.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Has it been delivered to the Boers?

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: Really, I am endeavouring to explain this matter with great fulness to the House, but right hon. Gentlemen and hon. Gentlemen delay one by interruptions. What I want to point out is that I do not understand from this that it is right to say that leaders are excluded from amnesty. The only point with regard to political and military leaders is that they must enquire beforehand of the terms to be granted to them. They are not necessarily and automatically included in the terms offered to the other burghers. For that there is evident and sufficient reason, because the cases of important men amongst these leaders are very different, and there may be cases in which it would not be safe or desirable that they should remain in the country; while, on the other hand, there are other cases in which every possible liberty would be gladly extended to them. Then the hon. Member went on to say that he thought it would be well if we gave an intimation to the Boers in which we should promise them compensation for farms destroyed for military purposes, and that we should tell the prisoners who are now abroad that similar compensation would be made to them for any damage which was done to their property during their absence. I do not think the hon. Member can quite have appreciated what would be the result of such a statement as that. To begin with, we should be giving to the Boers who have been in arms against us a great deal more than we are giving to any of our own subjects. Up to the present time the Government has not undertaken, has, indeed, repudiated, any liability whatever for any damage done to property in the Transvaal and in the Orange River Colony belonging to British subjects. The view taken is that when a man goes from his own country to a strange country, and there suffers damage from acts of war, he is not entitled to go to his own country and demand compensation. Well, it is perfectly clear that if we repudiate compensation to British subjects—Englishmen and others—whose property may have been destroyed or damaged during the war, either by the Boers or by our military operations, we cannot offer it to those who have been in arms against us. Then the hon. Gentleman went on to say that we ought to give money for restoring the condition of the country. As I understood, he has in view only one form of spending the money. I do not know whether he suggests that this money is to come out of the pockets of the British taxpayer, but if so the proposal is that we are to vote a very considerable sum of money for setting up again in business everybody who complains that he has been injured in the course of the war, even although the injury is entirely due to his own action, or the action of those who represent him. I must say I think that is a very strong proposal, and I venture to think that, no matter what the Colonial Secretary might do, there is no chance whatever that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would listen to it for a moment. My answer to the next suggestion of the hon. Member may, perhaps, be more satisfactory to him. He says—"When you come to a full and peaceful possession of the country you will find yourselves face to face with an economic crisis." I do not know—I hope he is pessimistic in that view; but if we do, undoubtedly it must be the duty of the Government of those colonies to deal with it, and they must deal with it out of the funds of the colonies, not out of the pockets of the British taxpayer. Whenever a civil administration is established in South Africa no doubt the financial and fiscal part of its labours will be amongst its most important work. [Opposition cheers.] The hon. Gentleman cheers. What does he mean? He is one of those who have said, and probably truly, that there is great wealth in the Transvaal. But, if there is great wealth in the Transvaal, then there is a great source of taxation. I am entirely with the right hon. Gentleman there.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: And I am entirely with you.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: Then, if there is a great source of taxation, might not the country in a short time be able to pay its way even though it may have to do something to meet the economic crisis which the hon. Gentleman refers to? Now, Sir, I think I have dealt with the suggestions of the hon. Member, and also generally with the military administration so far as it has been in any way called in question. But I now come to what I call the second object of the Government. The hon. Member for the Elland Division has complained that the Government rely too much on military force, and that we show nothing but force to the Boers. I do not think that is the case, but, at all events, I claim him as a supporter when I say that our first object should be to get rid of the military administration. If so, I think he is a little at variance with his leader, because there has long been a point of contention between the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition and myself, both in this House and in the country, in regard to a certain statement of his that there should be a military administration and then self-government. I hold that that would be entirely an impossible position, and it is not to that that the Government are going to pledge themselves. We say there must be an intermediate state of things, and for the sake of giving it a name we call it Crown colony government, but everybody knows, who knows anything of the administration of our colonies, that there are the most different kinds of Crown colony government, and, therefore, a little further explanation may properly be required before the House will understand what we mean by Crown colony government. Our view is that there must be three stages—the pacification, I will not say the absolute and complete pacification, but a much greater pacification of the country than has yet taken place; then must come Crown colony government, which really means civil as opposed to military administration; and only after that has been tried can self-government be adopted. As regards the military administration, we are prepared to make all allowances for the difficulties under which these countries have been governed by the officers who have been appointed to these posts, but what we do say is—and it is no criticism, it is no aspersion upon military men, whose business is to make war and not to govern—that they are not by the necessity of their occupation as well qualified for civil government as persons who have devoted their whole lives to it. There are many instances in which you find that military men make most admirable civil servants. Sir Henry Norman, one of the most distinguished of our civil servants, was a military man, and many others may be in the minds of all present. But as a rule military men are not fitted for this work, and while we are grateful to them for what they have done, we want to substitute for them as quickly as possible a civil administration. Sir, I am afraid almost to say anything about the time at which this can be accomplished, because of the difficulty of the position with which the whole House is familiar. It is not well to prophesy in such circumstances, but perhaps it will be sufficient if I say that I hope—it is not a prophecy—that before the House meets again something in the nature of a civil administration may have been established both in the colony of the Transvaal and in the Orange River Colony. As to the general lines of that administration there is no secret, and the Government are prepared to give all the information in their power. The matter, I should say, is still the subject of constant telegram and despatch proceeding between South Africa and this country—between Sir Alfred Milner and the Government—and, of course, there are a great number of details which can only be settled after the framework has been created. But it is our intention to recommend Her Majesty to appoint Sir Alfred Milner as Governor of the two colonies—of the Transvaal and of the Orange River Colony.

MR. PIRIE (Aberdeen, N.): You will lose South Africa.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: We propose to appoint a Lieutenant-Governor for the Orange River Colony. We propose that both the Governor and the Lieutenant-Governor shall have the assistance of an executive council, which will consist, at all events, of the principal officers of the Government. We do not propose that the constitution of the Orange River Colony should necessarily be the same as the constitution of the Transvaal Colony, either at starting or in the immediate future. It will be dealt with upon its own merits, dealt with separately, and we think it possible, from the circumstance with which everyone is familiar, that an earlier beginning to greater political liberty may be made in the Orange River Colony than in the Transvaal. That is due to the fact that the Government of the Orange River Colony previous to the war was by common consent a very good Government, and, consequently, speaking generally, of course, and not of individuals, we shall find there probably the means to creating a satisfactory administration more quickly than we can do in the case of the Transvaal Colony. To one point we attach the utmost importance, and that is an early, I would almost call it an immediate—although there, again, discretion must be left to those who are on the spot—creation of municipalities. We propose that there should be a municipal government for Pretoria, for Bloemfontein, and for Johannesburg, and probably for some other centre, and to these we hope to be able to delegate all the powers usually delegated to local authorities. Beyond that it is impossible for me to say anything at the present moment so far as detail is concerned.

Sir E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT (Sheffield, Ecclesall): Who will be the High Commissioner?

Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN: Sir Alfred Milner will hold the office of High Commissioner in addition to the office of Governor of these colonies. I am sorry I did not make that clear. That is all that I can say, and I think it is all that the House can fairly expect from the Government in these circumstances. But I want to assure both sides of the House that the principle on which we shall act in connection with this administration is the necessity—the desirability, of course, but the necessity—of consulting local opinion as far as that is possible, of disturbing as little as possible anything in the nature of local custom, local law, or local practice. So far as we can we shall be guided by a desire to leave things, in the Orange River Colony especially, as they were. I am not alluding to the Transvaal without the qualification that there, of course, we shall have to make very great alterations in connection with the complaints which were the original cause of the war. In further pursuance of this policy, we lay it down as our duty, we admit it to be our duty, wherever we can with safety to the States, and with proper consideration to the real interests of the population, to appoint natives to all the posts in the Administration.

*Mr. JOHN MORLEY (Montrose Burghs): You don't mean natives?

Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I mean, of course, Afrikanders. I forgot the meaning to be attached to the word. I mean that the existing white population there shall be as far as possible the store on which we shall draw for our local administration. Under these circumstances I believe we can promise that there shall be throughout South Africa equal laws, equal liberty—not, indeed, political independence. In the first instance, that must be more restricted in these two colonies than it is in the colonies of the Cape and Natal, but a liberty and constitution, leading ultimately to self-government, which we all desire to see established as soon as possible. Hon. Gentlemen have, I think, recently suggested that these intentions of ours, both with regard to the immediate pacification of the country and the terms that might be offered to those now in the field against us, and also with regard to the future character of the government of the country, should be promulgated amongst the Boers. I entirely agree. I believe that has been done. I might almost say I am afraid it has been done, because, if it has been, it leaves us no opportunity of doing more. The House will remember that Lord Roberts allowed various people to go up to see General Botha and General De Wet and acquaint them with the terms he meant to propose. On one occasion Mrs. Botha, who, I believe, is enjoying British hospitality at Pretoria, and who then enjoyed the hospitality of Lord Roberts, was the channel of communication; and at another time Mme. Joubert and a gentleman of Boer origin who was supposed to have influence with these leaders. If we can do anything more in this direction we are willing to do it; and I confess that, for my part, I am not satisfied not to try. Therefore I may inform the House that I have already communicated with Sir Alfred Milner suggesting a form of proclamation and asking for his opinion about it, and suggesting also that this proclamation should be printed, not only in English and Dutch, as previous proclamations have been, but in Taal, the patois language which is the only one many Boers understand. I have asked also for suggestions as to the people who would be likely to have the most reasonable influence with the Boer leaders. I assure the House, on the part of the Government, that nothing will be wanting on our part. We entertain absolutely no vindictive feelings whatever towards the men who have been in arms against us. We recognise, so far as the great majority of them are concerned, that they have carried on this war with great distinction, so far as personal gallantry is concerned, and also that they have shown the greatest consideration for the wounded and prisoners who have fallen into their hands. There have been exceptions. I do not want to dwell upon them, but, speaking of the great mass, we do not at all complain of the way in which they have carried on this war. They are brave foes, and they should be treated as brave foes; and it is in that spirit that we shall approach them. I hope I have given the fullest explanation in my power of the intentions of the Government. I should myself be sorry to see a division taken on the Amendment before the House. I see no difference between us so far as intention is concerned, and I should be sorry if there should be any appearance of difference of opinion with regard to such an important matter. I do not urge that view with any party object, because it is clear under existing circumstances the division would not be a favourable one for the other side. But on general grounds of policy I hope the suggestion may commend itself to them. They have elicited, if not an entirely satisfactory explanation, at all events a perfectly frank and candid one, and they will be prepared to admit that, so far as our desire goes, we are willing to meet their view of the case.

*MR. ASQUITH: The House, I am sure, will share the satisfaction which the right hon. Gentleman has expressed, at the beginning of his speech, at the very moderate tone in which my two hon. friends discharged their duty, and I think it only fair on our part to acknowledge that the level of argument in the non-contentious atmosphere was successfully maintained by the right hon. Gentleman. He has asked why this Amendment was moved. But I think if he will compare the declarations to which we have just listened with the speech, I will not say made in another place, but with the speech of the First Lord of the Treasury, we shall find the most ample justification for the proposal of this Amendment. The House, when it rose last night, was in a state of absolute darkness as to the intentions of the Government with regard to the future of South Africa. Thanks to the Amendment the curtain has been lifted, and the right hon. Gentleman has given us in the latter part of his speech this evening a very lucid sketch of the future settlement, of which I will only at this moment say this, without committing ourselves—as we ought not to do at a moment's notice—to its details, that it does seem to afford a *modus vivendi* in these conquered territories, which may be the precursor of that fuller, larger, and more complete measure of self-government to which the Government and every party in the State is pledged. The right hon. Gentleman has travelled over a great deal of ground. The point to which I wish mainly to confine myself is rather the immediate situation, than the ultimate future. The right hon. Gentleman has asked what more could we do than we have done to make known our intentions to the Boers? and referred to Lord Roberts's proclamations, I believe that from first to last Lord Roberts has issued six or eight proclamations, but they have never been presented to Parliament. The right hon. Gentleman has read to us an extract from a paper which has apparently been prepared in one of the Departments of the Government. I can only express the hope that the Boers are more familiar with these documents than the British House of Commons. At any rate, surely after what the right hon. Gentleman has told us to-night it is the first duty of the Government to lay those proclamations on the Table in order that we may have—

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I will lay them to-night.

*MR. ASQUITH: I am glad to hear that, because until it is done we are at a great disadvantage in criticising the action taken in the past. But let me point out how, reasonably and indeed inevitably, the Boers may have misconceived some of Lord Roberts's intentions. Take the famous proclamation whereby Lord Roberts ordered that when the railways and lines of communication were injured all farms within a certain distance should be burned. I venture to say that 99 people out of 100 in this country thought that proclamation applied to farms within the prescribed distance whether the occupiers of those farms have shown any complicity in outrage or not. We are told now that that is not the interpretation to be put upon the proclamation. But is not that the interpretation the Boers have put upon it? If it is, may not that account to some extent for the difficulty with which you are at present embarrassed in arriving at a settlement of the question? The other point to which the right hon. Gentleman referred is a still more important one. I mean the passage in the proclamation of Lord Roberts at the end of September, in which he appears to exempt military and political leaders from the terms he offers to their followers. I have got a summary of that proclamation, and it contains these words—

> "Burghers are informed that as soon as the leaders submit, peace will be declared and prisoners liberated. Exception will be made only in the case of members of the late Government and those directly responsible for the war, and its present disastrous prolongation."

Read in the ordinary way, that passage would exempt from the terms offered by Lord Roberts every one of those leaders, Botha, De Wet, and the rest, whom the right hon. Gentleman recognises to be persons of responsibility, exercising command over more or less organised forces, and through whose good offices and mediation alone it is possible to bring home to the minds of the ordinary Boer follower the intentions of the Government and the opportunity the Government has in store if he will surrender his arms. Surely the plainest dictates of policy are that, if we are, as I hope we are from what the right hon. Gentleman has said, going to make a new departure in this matter, terms should be offered to leaders and followers alike, and every inducement offered to the leader to make known those terms to his followers and commend them to them. The right hon. Gentleman has said this is now a guerilla war. So it is; perhaps one of the most extraordinary in history. From a Parliamentary Paper issued this morning we find that we have no less than 210,000 men in the field, and we are said to be spending a million and a half sterling per week. But what is the condition of things which is incident to this guerilla war? Your men are being captured by hundreds and shot by scores. A British convoy cannot move safely for any considerable distance in either of these conquered colonies. British garrisons are being besieged in places which six or seven months ago were taken from the enemy, and, in fact, you have throughout the length and breadth of these two newly-incorporated territories a state of war in the legal, practical, and popular acceptation of the term. Surely the first problem the Government have to solve is this—what are the means by which, at the earliest possible moment, that condition of things can be cured? for I agree entirely with the right hon. Gentleman, and I think it is in consonance with the teaching and experience of history, that there is no form of war so exacting and demoralising to both sets of combatants as this guerilla warfare. Look at your soldiers. All the pomp and circumstance of war have gone. There is nothing left of it, for them, but hardships and squalor. Their time and strength are taken up, not in fighting pitched battles or doing the ordinary duties of soldiers, but in the uncongenial task of burning farms, capturing stock, and presiding over the removal of non-combatant women and children. Of work of this kind soldiers very soon tire, and I do not believe that there is any officer in command in South Africa who is not anxious, now that it has reached its present stage, that it should close. If that is the effect upon our own soldiers, we may be sure that the present condition of things is equally disastrous to men fighting on the other side. An illustrious general, recently returned from the field, in a speech made the other day, said there is now hardly anybody left in the field against us in South Africa but mercenaries and bandits. With all deference to him, I venture to doubt the accuracy of that description. Certainly there are leaders in command of forces opposed to us who do not fall within either category. But no doubt it is perfectly true that, whether they are burghers or mercenaries, their condition is such that they must live on the country and they will soon be reduced to the necessity of following the *role* of freebooters and marauders all over the country side. So, then, you have two great machines of devastation carrying on their work side by side in these territories, and it is easy to forecast the result before many months have passed as the reduction of the whole country to a state of destitution. This justifies the proposal we have made—that Her Majesty's Government, whatever ultimate settlement is meant, should make immediate suggestion to those still in the field and to those who are prisoners of war, such as may tend to put an end to a ghastly and hideous state of things, and accelerate the conclusion of peace which is the necessary preliminary to an ultimate settlement. I do not at all agree—and I do not follow in that respect my hon. friend who moved the resolution—that this is a matter primarily for our generals. In the sphere of military strategy we respect the general, just as in the sphere of technical right we respect the opinion of the lawyer, but in this, which is, I venture to think, a larger and wider domain—the domain of policy—lawyers may well be silent, and it is the business of the soldier not to give, but to take, orders. I earnestly trust that Her Majesty's Government will look at this matter in a larger and wider point of view, and not confine their consideration to strategical, or supposed strategical, necessities or the strict technicalities of international law. Can anything practical be done to shorten the struggle? One or two suggestions have been made to-night — and I will only refer to them without supplementing them — which might have the effect we desire. First of all, take the case of the prisoners in Ceylon and at St. Helena. I suppose there are there 15,000 burghers of either State—the very backbone of the community. I hope some hon. Members have read, and that those who have not will read, a most interesting account in one of the monthly periodical publications this month, of a visit paid by a most accomplished lady to the prisoners in St. Helena. From that account we find that the prisoners are kept in total ignorance of what is going on in their own country, and I suspect that the only thing that filters through to them from time to time is a vague rumour that this or that farm has been burned. Now surely there is an elementary principle of policy and humanity in the suggestion that they should be informed of what is going on, and that they should know, what many of them do not know, that it is the intention of the Government to restore to them their liberty and property, and that they should have means of communicating with their fellow-citizens who are still in arms, and of exercising such influence as they can to compose and bring to an end this most unhappy state of things. Surely such a step is not beyond the resources of the Government? There is, and I will venture to mention it, as regards these prisoners in St. Helena and Ceylon an economic question of considerable magnitude and difficulty. Most of these prisoners are owners of farms, and a large proportion of this property is subject to mortgages and charges. The farms are idle, the stocks are to a large extent destroyed, the owners cannot carry on cultivation, and meantime mortgage interest is accumulating, and to an extent the farmers will be quite unable to pay, and I earnestly submit to the consideration of the right hon. Gentleman that unless something effective is done there will be a campaign of foreclosure, mortgagees will take possession of the property, and these men, after suffering temporary expatriation as prisoners of war, will find themselves permanently banished from their homes. I was glad to hear the right hon. Gentleman say that taxation of the new colonies would be resorted to, though I am not sure that the announcement will be welcome to some sections in the Transvaal; but, whether it be welcome or not, it is undoubtedly a simple principle of justice, and whatever funds are necessary for these or other purposes, I hope it is well understood they will be raised on the security of the revenues of the colonies. As regards those still in the field, surely it might be possible after what has been said to-night—and I cannot but think it would be right and proper—to readjust the terms of the already numerous, confused, and conflicting proclamations, so that Boer leaders and their followers may have placed before them, in simple language that each one of them can understand, a definite statement that if they surrender their arms, leaders and followers alike, they will be entitled at the earliest possible opportunity to resume the exercise of the rights of freedom and the cultivation of the property from which they have for the time being been dispossessed. I believe action of this kind, involving no departure from the principles laid down by Her Majesty's Government, could be adopted, and that within a measurable distance of time it would bring the war to a close, opening the door to that intermediate state of things the right hon. Gentleman sketched to us to-night. As I said at the outset, the Amendment has been usefnl in eliciting the statement we have heard, and I cannot help thinking that the discussion has shown that there is really practical unanimity in the House as to the lines upon which, in the situation in which we find ourselves, we ought to proceed. The right hon. Gentleman has disclaimed, in eloquent and obviously sincere language, any vindictive spirit or temper in arriving at the ultimate settlement. Would it not be possible in that same spirit with which he is animated to send by the authoritative voice of the British House of Commons, combining the judgment and agreement of both parties in the State, a solemn invitation to those still in arms to surrender, with a certain assurance that if they do so they shall not be prejudiced in person or property, and that it is the firm and fixed resolve of this Parliament, without distinction of party, that in the new state of things which we hope will be evolved from the existing chaos we are going to be true to the pledges given in the first instance, and throughout expressed, to make the country now incorporated in the British Empire in the truest and fullest sense self-governing and self-respecting communities.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I said just now that I would lay the Papers to which the right hon. Gentleman referred on the Table to-night. I forgot at the moment that the Papers are not in my keeping; they are at the War Office, but I have communicated with the War Office, and I am sure they will be laid before the House as soon as possible, though I do not know that they will be to-night.

*MR. T. M. HEALY: This war has been described as a just war, and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Fife stated here to-night that there was practical unanimity in all quarters of this House as to the manner and the lines of the settlement. He also added that this Amendment would have been justified and done its work if only by eliciting the statement made by the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for the Colonies. It, therefore, come to this, so far as I can understand it, that the two sections of the British parties in this House are practically agreed that the Amendment is only a sham Amendment, and that there is no reality in the debate so far as the Liberal Opposition is concerned, and that practically the Liberal Opposition have divested themselves of all right of criticism. I cannot see what is the position of an English Member who starts with the proposition that this is a just war. If it be a just war what right has he to criticise the mode in which it is being conducted by his own country? If it be a just war, and if hon. Members opposite are animated by prudent and patriotic motives, what right is there to demand on their part statements from the Government which seem to imply that though it be a just war it is being conducted by most unjust methods and under most vindictive circumstances? I do not admit that this is a just war. I do not take the view that the policy laid down by the right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary has the remotest hope of success, and I state, for my own country and for myself, that you are only plunging your country and South Africa into further difficulties, and you are only involving us in taxation you have no right to impose. The right hon Gentleman has made two wholly inconsistent statements. In the first place, he has laid down that the forces of those who are waging war against you in South Africa are small and insignificant, and that he hopes in a few months to be able to start some form of civil government in the country. If that statement be true how comes it that you have still 200,000 soldiers there to combat these men? Has it come to this: that the one result of this war is to prove that twenty Englishmen are equal to one Dutchman? That is really what it comes to. When you ask us to swallow the statements about the generous conduct of the soldiers, of their great valour, and their great bravery, we cannot forget that you have more armed men in South Africa than the whole male population of these States together. I cannot help seeing in all this business the same policy of falsehood which has been manifested throughout. The Colonial Secretary hopes soon to establish civil government, but Lord Salisbury says it may take generations, and I am inclined to put my money on Lord Salisbury in the pessimistic view that he expressed in another place—I was going to say the hereditary chamber, but I think, after recent events, the House of Commons rather than the House of Lords, ought really to be called the hereditary chamber. What is the position of the Colonial Secretary? A year and a half ago he started out with the pretence that the difference between him and Kruger was that between a five and a seven years franchise. After the fourteen months war the Outlanders and Transvaalers are told that neither can get the franchise for which so much blood has been spilt, and that it may be generations before even effective local self-government can be established. That is an appalling verdict on the policy of the right hon. Gentleman. Let the negotiations with President Kruger be right or wrong, we now have this avowal after the expenditure of £100,000,000 and the sacrifice of the lives of the bravest and best of the men. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Fife asked for the issue of a proclamation—as if there had not already been enough of them—to cajole the Boers still under arms to surrender. What is the temptation held out to them? They found their country as one of your generals wrote of our country in the days of Queen Elizabeth—"Your Majesty," said he, "has nothing now to reign over in Ireland except carcases and ashes, so that the lowing of a cow or the sound of a ploughboy's whistle cannot be heard from one end of the country to the other." That might well be said of South Africa at the present moment. The Colonial Secretary said that only poor huts, such as labourers inhabited in England, had been destroyed, and therefore it would not greatly matter, so far as the question of compensation was concerned. But I read in an English newspaper that De Wet's house, which was destroyed, was erected at a cost of £2,000; grand pianos were given to the flames, and the soldiers cheered as they watched the rosewood furniture burn, while they poured paraffin on his household gods. What inducement do you offer De Wet to come in from the veldt when he has a rifle and a horse, and can stop convoys and capture men 400 at a time whenever he pleases? He is to find Sir Alfred Milner installed as Lord Lieutenant of the Transvaal, with a Deputy Lieutenant—probably one of the dismissed members of the late Government. Does anyone who has studied the methods of the British Government in any country in which it has established its supremacy over a subject race suppose that such a prospect will tempt such a man? First of all, the Boers would not believe your words. They would say that you had broken the terms of every proclamation you have issued; that at the Sand River Convention you promised absolute independence; that when you took the Transvaal in 1877 you promised not merely a Crown colony, but a local Parliament; that after Majuba you promised independence with a suzerainty, and in 1884 by the London Convention gave absolute independence; but that all these Treaties were broken. I wish to give the Boers in the field some slight sketch of what will happen if they surrender. In the first place, every man put over them, from Sir A. Milner down to the humblest magistrate, will be a bitter enemy of the Boer cause, the Dutch régime and the Boer race. In every dispute between the Boers and their neighbours, the English settlers or the Colonials, they will be judged by judges inimical to their interests, and the jury franchise will naturally be so arranged as to exclude every Dutchman from the jury box; and if the jury franchise is not sufficiently artistic for that, there will be a system of "stand by," and challenge to achieve the same result. With regard to education, will not Sir A. Milner establish schools from which is excluded all teaching of the Dutch language—a point upon which the Dutch have the strongest possible feeling—and in which every incident connected with the late war will be given in the school books in the form the most discreditable to the Boers? There will also be laws against newspapers; and, of course, freedom of speech cannot be tolerated. You will not allow public meetings in Ireland. Is it likely they will be permitted in the neighbourhood of battlefields? The Dutch have tenacious memories, and will they not be anxious to celebrate the anniversaries of the splendid valour and courage, and stubborn resistance of their race? Can Sir Alfred tolerate a state of things of that kind? What will become of the Transvaal flag? The Transvaal flag will become a treasonable emblem and you must make laws against seditious emblems. These people have watered their flag with their heart's blood, and that is the reason why they must not be allowed to exhibit that flag in public. Any Dutchman in the future who flies the Transvaal flag upon the anniversary of the Battle of Colenso will get at least six months hard labour, for such an act would be regarded as an outrage against his Queen and country. No man is better acquainted with how to conduct these matters than Sir A. Milner, for he has been a Unionist candidate in this country, and he understands the patois of oppression and the jargon of misgovernment as it is spoken in Ireland. He doubtless will not use any of the coarser expressions of Irish government, such as "Do not hesitate to shoot," and he may not even take away the clothes of his prisoners when they are in gaol, but no doubt he will act entirely according to precedent. It is to that state of things that you invite the co-operation of De Wet, Botha, Delarey and all the other fighting Boer generals. One of the great attractions brought out in the speech of the Colonial Secretary for these gentlemen to surrender is that there are to be three great administrative municipalities established in the Transvaal—on the Birmingham model of course. Can anyone suppose that these municipalities are intended to be set up except to help the British garrison in the Transvaal? Barracks will be wanted for your troops, and forts will be required; the garrisons must have regimental bands in order that certain loyal and patriotic airs may be played on the anniversaries, such as the Annexation of the Transvaal, or the capture of Cronje. Just fancy what festering sources of disaffection and disloyalty such a system will set up. I do not think I have ever heard, as the outcome of the British mind, a more complete scheme for keeping the Boers and the Boer generals in the field than that proposed to-night by the Colonial Secretary. The First Lord of the Treasury did pay these brave men a tribute for their gallantry and the kindness with which they treated the wounded prisoners. A few phrases of that kind are much more effective to fighting men than all the talk about municipalities and Crown colonies, and other things of that description. And if these statements be true what becomes of the pretences on which you started out upon this war? If you confess that prisoners are well treated, what about the "grievances" of the Uitlanders who provoked this war? They were not prisoners, but free men. These prisoners had no press or right of public meeting, and now you are obliged to confess that they were treated well by the Boers. What a light that throws upon the petition to the Queen, at 5s. per head, from the 100,000 Uitlanders in the Transvaal! It is only part of the abominable system of hypocrisy that has run through this business from beginning to end. I do not think there would have been so much to say against this war had you started boldly and openly on a buccaneering and piratical policy. If you had put on your signboard, "John Bull and Co., thieves," that would have represented an intelligible policy. But you said the Dutchmen were treating the Uitlanders with injustice, and that they were oppressing the mine owners. Now, when you have got the country into your own hands your position is that for generations you will not be able to establish the system which you went to war to create. As to the mines, I think the tax on dynamite fades into insignificance before the suggestive statement of the right hon. Gentleman to-night. I think the tax on dynamite was 6d. per hundredweight. If that is so, I want to know what will be the royalty on gold. I understand that wherever the Government of the Queen is established the laws of Great Britain are carried. If that be so, then every ounce of gold that has been mined in the Transvaal from the date of Lord Roberts's proclamation annexing the Transvaal will have to pay the Queen's mining royalty. In addition to that, we have the Colonial Secretary's opinion that these places will have to bear an enormous proportion of the cost of the war. That is very satisfactory to me in one sense, but it must be very unsatisfactory to the Chartered Company. The war up to the present has cost something like £100,000,000, and of that sum Ireland will have to pay from £12,000,000 to £15,000,000. The £16,000,000 which you propose to raise this session involves nearly two years of the total revenue of Ireland. I want to ask the House has British statesmanship come to this—that there was no other means of bringing about a settlement in South Africa except by the wasting of £100,000,000 of money, by the sacrifice of between 20,000 and 30,000 lives, and by the sending out of this enormous army, 220,000 strong? Have the resources of civilisation been brought to this pass, that you allow your Minister to hail this as a feather in his cap, when that feather has cost you £100,000,000, and to enable the Minister to put it in his cap has cost 30,000 lives? That feather will long be remembered in English history. It is now bedraggled and stained with blood. It is a remarkable fact that those who gained most by this war, whether in reputation or in dividends, have sacrificed themselves least. We have heard of the Dublin Fusiliers, the City Imperial Volunteers, and the Inniskilling Fusiliers, but who has heard of the Birmingham Blazers? The Prime Minister had two sons at the front—one at Mafeking, and the other who is now on the Treasury Bench. How many had the Colonial Secretary? How many of the shareholders in Tubes, Limited, have taken the field? Has it not come to this: that while the peasantry and the gentry of this country and of Ireland have suffered and died on behalf of your flag, those who have gained most by the war have remained around their cosy firesides at Highbury? Can any of you deny it? In walking through the streets of Dublin I have seen numbers of poor men who have come home from the war, having lost an arm or a leg; I see the reports of the guardians' meetings, at which men and women have been admitted to the workhouse in consequence of the war, and I want to know where the gain or glory or glamour for Ireland comes in? I absolutely deny that there is unanimity on both sides of the House with regard to any part of this policy. From one end of Ireland to the other is nothing but horror and detestation felt towards it. And let me say this is not simply because we are anti-English. I believe that the conduct of the Americans in the Philippines was less excusable than your conduct in the Transvaal. Unlike the Americans in the Philippines, England has some rag of justification for her action. I do not believe the conduct of the English army in the Transvaal or the English generals has been any worse than the conduct of the American generals in the Philippines, where I have read of Catholic churches being desecrated, tabernacles rifled, and the chalices of the natives pawned in the pawnshops of San Francisco. There are no such stories as those from the Transvaal, yet it is an unhappy omen, when the right hon. Gentleman wants to justify his policy, that it is to America in the miserable squabble with the Philippines he has to go. It is not because the sentiment of Ireland is anti-English that I condemn this war, but because the war is an outrage on free institutions, because it has been got up at the instance of greedy capitalists, who, I am glad to say, will see their shares go down in the morning when they read the announcement which has been made from the Front Bench; and, above all, we believe so far from fusing the two races together, so far from leading to a good understanding between the two countries, the effect will be to lay up for yourselves the same store of hatred and ill-will and dislike which, in other parts of the world, has been the fate of England whenever she has come into collision with white races. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to say that you would offer these Boers self-government, and that they must be content with whatever form of self-government you offer them. What is more easy to give the outward forms of liberty and to deny the reality? Have the Irish not got the outward form of liberty? The Irish come to this House and are outvoted in every division. In the same way I could have constructed a Constitution for the Boers which would have looked the most perfect thing on paper, but which would cause the Boer to go down on his knees and curse the British Government from the day an Englishman landed in his colony. In their hatred of Englishmen the Boers almost outrivalled the Irish. Now the problem seems, from the Boer point of view, to be an extremely simple one. They can lose nothing by fighting. You have bereft them of their liberty and independence. You have stolen their country and burned down their farms. What has the remaining Boer to expect—call him guerilla, bandit, freebooter, what you like? Absolutely nothing! He is a free man, with a gun on his shoulder, and a horse under him, and I should like to know if any man with any ordinary independence, with any touch of spirit in his blood, would surrender that position and exchange it for the position of a British slave. I think these men seem to consider that it is better to be a Boer corpse than a British subject. That seems to me to be the opinion entertained by those holding out. When the war had broken out not much more than a month—when Mafeking and Ladysmith and Kimberley were being besieged—we were told that the Boers were utterly sick of the war, and that they were constrained to join their commandoes by Joubert, De Wet, Botha, Delarey, Cronje, and other generals, and that they were absolutely sjamboked into the trenches. But now that the sjamboks have been burned, you find it still takes 200,000 men to govern the country. If that is correct, and if the pretences which started the war are false, what more reliance can be placed now upon the pretences that you carry it on in hopes for the future which were wrong a year ago? Will not these hopes be just as wrong two years or twenty years hence as now, and may we not in twenty years hence, those of us who survive or those who come after us, be still debating what is called the South African Question, and the condition of the South African colonies? At the present moment your great possessions in China and elsewhere are absolutely imperilled by this absolute locking up of 200,000 troops in South Africa. Does any man imagine that your settled and stable trade in China is not a thousand times more valuable than all the trade in South Africa? And yet in order that a Birmingham leader may have a feather in his cap, 200,000 men are locked up in South Africa, while Russia is marching off with Manchuria, and Germany with Kiou Chiou, and Italy is putting in a demand for a slice, and all the rest of Europe is looking on with satisfaction, and while the total British force in China seems to amount to something less than 8,000 men. That may be a spirited foreign policy, but I do not believe it is either successful or statesmanlike. But while the Irish people have to pay this large sum, they alone, of all the three Kingdoms, get nothing from this war except wooden legs. Occasionally you have bought a horse in Ireland, but taking the fifteen millions which we will have to pay for the war, I do not suppose that you will have expended in that country more than, roughly speaking, £50,000 to £100,000. Well, I suppose that ultimately you hope to hunt these Boers down like rats. I do not know how that may be, nor do I see how the great Liberal party can fairly object to that policy once they proclaim this war to be a just one. How can they object to deportation of these men to St. Helena or Ceylon, when Cromwell sent Irishmen to the Barbados, and Liberals put up a statue to the man who did it, and broke his promise of quarter to Irish garrisons? Very well, you have hunted these men down like rats, and you have exterminated the last of them in the field, but you have not, so far as I can make out—at all events, you do not admit that you have—destroyed the women and children there. Well, we know that in the time of Queen Elizabeth, James, and William, millions of Irishmen were so exterminated or exiled. But we also know that such of these Boers as return from St. Helena, or survive the climate of Ceylon, will not have the kindest memories of British rule. So far as I can make out, in order to hold the country you must have policemen and blacks and negroes to do the work. Lord Salisbury hinted that greater kindness would be shown to the natives, and that greater kindness will be to enrol a kind of a Dutch Royal Irish Constabulary. So, therefore, you have arranged for yourselves in South Africa and you have planted there a new combustible which will only wait the torch of some opportunity to break out in flames on some future occasion. You admit that you are not loved in Europe. Even Lord Salisbury boasts of your splendid isolation. I fancy you cannot deprive the Boers entirely of arms, but must, in consequence of the wild state of the country, allow them something in the nature of arms to keep down the game and protect themselves from the natives. What the Boers will do is to wait the first opportunity when you are in difficulties, and then they will return to their commandoes. It is all very well to indulge in platform platitudes, but you should recollect that you are dealing with a stubborn race. The Dutch fought the Spaniards for centuries, and were willing to break down their dykes and swamp their country in order to drive out their enemies. The

Spaniards were, I imagine, at that time as great an empire as you are to-day; but we have seen the Spanish Empire go down until it has lost its last colonial possession, and the same may befall the British Empire. My sympathies are with the Boers. My hopes are for their freedom and their independence, as settled by your own solemn conventions with them. In repelling unprovoked aggression I wish them success in battle; I wish them success as an army in the field either as guerillas or as a standing army. These are my wishes for them, and I think I am as much entitled to offer up these wishes and aspirations on their behalf as Mr. Fox did in this House for the independence of the revolted American colonies. That was the language they held when they believed that aggressions of an intolerable character were being practised in your colonies. If those were the sympathies of your bygone statesmen in regard to a mere imposition of a tax on imports, how much more would it be the case here of men with whom you have made three solemn Conventions at different times; whose liberties and independence you guaranteed and whose country, on the colour and pretence of a miserable franchise, you have deluged with blood; whose population you have deported, and over whom, as a Governor, you propose to place a man who went out there determined to have this war, and who has now made the Transvaal a country of carcases and ashes, and whom you now propose to allow to wield the sceptre of power over the ruin he has made. At times there have been heard appeals made to common sense, and there used to be a voice in this House raised on behalf of right—the voice of Mr. Gladstone—that organ-voice which was raised in indignation against every wrong, whether it was in Armenia, Bulgaria, Greece, Ireland, or the Transvaal itself. Where is there such a voice to-day? We have the Liberal party, like petty Pontius Pilates, washing their hands of the guilt of innocent blood. If the Opposition were genuine, or really worthy of their dead Leader, they would have raised their voices to-night, not in the manner in which this debate has been conducted, against a war which was made in order that the Member for West Birmingham should have a feather in his cap, and in order that Sir Alfred Milner might be made the Governor over what is called a united South Africa. If the common voice of mankind has any effect on English opinion, it is a remarkable fact that there is not a civilised nation in the world which is in sympathy with the action taken by the English in the Transvaal; that, of course, gives no pause or stay to the policy that you have adopted. But some day, sooner or later, this nice question that you have raised about burning farms may come home to yourselves. We know, of course, that your fleet is very great and your army very powerful, but we have read of late of projects for the invasion of England. No doubt they are as old as William the Conqueror, but one day they may succeed—more improbable events have happened—and then the burning down of your beautiful mansions within ten miles of any of your south-coast railways will bring it home to your mind. Many people, I among others, yet entertain a superstitious opinion that there is a judgment of the Almighty for the deeds of nations as well as the deeds of individuals, and we may be content to wait God's own good time for the vengeance which is His.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): We have reached a time of the night when a debate assumes a particular phase, and when many hon. Members have unfortunately engagements or distractions elsewhere to which they wish to do full justice. Therefore I think it is right that I should at once express the view I take of this Amendment. It is an Amendment for which I may say that I am doubly responsible, because I quite agree with the action of my hon. friends who moved and seconded it in such an admirable way, while it also bears out the policy which I endeavoured yesterday to impress upon the House, and which I thought the Government ought to pursue. But we have had from the Secretary for the Colonies a speech which I at once frankly say is very much more favourable to our object than we anticipated. We had yesterday a most kindly and benevolent view of the question put before us by the First Lord of the Treasury, and he not only refrained from giving any definiteness to the excellent intentions he professed, but he refused to give that definiteness; and, therefore, I cannot say that he left the question from our point of view in a very satisfactory position. We had another speech, which we read this morning, delivered in another place, which certainly appeared to go in a diametrically opposite direction, because the Prime Minister said from his place in the House of Lords that in his estimation self-government would not be given to the inhabitants of these two countries for many years, and even for generations. If that was the best prospect held out by the Government of course it would be no inducement to us. But the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for the Colonies has practically accepted this Amendment—in fact, I would ask the Leader of the House whether it is not possible for the Government without derogation of its dignity to accept the words as they stand. The Government cannot, of course, accept a hostile Amendment enforced upon them by a vote of the House, but they can accept any Amendment which is to their own taste and according to their policy. If, however, the right hon. Gentleman does not incline towards the words, and if he has some objection of detail, I do not force the Amendment upon him; but we are left in the position that there is apparently unanimity on the main question in the House. We all think, as has been said again and again, that statesmen should have more to do in this matter in its present stage than the mere soldier. I do not wish to speak with any disrespect of the soldier or of the generals, but the political view ought to come into full play as well as the mere military view, and certain promises or expectations ought to be held out in the most public way to the men now in the field, to the population generally, and to the prisoners who are exiled, in order that they may know exactly what are the intentions, the benevolent intentions, of the people of this country and of the Government. The right hon. Gentleman went further, and sketched a future scheme of government for these two colonies. For the most part that scheme of government appeared to be very much what we should desire to see adopted, but I cannot accept it until we see its full details. We are not expected to do so; but, putting that aside, there was in the right hon. Gentleman's speech an acceptance of the general principle which we wish to enforce for the approval of the House and for adoption by the Government. I do not think that this ought to be left where it is. I think we have done good service in bringing forward this Amendment, because it puts in an explicit form that which is the general sentiment throughout the thinking and feeling men in this country. We have put it in that form, and the Government have accepted it; for I understand that that was a little more than a conversation across the floor of the House; it was rather a solemn acceptance by the Government. If we could read the feeling of the House of Commons, there was a unanimous acceptance of the principle embodied in the Amendment. In these circumstances I think it would be well that we should have no division, because we do not wish that we should appear to be divided on the subject. Although in some cases it is necessary to take a division in order to enforce some particular doctrine or theory, in this case what we ask has been conceded substantially by the Government, and therefore we should probably gain nothing by taking further steps in the matter. If my hon. friends are willing to withdraw the Amendment, I should be very glad if the House would give them leave to do so.

*MR. JOHN BURNS (Battersea) said, fourteen months ago this country entered into war with the two Boer Republics. He believed then, and his belief was the same now, that the war was due to a misunderstanding, that the misunderstanding was not worth war, and that the war might have been avoided by tact, temper, and arbitration. The House was told fourteen months previously that the war was levied neither for goldfields nor for territory, but for the purpose of enforcing equal rights for all white men. Those declarations appeared to have been forgotten by the right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary in some of the proposals he had just laid before the House. Into that war the British people had entered, against his advice and his strongest utterances in the district in which he had been born and bred, in a confident, light-hearted, and optimistic spirit. They were told that they would have their Christmas dinner in Pretoria; that the war was to cost £10,000,000, and that one army corps would suffice to teach the recalcitrant Boers that British rule was better than local self-government. The Government had been a year out in their calculations with regard to the time, £90,000,000 in cash; they had required six army corps more than it was expected would be necessary; and each successive general who had returned home had said, as previous generals had been saying months before, that the war was over. Yet the war still went on, and it was because he opposed this war in its initiation that he stood in his place in the House upon the first opportunity to protest against its continuing, and to tell hon. Gentlemen, inside the House and outside the House, who expected fourteen months ago that the Boer Republics would succumb in so short a time, that they were just as much out in their calculations with regard to the suggested scheme of the right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary, which had just been placed before the House, bringing peace and contentment to the Boers a year hence, as they were in their other calculations fourteen months ago. On the General Election he had emerged from the stormiest campaign which he had ever fought. He had fought the campaign, into the petty personalities of which it was not necessary to go, and won his election upon one issue and one alone. That issue was, "is this war necessary," and 6,000 London workmen, by returning him to Parliament, said "No." The one important question before the House at the present moment was the settlement of South Africa. That question he also put to his constituency, and 6,000 London working men, after fifty meetings, the like of which he had never held before, returned him to his seat for the purpose of demanding that the war should be brought to a termination upon the basis of giving these two Republics that independence which they formerly possessed; the self-government for which they fought and died; and the right to do as they liked with their own, and in which he wished them all success. He held that view when it was condemned and unpopular, and he held it now when the instinctive justice of the British people was beginning to prevail, and their inherent love of fair play was gaining ground now that the Rhodesian press had prostituted itself so far as to disgust even those who earned their livelihood by writing the lies which it contained. He believed that the people, now that they were sober and clothed in their right mind, if they were asked upon a perfect register to express their opinion, would support the views he put to the House of Commons. He disagreed with the Amendment. It was neither fish, flesh, fowl, nor good red herring. It was, in a word, but a note of interrogation to the Colonial Secretary. And he disagreed with the Colonial Secretary's response, which, as the facts would prove, was nothing more or less than a counsel of despair. It was a stopgap expedient that he had put before the House to tide over some temporary difficulties, and instead of bringing peace to South Africa and conciliating the Boer Republics, it would only retard and confuse a permanent settlement. It whispered settlement to the ear, but brought no hope to the heart of the men who had been so sturdily fighting. The right hon. Gentleman said, at the end of fourteen months, that he was prepared to do certain things in the future, as if there was no past to wipe out; but it took two to make a bargain. We had to hear what the Boers had to say to the proposals of the right hon. Gentleman, and unless he was very much mistaken—and he hoped he might be—he was perfectly convinced that the settlement would provoke instead of conciliate and would cause confusion where a more generous suggestion would have met with acceptance by the Boers. The proposal did nothing for the *personnel*, for those who had been governing Africa, or those who had taken a prominent part in the negotiations with the Boers. It left the *personnel* untouched and unchanged, and so long as that was the case, and the *personnel* which involved this country in the war was still stationed in South Africa, the war would go on. It was because he disagreed with the *personnel* in South Africa that he disagreed with the proposals of the Colonial Secretary, and he predicted them being an utter failure. There was one good feature in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, and one only, and that was its manly and conciliatory tone. And had the negotiations fourteen months ago been carried on by speeches couched in that spirit, and expressed in that mode, and the country educated before the event, it would have averted a calamity which had involved two nations in ruin, and we should not have had 12,000 of our brave lads' bones bleaching in South Africa, and should have saved the expenditure of £100,000,000. This war had damaged our prestige, and almost ruined our reputation as a just people. He welcomed the change in the tone and temper of the right hon. Gentleman. Apart from that there was another thing which might create a misunderstanding. The right hon. Gentleman, in his scheme, quite overlooked the fact that the Boers would never sacrifice that freedom for which they were fighting and dying like men. No one would suppose from the right hon. Gentleman's speech that we had 250,000 men at death-grips with 20,000 of the bravest guerilla troops that ever took the field against us or any other country. The right hon. Gentleman ignored that in his proposals How long was the military rule to last for the pacification of the country? For five or six years at least. After that there was to be an intermediate stage. How long was that to last? For another twenty years, after which was to come Crown colony government, and then the gradual devolution of municipal government in selected areas in which the Boers were not to have delegated right or personal right, but these delegates were to be nominated by somebody in Pretoria. He did not think that would suit the loyal Dutch, who had always been on our side, because it would mean not only martial law for the Transvaal and Orange Colony, but Cape Colony as well, as it was impossible to prescribe orders for any particular geographical area when the population was discontented and intermixed. The result would be a crisis in the political, social, and economic situation, with a fall in employment wages. There would be an increase of destitute white men from all over the world, who, sympathising with the Boers, would bring about a condition of things in which the last stage would be worse than the first. He objected to the scheme of the Colonial Secretary, because it appeared to him that the Boers, in order to get back to their peaceful occupations, would have to sacrifice everything they had been fighting for. That would not make for peace, or permanent settlement. The scheme was irreconcilable with the statement made by Lord Salisbury on the previous evening in another place, in which he had said that it would probably take a generation or two, perhaps several, to bring about a settlement in South Africa. He preferred in this matter to follow the judgment of Lord Salisbury rather than that of the Colonial Secretary, and he thought it was a calamity for this country that for the past five years the Colonial Office could not have been filled concurrently with the Foreign Office by Lord Salisbury, for then, in all probability, the war would not have occurred. This scheme not only conflicted with Lord Salisbury's statement; it was not in harmony with the statement made by the First Lord of the Treasury when he, with that considerate kindness which, during this war, he had conspicuously shown, put forward his views. But when the House was told that the war was to be prosecuted with vigour and unremittingly, and when they were told that it might take a generation or two before popular government would be secured, such statements precluded the possibility of any such settlement as that proposed by the scheme put forward by the Colonial Secretary. It was one of the main proposals of the right hon. Gentleman's scheme to govern the people of one country in their own country by another people who knew nothing about it. He wished to remind the House how it had been misled in all the Estimates brought forward with regard to the war, and to briefly mention what it was that we were engaged in. What were the facts with regard to this war? In November last our casualties were 3,739 men *hors de combat* in the month, or more than in many of the preceding months, not including 10,000 men suffering from enteric in our Cape hospitals. Two hundred and fifty thousand troops in South Africa, and more wanted. Those soldiers who had a right to be relieved of their military duties months ago were war sodden and wasted, horses were dying by the thousand, and moreover our soldiers were face to face with the state of things which was not such as they expected. The Boer was to be dirty, ignorant, and, above all, corrupt, the whole of which story had been done away with by the speech of the Colonial Secretary, who, after fourteen months, had said that the Boers were gallant soldiers and treated our wounded excellently well. He did not require to have £100,000,000 spent and 30,000 of his fellow-subjects to die to emphasise that fact. He might be taking a pessimistic view, but he did not think so. First of all, the whole thing was to be settled when we took Pretoria. Pretoria was taken in June, and there had been 25,000 casualties since we had taken the Boers' chief cities; we had lost more guns than we had ever surrendered to any former enemy, including those which we lost to America through a very similar blunder committed by a foolish king and a foolish Parliament 100 years ago. The whole of this had been done to give votes to men who did not want them, to confer a franchise on Uitlanders, who whenever they had no chance of fighting against us were trying to assassinate Lord Roberts. Those were the men for whom we had gone to war. Eleven of them had been recently arrested, and there was not a Dutchman among them. This was an interesting side-light on what occurred, and he ventured to predict that the casualities, many though they were when Pretoria was taken, would be nothing to what they would be three years hence, unless the war was settled upon lines which granted independence to the Boer Republics. What were the elements which ought to make for generous concessions in this matter? In the first place the European world was against us, as was also America, for the reason that 120 years ago York Town taught a lesson to a foolish king and a still more foolish Parliament who thought they could impose upon America what the Colonial Secretary's scheme sought to impose on Africa. They fought us and beat us, and Lord Chatham then, and he now was happy to say that we deserved defeat, and as a result there had been 120 years of hatred against this country, because the sense of injustice still rankled in their breasts. America was against us, and for the independence of the Boer Republics. Little Switzerland, which had always looked upon this country as a sanctuary where a man could speak the thing he thought, regretted the new diplomacy which had effected so wonderful a change in this country during the last few years. Belgium was also against us, France and Germany. With the exception of the Kaiser, there could not be found a German in the country who would accept the Colonial Secretary's scheme. The colonies were not with us; that is to say, they did not come because they thought the war was just, they came to save us from an Imperial disaster. We had tested them once with the Soudan, and then with this crime, and though the Government might attempt to summon the patriotic spirit from the vasty deep, a third time it would not respond. He believed that had the late election been fought on manhood suffrage and a new register the verdict would have been reversed. The Government had only obtained four seats as a result of the poll, though how those seats were obtained he did not intend to enquire. We could not afford to have the desolation of a country, the destruction of farms, and the deportation of population much longer. The hon. Member for the Ecclesall division of Sheffield said that it was all right. If the hon. Baronet had had a gun in his hand and been one of Rundle's half-starved troopers, and had seen farms destroyed of men he was beginning to respect, in order that Rhodes might be enriched——

SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: I saw it all except the increased riches of Mr. Rhodes.

*MR. JOHN BURNS: He knew what the hon. Member would have to do in such circumstances. He would be ordered to make a strategical movement to the rear in order that he should see nothing except what suited those in command. All this was going on, and what for? Because we were too proud to admit that we were wrong in this war. Whom were they going to allow to be the medium of conveying even the Colonial Secretary's scheme to the Boers? Sir Alfred Milner. He had great sympathy for a bold man struggling with adversity. He wished Sir Alfred Milner success in whatever the Government might ask him to do, if it made for permanent peace, but he did not believe they could achieve it through the man who had declared the policy of "Never again." He could not be liked by the Dutch, who knew that he found fun in shooting at a dummy of President Kruger at a shooting gallery. Until they minimised the political difficulty by having some one personally more acceptable to the Boers than Sir Alfred Milner they could not get any settlement, and they would have to fight right out to the bitter end. They might kill all the Boer men in South Africa, but so long as there was a pregnant Boer woman or mother left the struggle would go on even with women for many years. The 16,000 or 17,000 Boer prisoners some day must be released, and they would go back to where their hearthstones had been, where their desolated farms now were, and they would fight for them as our forebears fought for their liberties in Scotland nearly two hundred years ago, and as Irishmen fought for their homes in more recent times. If they thought that Sir Alfred Milner was going to destroy this spirit in the Boers they were mistaken. If the Colonial Secretary thought that exhausting and wasting war would make these men tractable he was greatly mistaken. He did not believe there would be any surrender for years. There would be no settlement short of independence, and until that was granted this war would go on. But whilst the soldier was doing his portion of the work the statesman should do his. He believed that a soldier should only be asked to do soldier's work. Officers and men had done their work, and they had earned their respite. The time had come when the soldier should have a rest, and when the statesman should begin, and when politicians should accept responsibility for the mischief which had been done, and extricate South Africa from the turmoil in which it was placed. It was most refreshing now to see how wisdom came after the event. We were going to give no compensation to the British colonists. If the right hon. Gentleman had only said that with regard to the franchise two years ago we should have had no war at all. We were to have a Crown colony, with Sir Alfred Milner as Governor. That was no suggestion at all. It was proposed that beyond being High Commissioner for a country larger than England, Scotland, and Ireland, he was to be Governor of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony. Why it was impossible. They were asking too much when they imposed this duty upon him. He was to have Lieutenant-Governors, and then there were to be executive councils. Who was to nominate these councils—Cecil Rhodes or Messrs. Beit, Eckstein, and Co.? The Government was under a delusion if they thought they could differentiate the treatment of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. They could not give them differential treatment. If they attempted it it would fail, because blood was thicker than water. They were to consult local opinion. Why consult local opinion now? Why did not they do it before this war broke out? Having burned their fingers they were now trying to save their arms. His answer to all that was, "It won't do." It would only illuminate the folly of the negotiations between this country and the Boers for the last five years. It indicated that we should have a complete change in our system of treating with them. If he had his way that change would be to have the Colonial Secretary out of his office at once, Sir Alfred Milner home from the Cape, and a cooler, wiser, more patient, and more tactful man sent to succeed him; and he should have a captain's guard put round Mr. Cecil Rhodes to-morrow morning, because so long as he and his rascals were at large in South Africa there could be no peace there. When he was on his trial here the South Africa Committee whitewashed him. The Colonial Secretary described him as a man of honour; and even to-day he was strong with the Government, as was proved by an extraordinary contract for guns with a German firm. They had heard that twenty-seven batteries of guns had been made for this Government. Who signed the order? Cecil Rhodes. How was it that the only criminal in South Africa was allowed to escape? The Colonial Secretary said he was going to consult legal opinion. Were Sir Alfred Milner's councillors to be the nominees of Cecil Rhodes, as they were? If so, there was an end to the prospect of peace in South Africa. Some would say, "The hon. Member for Battersea is not a politician or a diplomatist." If to act in the way certain people did he hoped he never would be. If to involve free countries in all the horror they had witnessed was statesmanship, he never wished to be a statesman. He wanted to see a settlement of this war. He wanted a better scheme than that suggested by the Colonial Secretary. He wanted the British people to recognise this fact: that anything short of independence would dissatisfy the Boers, would be unacceptable to the Orange Free State, and would lead to permanent chaos and ruin, and the ultimate loss to Great Britain of South Africa. The wisest, permanently safest, most generous, the boldest, and the proper thing to do was for this great country to say that the time had arrived when they should make some measure of reparation to these two small Republics. What was more, he believed that now was our opportunity. The Colonial Secretary said they were brave men and the world testified that they were in a military sense better soldiers than ourselves. Everyone recognised the superiority of Mr. Kruger as a writer of despatches to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham. We

Mr. John Burns.

were beginning the century with animosity and jealousy and suspicion upon this country because of its spread-eagleism" during the past six years. We could not afford to keep locked up in South Africa 250,000 of our soldiers for a cause that was not worth the death of a single grenadier, for an object which twenty years hence every Briton would be ashamed of having subscribed to. The present situation had arisen from a succession of blunders that any politician of ordinary ability might have avoided, and which posterity would curse us for having allowed this country to drift into against the sober judgment of the common people, and against the wish of our friends in all parts of the globe. He came straight from an election where he preached the independence of the Boer people and condemned this country for the action it had taken. For two months his wife and himself were subjected to treatment such as no Uitlander was ever subjected to in South Africa. He had for nine consecutive days to stand in the passage of his own door with one of Killick's best cricket-bats in his hand, resolved that he would fill his area with Rhodesian rascals and blackguards if they ventured to attack. Jew salesmen from Covent Garden and Billingsgate had engaged roughs to smash his windows and morally and physically intimidate him, but the better class of Conservative workmen were now endorsing the attitude he had taken up. He condemned the policy which was being pursued because he wished to see Greater Britain greater in the best sense of the word. He did not want South Africa to be a second America. He opposed their policy because he believed it to be fraught with danger and disaster to the British race, probably in the near future, and with threatenings of our pre-eminence as a great political people. He asked for the independence of the Boers to be restored to them, with equal rights for every white man. Until this was done this war would go on. The war was conceived in selfishness, begot in money, and pursued with ignorance and blundering of the worst possible kind. He wished to see all that swept on one side and freedom granted to the people for its own sake, instead of a scheme of government founded on the fraudulent demands of Throgmorton Street and the Stock Exchange rascals for whose interest this war had been fought.

*SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said he would not have spoken at the present time, but for the remarkable and fantastic speech to which they had just listened. Although the hon. Member for Battersea received the support of nearly 6,000 working men at the recent election, there were over 5,800 votes cast in the opposite direction. He wished to call the attention of the House to what the hon. Member had said with regard to the Uitlanders. The hon. Member seemed to be labouring under some extraordinary misapprehension as to the meaning of the word "Uitlander." He seemed to think that the Uitlanders in the Transvaal were what they would call "foreigners"—Italians, Germans, and Frenchmen—men of the nationalities to which the eleven men belonged who were deported for plotting against the life of Lord Roberts. The majority of the Uitlanders in the Transvaal were Britons, and the hon. Member had been guilty of a gross injustice to them when he said that they did not fight in the war.

*MR. JOHN BURNS: The only honest Uitlanders were the Northumberland, Durham, and Cornish miners who came home and would not fight.

*SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: There were 30,000 British Uitlanders in Johannesburg, and they were driven from the Transvaal by gross injustice before the war began, and from among these some of the most gallant fighting men were recruited. It was monstrous that they should be misrepresented in that House. The Imperial Light Horse, consisting of Uitlanders, had sacrificed their lives on the battlefield. They were the men who showed such splendid courage in the defence of Ladysmith—*e.g.*, British Uitlanders from Johannesburg. Many other corps, and especially mounted corps, made up of the same class, had shown great courage and skill in warfare, and had been of much service to our arms. He protested against the way in which the hon. Member for Battersea had thought fit to stigmatise these gallant men. He did not think it necessary to defend Mr. Rhodes in any detail.

*MR. JOHN BURNS: Will the hon. Gentleman quote the South Africa Committee's opinion of Mr. Rhodes?

*SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: No, it is not my business to quote the South Africa Committee's opinion of Mr. Rhodes.

*Mr. SPEAKER: I must remind the House that the question of Mr. Rhodes and the South Africa Committee is not before the House.

*Sir E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said he had had an opportunity, of which he was very proud, of accompanying Lord Roberts and the forces under his command, and he shared to the full the privations of the troops. He did not think the hon. Member for Battersea would have enjoyed the positions in which he frequently found himself. From his own personal experience he was able to say that Mr. Rhodes had been the life and soul of the defence of Kimberley, and had devoted much of his time to the relief of the starving population of that place and of the wounded, both British and Boer. When, owing to the loss of a convoy, the army before Paardeberg was almost starving, Mr. Rhodes collected every cart and wagon he could find and sent them out laden with provisions for the service of our Army. He protested against the language that had been employed that night against a man who was one of the greatest living Englishmen, and who had saved South Africa for this country.

*Mr. C. P. SCOTT (Lancashire, Leigh): I do not think that the House is greatly concerned to-night either with the character of Mr. Rhodes or the conduct of the Uitlanders. My own opinion of Mr. Rhodes is that we owe this war to him, because if it had not been for the Raid we should not have had the war, and, therefore, on him rests as great a responsibility as ever rested on any human being. As for the Uitlanders, no doubt, like other people, they have good and bad among them, and I agree with the hon. Member for Battersea that the best of them came home and refused to fight. We are face to face to-day not with questions of this kind, which are largely historical and personal, but with as great a political problem as ever any people were called upon to solve. What is it that we have got to do? I put aside the military question. Let us imagine—and it requires some stretch of imagination—that this war is at an end. What have we to do then? We have got to govern a people upon whom, for a good or a bad reason, you have inflicted the direst calamities, and from whom you have taken those things they value most in the world. We propose to do this at a distance of 6,000 miles from our shores, and not only that, but after you have travelled that distance by sea you have to travel 1,500 miles by land. How is it proposed that this country, great and resourceful as it is, shall permanently hold in subjection a people as brave, as stubborn in their love of freedom, and as true in their patriotism as ourselves? How is it proposed that we shall govern these people—I do not say to-day or to-morrow, but how are we going to do it permanently? That is the problem we have before us, and that is the problem which should have been present to the minds of our statesmen at every stage of the war. I rejoice at the marked and auspicious change of tone in the Colonial Secretary to-day. The right hon. Gentleman is necessarily a potent influence in the councils of the Government, and I hope we may look upon this change of tone, although we saw little to correspond with it in the utterances of his nominal chief, as pointing to what is to be the tone and temper of the Cabinet, and I hope also it is a reflection of a change of tone which has come over the councils of an even more potent influence in South Africa. We cannot expect a man after he has inflicted an infinite calamity on his country to turn round and say he has been wrong, but I do think it is a first sign of grace to see him speaking with decency and temper in this House of our opponents in this war. The right hon. Gentleman has accompanied that change of tone with the announcement of certain changes of policy, but I do not think those changes are very important. There was a gap in the course of development which he sketched out. He did not tell us how we were to start these changes. He told us he wished to grant, as soon as possible, municipal self-government—an excellent thing; that he wished to repatriate the exiled Boers—also an excellent thing; that he wished those whose farms had been burned, and whose means of livelihood had been destroyed, to be treated with generosity—another excellent thing; but he did not tell us how these things were to be brought about. The first thing these men want to know is, what is going to happen to them if they lay down their arms. Is there to be a complete amnesty? They want to know, secondly, how they are going to live in their own country. We are given no information upon either of these points. The right hon. Gentleman did not tell us that the leaders of the Boers now in arms could claim amnesty; on the contrary, he told us there were some of them to whom it would be unwise and impolitic to extend an amnesty. That is absolutely insufficient. Nothing short of a generous and complete amnesty to the whole of those in the field, provided only they will lay down their arms, will have any effect whatever. As to the repatriation of these poor people, how is it to be done? Obviously, it will be a very costly matter. It is all very well to speak of these farms as being but poor establishments. I dare say they are, but there are a great many of them, and there are not only the farms, but also the stock. The whole of South Africa is held in stock-farms; without the stock the farms are useless. You have swept the country nearly bare of cattle and provisions, and it will be no small matter to restore not only the houses but also the stock of these people to enable them to live. The very first thing a statesman has to do in approaching this problem is to decide who is to pay, and what is to be the machinery for re-stocking these farms and for putting the people back on the land. The right hon. Gentleman indicated that that was not a matter for which we were responsible, but that the colonies would be responsible. What does he mean by that? The colonies cannot pay until they have money. The Free State is a poor State; it will be years and years before it has enough to pay its way; it has no gold mines, and we robbed it of its diamond mines; it is a purely agricultural people, and what prosperity it had was obtained almost entirely by trade with the Transvaal, and the Transvaal is now ruined. Take the Transvaal. The Transvaal is a poor State if you regard it simply as an agricultural community; the only wealth it has—and what a curse it has been to it—is the gold. Gold can only be got at when the country is settled, and even then how long will it be before the mines begin to pay? Everybody will tell you that it will be some years before the gold industry can be got properly to work again, so that you will not get any money out of the Transvaal. That pre-supposes that the country is settled and that you have something like stable order, but before you can get that you must get rid of these bands of armed men. It is, therefore, a circle in which we are walking. It is perfectly idle to tell us that the colonies must pay. This country has got to pay, and it will get the greatest value for any money it has ever spent if the sending back of these people produces any degree of contentment in that devastated land. I am not very sanguine as to the future of these States. We have to deal with a people of indomitable spirit. When they do lay down their arms I think they will say to us, "Well, you have conquered us; govern us." They will have nothing to do with us or our Government, but will stand and bide their time; they will nurse the grievances, and the griefs, and the awful memories which we are burning into the national conscience and mind of that people. But we are bound to do what we can. The task may not be a very hopeful one, but we are bound to approach it, and so far from approaching it in the spirit of conferring some great favour because we are restoring some little portion of that which we have destroyed or taken away, we ought to be grateful for anything we can do to restore any approach to prosperity and any degree of contentment in that country. So far from taking a lofty attitude and thinking we are treating the people with generosity we ought to feel that we owe them an infinite reparation. [Ministerial laughter.] I am quite aware that that is not the opinion of hon. Gentlemen opposite. It is not to be supposed they would take that view, and I do not expect them to. If they believed, as I believe, that by this war they had inflicted the direst blow upon the Empire of which they profess to be so proud, that they had struck at every principle of freedom and of the rights of nationalities for which this country through history has been famous as the champion, that by the expenditure of £100,000,000 and the loss of thousands of lives they have only created a political problem infinitely harder than that which they had to solve before the war began, why, of course, it would be more than human nature could bear. That is why they dare not face the facts. That is why they shut their eyes to truths which are as palpable as the daylight. That is why they will go on groping in the dark. If they did but dare to face what is the truth there would be a little possibility that they might evolve some degree of order out of the chaos they have created. The problem, I admit, is a cruel and hard one. It is possibly insoluble; I think it may be insoluble; but at least we have got to try to solve it. For that task we must have a little courage. It is all very well to talk about courage in the field. That has never been lacking on the part of Englishmen. We now need something more than that, something more rare; we need political courage. I know there is real and grave danger in extending any large measure of political rights to a people just emerging from a cruel and devastating war. But there is danger in every course, and the only question we have to consider is which is the course with least danger and most honour. I say without hesitation that the only course consonant with honour, and at the same time the safest—though it is not free from danger—is to grant to these people at once a large measure of self-government, to run the risk, to give them at least a foretaste of what you say you have in store for them. What are these people to think when the Prime Minister states in the House of Lords that it may be generations before they receive this self-government? If we wait for generations, if we wait for one generation, what prospect is there that we shall ever be able to grant it? This thing will not grow easier, and unless we are prepared now and here to make a beginning I believe the time will never come when we shall feel it to be safe to extend to these people the liberties of which we talk so much, but are prepared to concede so little. We have reached one of the turning points in this long business, and I am glad there is at least some sign that the Government are prepared—and I trust the administration in South Africa are also prepared—to look at matters in a different light. But it is useless to indulge in mere generalities and the expression of good intentions. [Ironical Ministerial cheers.] Well, if hon. Gentlemen think I have been too general I shall be only too delighted if they will give me the opportunity of being more particular. You have got to approach this matter in a broad and courageous spirit. It is not for me—the House would not listen to me if I did—to draw up an elaborate scheme of self-government. I would say this, if you begin with a Crown colony you will end with a Crown colony. You will never get any further. But I suppose the matter is past praying for. We shall doubtless muddle along as we have muddled along before, but I do not think we shall get from our political muddling much more advantage than from our military muddling. Unless we are prepared to offer something more than mere vague assurances, and to offer definite terms and conditions to the individual who will surrender, and to the whole of these armed bands, including the leaders, and also to give them some immediate instalment of self-government, so that they may see we are in earnest, we may as well give up the whole business, and simply rely upon force. The powers of this country are almost unlimited, and the spirit of our people is so great that we are prepared to go through any calamities rather than surrender in a cause which we believe to be just and necessary. [Ministerial cheers.] I am quite prepared to credit hon. Gentlemen opposite with holding that conviction. All I appeal for is that they will endeavour to look at the facts fairly and squarely. Every day disproves some prophecy to which they have given credence, and shows that they have miscalculated every military, moral, and political force with which they had to deal. It is now time that they should try to realise things as they are in order that they may not plunge the country further into an abyss of disaster and disgrace.

*MR. KEIR HARDIE (Merthyr Tydvil): I am one of those who have been saying things outside the House about the war because I happen to hold strong opinions concerning it. I am opposed to all war in the abstract. The civilisation and the Christianity of the nineteenth century should have produced some other method of settling disputes than an appeal to brute force. But apart from that general predilection, I am opposed to this war in particular on two main grounds; first, because I convinced myself, by as careful a study as time and circumstances would permit, of the literature relating to the history of South Africa, and of the conduct of the negotiations which preceded the war, that the war was unnecessary and unjust; and, secondly, because I also convinced myself that the war would have an effect the exact opposite of that intended—that so far from extending the Empire the inevitable result must be the curtailing of the Empire. You cannot build up an Empire of free peoples by force. You may hold coloured races and undeveloped peoples in subjection by force, but you cannot hold Europeans, with all the strength which an agricultural life gives, under the conditions existing in South Africa. It is not a question of the Transvaal which is now at stake. We are face to face with not only the possibility but the probability of the loss of South Africa. The Dutch of the Cape, it will not be denied, were loyal subjects of the Queen previous to the outbreak of the present war. To-day, as one old Dutch clergyman expressed it, they are loyal because they are compelled to be. There is all the difference in the world between a loyalty held by compulsion and a loyalty the outcome of respect, esteem, and affection. If the war in the Transvaal cost nothing else than the loss of the loyalty of the Cape Dutch, that would have been a price far too great to have paid for any advantages the Transvaal is likely to bring. I have special pleasure in having the opportunity of being in the House on the evening which marks the beginning of a new departure in our South African policy. Like preceding speakers, I could have wished, since a change had been agreed upon, as it evidently had, that it might have been a more generous change. Much has been said as to the encouragement which those holding my own opinions concerning the war have given to the Boers to continue fighting by expressing their sympathy with them, but I venture to submit to the House that even if all that has been said in that respect be true it has not given one tithe of the encouragement to continue fighting which the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary to-night will give. When the news filters through that at length the Cabinet has condescended to abandon its rigid attitude of unbending determination to insist upon unconditional surrender on the part of men in the field, the predominant feeling in the minds of those men will be the old military maxim, "Keep the enemy on the run." They will feel that they have gained half their battle, and that they only require to continue fighting long enough to achieve the end they have in view. But apart altogether from this view of the matter, I regret exceedingly the method which is to be adopted to have the new proposals brought under the notice of the men who are still fighting. It seems that the old policy is to be continued of sending out semi-authorised messengers, male and female, to beg and appeal to the leaders of the Boers to surrender their arms. Failure has attached itself to that policy in the past as it has to every other undertaken by the Government in connection with the war, and failure must again dog the footsteps of any like attempt. The tributes paid to the Boers to-night and last evening convinced the House, if it required convincing, that the men who are in the field against us are not merely men of courage but men of honour and self-respect. They are fighting probably as much for the principle of being treated as men as from any other cause. These men are patriots in the fullest sense of the word. You ought to ask for an armistice between the contending forces to enable the terms of peace to be discussed. If the House desires, and if the Government desire, that the Boers shall cease fighting; if they desire to give the new terms an opportunity of being considered on their merits, the Government should go the length of declaring to those men now in the field an armistice for one month to give the terms an opportunity of being considered. If it is said that that would compromise the dignity of this nation, my reply is that, with regard to this war, the nation has no longer any dignity to compromise. In the end the war must come to this, and the sooner this advice is accepted and acted upon the better it will be for ourselves and for them. Some things have been said to-night concerning the conduct of the war, especially in relation to the burning of farms. But before I pass on to that question I should like to call the attention of the occupants of the front Government Bench to two questions in connection with the administration of affairs in South Africa, to which I shall ask for an explanation. There is first of all the statement repeated over and over again—and, so far as I am aware, it has not yet been officially contradicted—that conscription is being enforced at Johannesburg. I desire to know upon what authority Sir Alfred Milner is enforcing conscription upon British subjects as a condition to being allowed to return to what is nominally British territory. Is he acting according to law, and, if so, what law? If Sir Alfred Milner is not acting under law, I wish to know will he be prevented from taking one more downward step in his mad career? A great conference of the Dutch people has recently been held at Worcester, and we have been told that a great number of troops have gathered in the locality to preserve the peace. Those who, like myself, take part occasionally in labour disputes know exactly what that means. In this case not only have the troops been called in to preserve the peace, but cannon have been mounted on all the surrounding hills commanding the open space in which the meetings are being held. And why? These people are British subjects. They are meeting together unarmed, as they have a constitutional right to do, to discuss matters of grave public importance affecting them and affecting us, and why do we permit this insult, this incitation to rebellion, to be held out to these men as is done by the mounting of guns in the manner I have stated? I will now pass to the other part of my remarks, chiefly with regard to the burning of the farms. I want to submit to the House that, in this regard, as in some others, the proclamations of Lord Roberts and our other generals, if not illegal, at least are contrary to the provisions of the Hague Convention for the carrying on of war between civilised countries. Article 4 of that Convention provides in regard to prisoners of war—

> "All their personal belongings except arms, horses, and military papers, remain their property."

*Mr. SPEAKER: If the hon. Member looks at the Amendment he will see that a discussion as to whether the war has been carried on according the provisions of the Hague Convention does not come within the terms of the question before the House, and is not relevant.

*Mr. KEIR HARDIE: I thought that, as several other speakers had been allowed to go rather wide of the subject, the same licence would have been granted to me. I do not know that I have any more to say in regard to the terms of settlement. I feel very strongly with regard to the opinion expressed by some of the previous speakers that this war will not end short of the restoration of independence to the two Republics. There is one feature of the proposed settlement to which I should like to call attention for a few minutes. We are told that there is to be a distinction between the form of Government offered to the Transvaal Republic and that which will be offered to the Orange Free State. We have not been told why this distinction is to be made. In the Orange Free State there are no gold mines, and no mine speculators to dictate the terms of peace and the form which the Government of the country shall assume. In the Transvaal, the men who forced the war upon the nation will see to it that when the settlement comes, in so far as they can affect that settlement, it will be in their interest, and thus we have a fresh incentive to the Boers to continue fighting to the bitter end. One further statement made appertaining to the settlement was that of giving compensation to the Boers whose farms have been destroyed. The right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary has stated that he believes the numbers in regard to farms destroyed have been very much exaggerated, and that the farms are not of much value. So far as my information goes—and I have tried to find out the truth—the number of farms burned in the two States number between 1,200 and 1,500. The hon. Member for the Ecclesall Division of Sheffield has told us that most of these farms would cost very little to rebuild. If that be so, then the cost of compensating the Boers would not be so great as has been stated. But there is another side to this question. The war is now costing us £1,500,000 per week, and it may drag on for months. Now one month's cost of the war would more than compensate all the losses sustained by the destruction of property. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer desires to study economy he should support this proposition to pay compensation, if by that means the war might be brought to an end. I do not think I have any more to say in regard to the settlement, although I shall, later on, have more to say on other aspects of the war, for I have no intention whatever of modifying the views which I have given expression to outside of this House simply to meet the convenience of hon. Gentlemen inside the House. I believe that the nation was lied into the war, bluffed through the war, and tricked into endorsing the policy of the war before it had time to recover its sanity. We have been told that the war was undertaken in order to "wipe something off a slate," but unless a better settlement is proposed we shall have to put something else on to the slate. All that has been wiped out up to the present has been the finest act of moral courage that was ever shown by a British statesman in settling a question of international politics. If those who support the Boers on both sides of the House had but the moral courage and the insight of the late Mr. Gladstone, who knew the right and had the courage to do the right in the face of public clamour,

our troubles in South Africa would grow less, and the outlook there would not be so gloomy. I will conclude by saying that I am delighted to find that the party opposite, with its big majority, is beginning to see a glimmer of the fact that the Boers cannot be defeated, and the British Empire, with all its power, has pitted itself in vain against the people of those two Republics. What you are dealing with are men, and not machines, which have been demoralised, debilitated, and degraded by a bad system of commercialism. They were free men, and they are people who love freedom. I shall therefore endeavour inside the House, as I have endeavoured outside, to so educate the nation to my views that even the strongest Government of modern times—which is already weak at the knee—will be compelled to concede to these two Republics the only form of settlement which can be accepted by them, and that is the complete restoration of their independence.

*MR. EMMOTT: I think it is generally agreed that the reply of the Colonial Secretary has been so sympathetic in tone and so generally satisfactory that it would be a pity to divide the House on the Amendment which I have moved. I have therefore pleasure in accepting the advice of the Leader of the Opposition, and I ask the leave of the House to withdraw.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Main Question again proposed.

BRITISH INTERESTS IN CHINA.

*MR. JOSEPH WALTON (Yorkshire, W.R., Barnsley): I rise to propose the Amendment to the Address standing in my name. Having regard to the grave crisis still confronting us in the Far East, it appeared to me incredible that neither in the speech of the hon. Member who moved the Address, nor in the speech of the hon. Member who seconded it, was there the slightest reference to the situation in China. Although Parliament has been called together in special session for the sole purpose of providing the necessary money for the carrying on of military operations in South Africa and in China, even the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury concluded his speech and sat down without making the slightest reference to the important crisis with which we are face to face in the great empire of China. It is true that when the right hon. Gentleman's attention was called to this grave omission he did make some slight reference to the question. He said: "Oh, yes; papers will, I suppose, be laid on the subject of China. Meanwhile, I do not know that there is anything bearing on policy to mention, or upon our military operations, the digest of which was thoroughly explained to the House when the former Vote was taken." But since the House separated a great deal has taken place in China. We have had the Anglo-German Agreement concluded. The object of that agreement is stated to be the desire on the part of Great Britain and Germany to maintain their interests in China and their rights in existing treaties. It sets forth in that agreement that—

> "It is a matter of joint and permanent international interest that the ports on the rivers and littoral of China should remain free and open to trade, and to every other legitimate form of economic activity, for the nationals of all countries without distinction; and the two Governments agree on their part to uphold the same for all Chinese territory as far as they can exercise influence."

If the Anglo-German Agreement conferred equal rights and privileges upon both of the contracting parties then, speaking personally, I should say that it was a step in the right direction. But when we come to examine that agreement, and try to gain some knowledge of what is meant by the maintaining of their rights and their interests in existing treaties; when we come to interpret that by the language used by Count von Bulow in the German Reichstag, we find that it does not confer equal rights and privileges. Count von Bulow said—

> "It is our desire, and it is our intention, to stick to the basis of the Treaty of 6th March, 1898, and not to go beyond this Treaty."

When we remember that that is a secret treaty between Germany and China, and that it has reference to the great province of Shantung, with its 30,000,000 of population, then we begin to see and wonder whether those equal and mutual rights throughout the Chinese Empire are secured to England as well as to Germany under this Anglo-German Agreement. The full details of the agreement between Germany and China have not yet transpired, but we do know that that agreement secures for Germany exclusive preferential rights in the matter of railway construction and industrial and commercial enterprises. When this Anglo-German Agreement was announced to the world, the two Governments sought to get the adhesion and the concurrence of the several great Powers interested in China to the principles laid down in that agreement which I have cited. If I may be allowed, I wish to offer my congratulations to the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs upon his appointment to that most important and responsible position, in which I am certain he will give his most conscientious and earnest efforts to the duties with satisfaction and benefit to the Empire. We need in this House more information in regard to the present commercial and political situation in China, and I would ask the Under Secretary to-night to give, as far as he can, information to the House in regard to the several matters which I am now raising. I wish to know how far the Anglo-German Agreement and the seeking of the assent of Russia to the principles laid down in that Agreement affect the Anglo-Russian Agreement concluded some time ago, which conceded to Russia exclusive rights in the matter of railway construction north of the Great Wall of China, and which equally conceded to Great Britain similar exclusive rights in the matter of railway construction in the Yang-tsze region. Under this Anglo-German Agreement we accord to all the nations of the earth who become parties to it equal rights with ourselves in the matter of railway construction, in the undertaking of industrial and commercial enterprises, and trade generally by what we know as the open door. Therefore, it appears to me that so far as the assent of Russia to the principles of this Anglo-German Agreement is concerned, and to the policy indicated in it—the policy of equality of trade and of territorial integrity in China—I am afraid those principles are evaded by the fact that it is only a partial obligation with Russia under her existing treaty rights with China. She will enjoy preferential rights in the great districts of Manchuria on the one hand, and Germany will continue to enjoy preferential rights in the province of Shantung on the other hand. Therefore, as far as we are concerned, all this Anglo-German Agreement does is to give away something on the one hand, and receive nothing back for it on the other hand. We have accorded to all the nations of the earth equal rights in our special sphere of influence, whereas we have confirmed by this agreement preferential rights in favour of Germany in Shantung, and in favour of Russia in Manchuria. We have had, on the part of France, a general statement in favour of the open door. On the part of the United States of America we have had a declaration which, I venture to say, is of the most satisfactory character. It is a clear and definite announcement of a policy which I hope will be followed by Her Majesty's Government. The American policy in regard to China is stated to be—

> "To seek a solution which may bring permanent safety and peace to China, preserve Chinese territorial and administrative entity, protect all rights guaranteed to friendly Powers by treaty and international law, and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Empire."

That is a declaration of policy which represents exactly what Great Britain desires to have in China, and I only hope that there will be concerted action on the part of Her Majesty's Government, especially with the United States of America, in furtherance of this just and equitable policy. Now the Americans also hold a strong view in regard to the question of indemnity. It appears to me that it would be a short-sighted policy on the part of Her Majesty's Government if they supported Germany, or any other nation, which makes excessive demands in the matter of financial indemnity from the Government of China. It is of much more importance to us that in the settlement of the China question which concerns us to-day, we should have such a rearrangement of commercial treaties as would give the Chinese Government a largely increased revenue that would enable them to pay their officials properly, and thus prevent the necessity of them appropriating funds passing through their hands. We could very reasonably ask China to allocate a certain proportion of money for the improvement, under an international Conservancy Board, of the great commercial arteries of China, the great waterways, by the removal of obstructions to navigation. Not only this, but we should have as one of the main conditions of the final settlement in China the opening of the inland waterways of that great Empire freely and completely to the trade of all nations. We well know that it was announced in this House with a flourish of trumpets that an agreement had been come to with the Chinese Government that the inland waterways of China were to be opened so that British ships could take British goods to every riverside town and station in China. But now it is within the knowledge of the House that that agreement, so excellent as it appeared to be, has proved to be practically a dead letter. When the late British Minister at Peking was entertained before he left England, he spoke very strongly of the great advantage of the opening of the West River to the trade and commerce of Great Britain. I have just received a communication from one leading commercial firm interested in trade on the West River, which states that owing to the restrictive regulations and differential treatment accorded to British vessels on the West River, the shipping companies of Hong Kong have withdrawn all their vessels and have sold them, and that that has left the British flag practically unrepresented in these waters. That is a very serious position of affairs, commercially considered, for the British subjects who have invested a considerable amount of money in the building of steamers especially to conduct commercial operations on the West River. What I would urge upon Her Majesty's Government in connection with the settlement which they have to make in China is that their best endeavours should be used, so that the opening up of the inland waterways to trade should be fully accomplished on just and equitable lines, in order that the trade of the civilised world with the Chinese Empire may be developed and increased, and that we, as Britishers, may enjoy a fair share of the increase which is possible in connection with that trade. There is another question that I should like to refer to, and regarding which I desire to have as much information as the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs is in a position, with due regard to the public interest, to give to the House. It is the question of the railway from Tong Ku, through Tientsin to Peking, and from Tong Ku to Shan-hai-Kwan and Niu-chwang. It is within the knowledge of the House that this railway was built with British capital, and that the original agreement which gave to those who advanced the money a mortgage over the line which was being constructed from Shanghai towards Niu-chwang was, by the intervention or interference of Russia, altered, so that by the agreement with Russia the security of British investors was limited to that portion of the railway south of the Great Wall of China. What came to many as a great surprise was that Her Majesty's Government should in some way or other have so weakly upheld the rights and interests of British subjects that the manager of that railway and his officials have been entirely pushed on one side, and that the railway to-day is under the control of Russians and Germans. Though we understand that in case of military exigency some arrangement of this kind might be temporarily necessary, what I cannot understand is the information which comes to me that the Russians have actually painted engines bought by British capital in the Russian colours; that they have altered the names of the railway stations and signal cabins into the Russian language, and any person travelling to-day over the railway would naturally regard it as a Russian line. I hope that the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs will be able to reassure us that this control by Russia of that railway is a very temporary matter, and that the Government have received the fullest assurances that when military exigences disappear the railway will be restored to the control of its rightful owners. A telegram appeared in *The Times* on December 4th, which stated that by the imperative order of the Czar the Russians were handing over the Shan-hai-Kwan Railway to the Germans. If that is so, it may be a convenient way of having the railway passed over to the control of the late manager and the officials under him. That would be a very satisfactory ending to this matter. I only desire to have information on this very important question because I cannot forget that the Russians interfered and altered the terms of the contract under which money was advanced to the Chinese Government for the construction of this railway, and that the Foreign Office took a note of the transaction and allowed the fact that it had taken a note of it to be introduced into the prospectus on the strength of which the British public were asked to invest their money. Therefore, in regard to this railway, there rests upon Her Majesty's Government a special responsibility to support the just rights and interests of British subjects who have invested their money in it. I do not say that they have not taken all reasonable steps to uphold these rights and interests, but that at the present moment we are without information on the subject, and it is information, so far as it can be given, that I desire. Not only are the Russians in control of the Shan-hai-Kwan line, but it is also reported that they have transported railway material and rolling stock bought with the money of British investors to Manchuria, and that they are utilising it there for their own purposes. There is another question upon which I should like some information from the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and that is the question of the Niu-chwang. It is the only treaty port, unless we consider Talienwan a treaty port, that there is in the great province of Manchuria, where there are enormous possibilities of trade expansion. With Niu-chwang British subjects already do a trade amounting to £3,000,000 sterling a year. What has happened there? I may say, Mr. Speaker, that one advantage of the trip I recently made to China is that though we have had no Papers laid on the Table of the House for months and months, I have had weekly letters from the best informed men in various parts of China, and I am in a position to know something of what has been occurring in Manchuria, in Peking, in the Yang-tsze Valley, and in Southern China, beyond, perhaps, what is in the possession of any other Member of the House. What happened in Niu-chwang? We had it from the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs last night that the Boxers were active in the neighbourhood of Niu-chwang, and that there arose a military necessity for the Russians to enter on the military control of Niu-chwang, and that they were justified in assuming the civil administration of the city. But all I can say is that the treaty consuls in Niu-chwang drew up a strong protest against the action of the Russian military authorities in attacking a stockade without their knowledge and sanction. What were the facts with regard to the attack of the Russians on Niu-chwang? The Russian soldiers opened fire without any attack whatever having been made upon them by the Chinese soldiers, who were men lent by General Hu to the taotai of Niu-chwang, and who had been the garrison in that stockade ever since the time of the Chino-Japanese war. The Russians attacked that stockade, they shelled the city of Niu-chwang, and I have it from residents in Niu-chwang that but for the strong intervention and protest not only of the foreign residents in Niu-chwang but even from the Russian residents themselves, the inhabitants of the city would have been practically massacred by the Russian soldiers. One letter stated that the Russian behaviour was simply revolting, and that had it not been for the intervention of the English and of a few Russians there would have been a general massacre in Niu-chwang, and that in the villages round innocent people had been killed and violated on all sides. I am sure that in view of information like this the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs will modify his view as to the origin of the Russian occupation and administration of Niu-chwang. Another letter from one of the most responsible merchants in Niu-chwang states that the Russian soldiers, especially the Cossacks, were worse than wild beasts; that women were butchered, that children three or four years of age were bayonetted, and that men, women, and children were slaughtered indiscriminately. When demands are made on China for the cutting off of the heads of generals and high officials I would have it remembered that at any rate there are many Europeans who are not in a position to throw stones at the Chinese. The accounts which I have read are from men on the spot, who know all about what has taken place, and whose statements I can confidently rely upon. With regard to the assumption of the civil and military administration of Niu-chwang I have already read to the House the fact that the treaty consuls protested against the action of the Russians, which was taken without any consultation with the consuls of the other Powers, who have equal treaty rights with Russia. The following proclamation was issued by Vice-Admiral Alexieff on the 9th of August, 1900—

> "I have the honour to inform you hereby that Mr. Ostroveskhow has been intrusted with the temporary civil administration of the city, with the title of Civil Administrator, this appointment to be submitted to Imperial sanction. Mr. Ostroveskhow has received from me the necessary directions for this purpose, as well as written regulations. . . .
>
> "Captain Clapier de Colongue is appointed Commandant of Niu-chwang. He will command the garrison, and have charge of the land and river defence of the city. The details of this organisation are exposed in special regulations for the provisional administration, and Mr. Ostroveskhow will not fail to communicate them to you in due time."

This was done without any previous consultation whatever with the consuls of the other Powers enjoying equal rights with the Russians in the treaty port of Niu-chwang. The House will notice that the appointment of the Russian Civil Commissioner was made subject to the sanction of the Russian Government, and not subject to the consent of the consuls of other Powers. It will be seen that the necessary regulations for the civil administration of Niu-chwang by the Civil Commissioner were to be framed by the Russian admiral on his own initiative entirely. The House will also notice that the proclamation announced the appointment of a Russian military commandant to take charge of the city, and that the detail of this organisation was exposed in special regulations which had been drawn up by the Russian admiral without any consultation with the other consuls. Thus the House will see how completely the British Consul at Niu-chwang has been ignored by the Russians, and that this important treaty port, with which the British Empire does a trade of not less than three millions sterling annually, has passed not only under the civil administration, but also entirely under the military control of Russia alone. The merchants of Niu-chwang repeatedly telegraphed to the admiral on the station to send a British gunboat to Niu-chwang to uphold the just rights and interests of England. A gunboat was eventually sent, but it remained in Niu-chwang only two days, and with its leaving the power of the British residents to uphold their rights and interests naturally suffered. Then as to Manchuria itself, it is known that the Chinese have been invited by the Russians to resume the civil administration of Manchuria under Russian protection. Now the question is, what does that mean? My own belief is that Russia to-day is in military occupation of Manchuria, and will remain in military occupation of Manchuria for all time. What we have to face is the fear that the Anglo-German Agreement, contravening as it does, as far as Russia is concerned, the Anglo-Russian Agreement, and the principle of the open door or equality of opportunity for trade, and for undertaking all commercial and industrial enterprises equally on the part of all nations in China may be rendered applicable to only a portion of China. I hope the interpretation which I have put upon that agreement may be shown by the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to be a mistaken one. It is supported, however, by the evidence I have and by the policy declared both in the German Reichstag and also in the French House of Assembly and by the references in the German press which state that the agreement is not intended to cause Germany to interfere with Russian aims and aspirations in Northern China in the slightest degree. We have a considerable number of troops in Northern China. We have nearly 20,000 Indian troops in the whole of China, and we are told we have some 7,500 troops in Northern China. What I should like to know is, when the Government is seeking from this House further money for the conduct of operations in China, why it is that these 7,500 troops in Northern China were not occupied in protecting the property of British subjects instead of being engaged in pursuing companies of Boxers all over the country? This question of the upholding of our just commercial and political interests in China is no small question. We have been told by the late Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in answer to a question, that a total foreign trade of £70,000,000 sterling is done with the Chinese Empire, and that the British Empire has not less than £43,000,000 sterling of that trade. We know that with a population of 400 millions—almost a quarter of the world's population—in China there is practically, under proper conditions, an almost unlimited possibility in respect of the extension of trade. We have heard a great deal since Parliament met about South Africa. I recognise the difficulty that Her Majesty's Government have had to contend with in that country. I recognise and do not wish to minimise how crippled they have been in regard to dealing effectually in the matter of upholding our just rights and interests in China by the fact that at least 200,000 soldiers are locked up in South Africa; but though our soldiers are locked up in South Africa I say it is discreditable to us, doing as we do more trade with China than the whole of the other nations put together, and professing as we do profess that with the naval forces at our command we have control of the seas of the world, that our naval force on the China station to-day is only third, instead of first, in point of power. And if our soldiers are kept in South Africa supporting our interests there, I say it is neglect on the part of Her Majesty's Government that our naval force in

China was not equal to the occasion, and that when our interests ought to have been upheld in such an important commercial centre as Niu-chwang that port was left for months together without even a gunboat. I think when the House is now asked to find this money for the conduct of operations in China that we have a right to require that Her Majesty's Government shall give us an assurance that more adequate measures will be taken to uphold our vast commercial interests in that great empire, and that in connection with the settlement which we hope will be speedily arrived at Her Majesty's Government will take care that no unjust demands are made on the Chinese, who, after all, have shown themselves patriotic. The Russians and the Germans have seized Chinese territory, and can we blame the Chinese when, even under the name of Boxers, they band themselves together and endeavour to expel the intruders? We know that when the allied forces entered Peking, practically unresisted, most shockingly disgraceful outrages were perpetrated by the so-called civilised and Christian forces of Europe. Therefore, I say we are not in a position to throw stones at the Chinese, even though they have treated missionaries and even women in a manner which we must all deplore. I hope, however, that in the settlement which Her Majesty's Government have to effect they will make no demands on the Chinese for the decapitation of generals or high officials in that empire. We ought to seek to include in that settlement measures to advance the commercial interests of this country by the opening up of China to trade. Our policy ought to be as was announced by Her Majesty's Government, the preservation of China for the Chinese and the opening up of their country equally to the trade of all nations. I am sure that if Her Majesty's Government pursue that policy and exercise a wise moderation in their action and attitude towards the Chinese in this particular crisis they will have the support of the whole British nation irrespective of party. I beg to move the Amendment which stands in my name.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE (Bristol, E.): The importance of the subject and the extent of the operations which have taken place in China deserve a rather more lengthy reference than was made either in the Queen's Speech or in the remarks of the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The fact that the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs only referred to one isolated part of these operations is all the more remarkable, because in the Parliaments of the other countries chiefly interested——

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Viscount CRANBORNE, Rochester): Why were not questions put to me?

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE: In each of the foreign Parliaments the Minister responsible for the Foreign Office availed himself of the opportunity afforded by a question having reference to one or two matters to dilate at some considerable length on the policy which his country had thought fit to enter on with regard to the position in China. The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs did not take any such opportunity, and it is, I say, all the more remarkable because the Ministers of other countries had dilated on their policies at considerable length. In the German Reichstag the Minister not only made a detailed and lengthy statement of what the German policy was going to be, but in the German House of Representatives a memorandum was issued dealing at great length with the objects with which the German expedition had been sent out. It was stated, first of all, that the policy of the German Government would be directed to promoting the interests of Germany; no matter what might be the interests of other countries, that particular attention would be given to the interest of German commerce generally, and that particular care would be taken of German mining and railway interests. These promises have been practically fulfilled to the letter. A very few weeks ago the Germans entered into what we have always regarded as our particular sphere of interest—the Yang-tsze Valley—and appointed consuls for commercial purposes in that region. While we have always claimed almost exclusive interests in the Yang-tsze Valley, the Germans have been very particular in refusing to acknowledge our special influence in that region. But the German Reichstag is not the only House of Representatives in Europe in which Chinese policy was declared during the last few weeks. Take the French Chamber of Deputies. M. Delcassé went out of his way not only to state at great length

French policy in China, but he also detailed at considerable length the military operations in which the French troops were engaged. We in this country have been obliged to be content with despatches sent from the seat of war relating to more or less isolated achievements of the troops themselves, whereas the French people are told not only details of the engagements in which the French troops were concerned, but also what the future military operations were to be. No such information has been given to this House, either when the expedition went out to China or when the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs spoke on Thursday. But the French Foreign Minister has even gone further. Not only has he told the French Chamber what the French Government are going to do, but he has made a special proposal to the allied forces in China as to what the policy of the Concert of Europe should be. The principles of that proposal were four in number: that proper reparation and punishment should be dealt out for past offences, that adequate compensation should be paid, that such offences should not take place in future, that sufficient indemnity should be paid for the losses sustained by European residents in China, and that a sufficient force should be retained to prevent the recurrence of the late unhappy events. The British Government have given no indication beyond the Anglo-German Agreement to the Concert of Europe as to what they propose to do. The French and German Governments have each laid down their policy, and America has not been behind in that respect. The American President in his address dealt at very great length on the policy of the American Government with regard to China, and I cannot for the life of me see what considerations there are which can prevent the English Government following suit in this matter. I wish to draw attention to the circumstances under which the Vote was granted last session. The Chancellor of the Exchequer asked the House to vote him three millions of money, and he divided that sum into three portions—one portion amounting to one and a half million was to be devoted to the expenses of the war—the second portion of half a million was to provide for any contingencies which might arise with regard to the expeditions from India to China—and the third portion of one million was to be what he termed his second line of defence. That line of defence has been swallowed up by the expense of the present expedition, and I think it is worthy of notice by this House that the same want of provision which prevailed with regard to South Africa has also been noticeable in connection with the Chinese expedition. Everyone will admit that the despatch of forces was imperative, but I venture to submit that an approximate estimate of the cost of the expedition was not less imperative. Certainly, pledges were given on the 2nd of August last as to what the policy of the Government should be with regard to this expedition. We were told that we were to maintain a leading position in China due to our past position in that country, to the enormous trade we did with the Chinese, and to the general interests which we had in the development of Eastern countries. I do not think that anyone who has listened to the hon. Gentleman, and who has closely followed what has occurred in China during the last four or five months, can contend that we hold a leading position in the Concert of Europe. We were also told, and it was a very curious contrast, that while on the one hand we were to hold the leading position in China our policy was to be a negative one. If the Government have not carried out the first part of the policy laid down by the late Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, there is not the slightest doubt that they have fulfilled to the letter the second part. We were also told that the Government would resolutely oppose any partition of China. That was satisfactory as far as it went, but as a matter of fact, portions of China have been already dealt out to various countries. We have taken possession, at great cost to ourselves, but with no result to our policy, of Wei-hai-Wei. There is not a gun mounted there. One of the forts we were to build is only half finished, and the other does not contain any defensive armaments at all. Russia has practically occupied Manchuria, that occupation being, according to themselves, only temporary. Twenty years ago an expedition was sent from this country to take "temporary" possession of Egypt. We are still in Egypt, and twenty years hence Russia will still be in Manchuria. What we ask is that what has been done by Germany, France, America, and Japan should be done by this country, and by a responsible Minister. There is grave danger lest the prolongation of negotiations should lead not merely to the dissolution of the European Concert, but also to the dissolution of European peace.

Amendment proposed—

"At the end of the Question, to add the words—'And we humbly represent to your Majesty that it is essential that more adequate measures should be taken for the safeguarding of the vast commercial and political interests of the British Empire in China; and we further humbly submit that no demand should be made on the Chinese Government for the punishment of Chinese officials which would not be equally imposed in the case of a European Power, and also that reparation should be sought in increased facilities to trade rather than by a money indemnity.'"—*(Mr. Joseph Walton.)*

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

*VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: The hon. Gentleman who has just sat down has complained very much that the Government have taken no opportunity to make a general statement with regard to their policy in China. It was not my good fortune to trouble the House of Commons with my presence very much in the last session, but from the usual channels of information I gathered that the subject was not absolutely ignored during those months, and by referring to records I find my right hon. friend who preceded me in this office made a statement as late as 9th August, and a very long and detailed statement a few days before that. It is really going a very long way to complain of the silence of the Government in respect of their policy in China. The hon. Gentleman expressed surprise that I had not taken an opportunity to make a general statement of policy. I will be quite frank with the House. I do not think that this is a suitable opportunity for making a general statement of policy. If any hon. Member desires information, of course it is my duty to answer him to the best of my ability. That is what I am here for. But I am also entitled to imagine that if no hon. Gentleman does ask me a question it is because everyone feels, as I do, that the present moment, when negotiations are pending, is not the moment to go into detail with regard to what is passing in China. The hon. Gentleman pointed to the utterances of foreign statesmen. I do not think that this House has anything to learn from the French Chamber, but if the hon. Gentleman will examine the statements made by French statesmen he will find, as a general rule, that their utterances are of a very general character, and when looked at very closely do not amount to very much. The hon. Member quoted with approval the observations of the German statesman who said that the German Government would study the interests of Germany. If that is anything, I will repeat the statement in this House, and say that the English Government will study the interests of England. I do not think any hon. Gentleman doubts that for a moment. I am afraid, therefore, that my observations must be of a very general character. With respect to Niu-chwang, I did not say last night that there were great popular disturbances I said that the Boxer propaganda had reached there, and that there were considerable disturbances. I said that the missionaries had retreated there, and that the railway officials had been driven back within fifteen miles of the city. That may be said to have constituted a state of things in which military operations might be necessary. The hon. Member for Barnsley says that I declared that those operations were thoroughly justified. I was very careful not to express an opinion on the subject. I am quite aware that differences of opinion may exist on that point; but it would be very rash, without further information, to condemn the action of the Russian officer in command. The hon. Gentleman said that England had been ignored in this matter, but he himself told us that the English representative in company with the representatives of the other Powers at once approached the Russian officer.

*MR. JOSEPH WALTON: My statement was that the proclamation assuming for Russia the military and civil administration of Niu-chwang was issued without the slightest consultation with the consuls of the other Powers.

*VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: I know that when representations were made to the Russian officer he told the representatives of the other Powers that the occupation was a purely temporary one, and would in no way prejudice the rights of other Powers. How can it be said, therefore, that

England was ignored? Why should hon. Gentlemen try to embitter matters by bringing charges which I do not think can be substantiated? The hon. Gentleman also asked me questions on many other matters of detail. I venture to think he was engaged in what was quite a legitimate proceeding in pressing his views on the Government, but it is not possible for me to tell him what will be the outcome of the railway difficulty in China. I myself am not entitled to take anything but a sanguine view, but I certainly cannot tell the hon. Gentleman what will be arranged finally as a result of the concerted action of the Powers with regard to that matter of the opening of the waterways and the adjustment of the revenue. I believe the hon. Gentleman is an authority on these matters, and if he seeks to lay his views before the Government I can assure him that they will receive every consideration. He has spoken of the great political and commercial interests of England, which he says ought to be safeguarded. We are doing our best for the commercial and political interests of England, and being, as we are, a great commercial country, the first and far away the most pressing matter is to restore tranquillity in China. That tranquillity can be restored alone by the concerted action of the Powers. We have proved by experience that concerted action is possible in the course of the recent military operations. I do not deny that there are difficulties about concerted action, but I venture to say that the difficulties of concerted action diplomatically pall before the difficulties of concerted military action. Yet we have succeeded in carrying out most difficult military operations by concerted action among the Powers with the result that in a very brief period, relatively speaking, the Legations at Peking were relieved. But concerted action must be undertaken, in the first place, in a spirit of conciliation—a spirit rather different from that which my hon. friend the Member for the Ecclesall Division of Sheffield applies to these subjects. The hon. Member who moved the Amendment said he wondered why British troops, instead of looking after the Boxers, had not been engaged in defending British interests in China.

*MR. JOSEPH WALTON: In protecting the property of British subjects in the first instance.

*VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: It is only by adopting a very conciliatory attitude that we can hope to obtain the result we desire—namely, the restoration of tranquillity in China without loss to British interests. No doubt this must be accompanied by a firm determination to protect British interests. I do not deny that, but what right has the hon. Gentleman to suppose that this firmness is not being displayed? The hon. Member declares that he knows this that and the other, and he hopes, perhaps, that he may draw from me a detailed statement, but I must disappoint him. It is not possible for me to go into details to justify the action that has been taken. I repeat, the restoration of tranquillity is the first and most important way of preserving the commercial position of England. The next most important way is by preserving the territorial integrity of China, and I stated last night that the Government have done their utmost to effect with the other Powers the safeguarding of that integrity. Perhaps it would have been wiser if the hon. Member had awaited the Papers which I promised to lay on the Table before he went further into the matter. Lastly, there is the other method of protecting the commercial interests of Great Britain—there is what is called the policy of the open door. There, again, he knows that in the Anglo-German Agreement steps have been taken, perhaps not very great steps, but distinct steps forward, in placing on record in the most formal manner that the English Government and the German Government and the other Governments who have adhered to that agreement are determined to make one of the main planks in their policy the maintenance of the open door in China. I say, therefore, that the Government have been engaged, and I think with some success, in studying the highest commercial interests of Great Britain in that country. The hon. Member is in such a hurry. He thinks all this can be done so quickly and so easily. Of course that is not the case. He must be content, I am afraid, to wait for the very slow, but I hope effective, development of the policy in which the Government are engaged. Then, at the end of his Amendment, he says that no demand should be made on the Chinese Government for the punishment of Chinese officials which would not be equally imposed in the case of a European Power. I think that is asking far too much. If the Chinese Government are to be treated like a European Power they must behave as a European Power. We know perfectly well that they have committed the greatest outrage, and in a manner which no European Power would think of for a moment. I refer to the fact that they have absolutely ignored the sacred character of diplomatic envoys, and have, in a time of peace, allowed the Imperial forces of the Chinese Government to unite with rebels in order to bombard the envoys of friendly Powers. That is not behaving like a European Power, and it is quite impossible to treat a Government which behaves like that upon the same footing on which a European Power would naturally be treated. I think that the European Powers are well advised to exact just and due reparation for the wrong which they have sustained. If the Chinese Government expect to be treated in any other way they must behave differently. Before I sit down I might be allowed to say that I hope to lay the Papers on the Table on Monday, but they are not, as I said last night, complete. We have not had time to arrange and publish a full Paper, but I have no doubt the House will forgive that. With regard to the Anglo-German Agreement, that will be laid on the Table together with the answers of the Powers as soon as the necessary leave from the foreign Powers concerned has been obtained. That I look for in a few days.

*SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: I think the noble Lord quite misunderstands my attitude on questions of this kind. I may be mistaken in my estimate of the correctness of my own views, but perhaps I see a little further ahead sometimes than the members of the Government, and I wish to prevent them from entering on courses which may have very serious results to this country. That is my view of the Concert of Europe. I do not uphold the so-called Concert because I am opposed to other Powers protecting their own interests. Very far from it. I object to the Concert because I believe it has no real existence, because I believe it cannot exist, and never has existed, and that, as in China, it has only led us into a position of enormous peril, where we and other Powers are day by day in danger of coming into collision. The House is to be congratulated on the two speeches which we have heard from the other side of the House. I wish, as a member of the Conservative party, and as one professing Imperial views, to congratulate the House on having two Radical Members able to make speeches so full of useful knowledge and intelligence as the speeches which have been delivered by the hon. Member for Barnsley and the hon. Member for East Bristol. I am sure that every hon. Member who listened to these speeches will agree with me in my estimate of them. They dealt with questions of enormous interest to this House and the country, and for my part I am very grateful to the hon. Gentlemen. I do not propose now to criticise the foreign policy of the Government in China. I am aware that we must wait for further information, but I will say this, that the Chinese question is at this moment of infinitely more importance to this country than the South African question, because the South African question is, in my opinion, practically settled. The Chinese question is of infinitely more importance than the miserable personalities on which a great part of last night and to-night have been absolutely wasted. I have never known the time of the House more wasted than it was by the speeches delivered last night, and I am sure it is of more advantage to this House and to the country that we should have subjects of real importance brought before us as we have had to-night. The noble Lord assured the House that the Government were protecting British interests, and challenged us to show any case in which the Government had failed to protect British interests. I am rather sorry that he made that challenge, because——

It being Midnight, the Debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed upon Monday next.

Whereupon, in pursuance of the Order of the House of this day, Mr. Speaker adjourned the House without Question put.

Adjourned accordingly at one minute after Twelve of the clock, till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, 10th December, 1900.

VISCOUNT MOUNTGARRET.

Petition of Henry Edmund, Viscount Mountgarret, in the Peerage of Ireland, claiming a right to vote at the elections of Representative Peers for Ireland. Read and referred to the Lord Chancellor to consider and report thereupon to the House.

EARLDOM OF NORFOLK.

Petition of Henry, Duke of Norfolk, Earl of Arundel, Earl of Surrey, Earl of Norfolk, Lord Maltravers, Lord Fitzalan of Clun and Oswaldestre, and Earl Marshall and Hereditary Marshal of England, Knight of the Most Honourable Order of the Garter, praying their Lordships that he may be permitted to appear and be heard before this House and before their Lordships' Committee for Privileges by his counsel and agents in opposition to the claim of Charles Botolph Joseph Lord Stourton to the dignity of Earl of Norfolk, and that he may be at liberty to cross-examine such witnesses as the said claimant may produce, and to lodge a printed case and to produce such evidence in contradiction of any evidence that may be produced by the said claimant and also such evidence at will support the Petitioner's right and title to the said dignity, as the Petitioner may be advised to be material for the protection of his rights and interests, and that their Lordships will be pleased to allow the Petitioner reasonable time after the delivery of the case of the said claimant to prepare his case and evidence; read, and referred to the Committee for Privileges.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION.

I. (Proceedings.) Return for the month of September, 1900.

II. (Judicial Rents.) Return for the month of April, 1900.

COMMERCIAL TRAVELLERS.

Reports received from the Indian Government and the Governments of Her Majesty's Colonial Possessions respecting the Regulations in force in India and the Colonies with regard to commercial travellers, and the treatment of their patterns and samples.

SOUTH AFRICA.

Proclamations issued by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts in South Africa.

TRADE REPORTS.

I. Annual Series: No. 2540. Belgium (Trade of Ghent for the year 1899).

II. Miscellaneous Series: No. 543. Commerce in the Netherlands.

CHINA No. 4 (1900).

Reports from Her Majesty's Minister in China respecting events at Peking.

Presented (by Command) and ordered to lie on the Table.

AUGMENTATION OF BENEFICES ACT, 1863.

Return of proceedings under the Lord Chancellor's Augmentation Act, from August 15th, 1892, to December 6th, 1900. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and to be printed. (No. 5.)

SUPERANNUATION.

Treasury Minute, dated November 17th, 1900, declaring that Mr. Alexander MacDonald, Commander of the Cruiser "Viligant," under the Fishery Board for Scotland, was appointed without a civil service certificate through inadvertence on the part of the head of his department.

POST OFFICE TELEGRAPHS (ANGLO-FRENCH PRESS TELEGRAMS).

The Telegraph (Foreign-written Anglo-French Press Telegram) Regulations, 1900, dated November 13th, 1900.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

FUTURE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN: My Lords, seeing the noble Earl the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies in his place, I wish to ask him a question, of which I have given him private notice, with regard to the future administration of

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

South Africa. It has been stated in another place that the administration of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony will be vested in the High Commissioner for South Africa. The High Commissioner being at this present time Governor of Cape Colony, I wish to ask whether in the future arrangement of South Africa it is intended that her Majesty's High Commissioner shall continue to be Governor of Cape Colony, or whether the Government of that colony will be constituted independently of him.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (The Earl of ONSLOW): My Lords, I do not think the noble Earl has quite accurately interpreted what was said by the Secretary of State for the Colonies in another place. It is not quite accurate to say that the High Commissioner in South Africa will be the Administrator in the two new colonies. The noble Earl is, perhaps, aware that hitherto the Governor at the Cape has also been the High Commissioner of South Africa, and the commission so appointing him has applied not only to the High Commissioner but also to the Deputy Governor who might be appointed by him whenever he was absent from Cape Colony. The High Commissionership of South Africa and the Governorship of Cape Colony will no longer be in the hands of the same person—that is to say, Sir Alfred Milner, who has been appointed personally the High Commissioner of South Africa, is at the present moment also Governor at the Cape, but at present Lord Roberts holds the commission for the administration of the two new colonies which have been annexed to the Crown. As soon as Lord Roberts leaves South Africa, those powers will, by a dormant commission which Sir Alfred Milner now holds, devolve on Sir Alfred Milner, but he will not be Governor of the two new colonies until such time as Her Majesty has been pleased to appoint him to that post. When he has been appointed as Governor of the Transvaal, with a Lieutenant-Governor of the Orange River Colony under him, he will then, and only then, cease to be Governor of the Cape. When that may be depends, of course, upon circumstances, and I am not able to fix the date when that occurrence will take place, but it is certainly not intended that the office of High Commissioner of South Africa and that of Governor of Cape Colony should be held by Sir Alfred Milner at one and the same time.

TREATMENT OF INVALIDED COLONIAL SOLDIERS.

EARL CARRINGTON: My Lords, I rise to call the attention of Her Majesty's Government to the fact that wounded and invalided colonial soldiers who have been brought from South Africa to this country by the Government to recruit their health, are being sent back to their respective colonies as steerage passengers in mail steamers; and to ask whether some more suitable accommodation cannot be provided for them. Early in October last 170 wounded and invalided colonial soldiers arrived in England from South Africa, having been sent home—I am speaking under correction—in order to relieve the pressure on the military hospitals out there. They were men of all sorts and conditions — squatters, graziers, mining agents, bank clerks, dentists, riding masters, and the sons of Government officials. On October 11th the Government sent back to Australia in the Royal Mail steamship "Ormuz," of the Orient line, ten of these wounded and invalided Colonial Volunteers. When they got on board they found that the accommodation was not what they had been given reason to expect, and they sent to me, as honorary secretary of the Temporary Loan Fund for Wounded and Invalided Colonial Soldiers in London, the following letter—

"R.M.S. 'Ormuz,'
"October 13, 1900.

"SIR,—On the expiration of our furlough we reported at the Colonial depôt at Shorncliffe, and arranged to return to Australia. We were all distinctly led to understand that the War Office would arrange second class passages home for us, as the Canadians were receiving such. On our arrival at the ship we were met by a non-commissioned officer, who informed us, for the first time, that we were to travel steerage, thus depriving us of an opportunity of arranging ourselves for second class; in fact, one of us had at the office expressed his willingness to pay the difference, if it were needed, and was told that 'everything was arranged as he wished.' Many of us were invalided to England, mostly after enteric, and need special dieting. In England, through the magnificent hospitality of the public in this direction, we managed to obtain it; but here we have to eat food which is healthy and good for a strong man, but hardly suited for a weak stomach. There was no medical examination prior to our departure to see if we could manage the ordinary fare.

Undoubtedly we shall feel this in the Red Sea. By cable to Gibraltar or Marseilles it could be arranged for the special dieting of us in the second saloon, our sleeping accommodation being quite comfortable. We hardly consider it right to be expected to diet in a way which is certainly not suitable after enteric fever."

This letter was signed by a corporal and two troopers of the New South Wales Mounted Infantry, two men of the Western Australia Mounted Infantry, two men of the Victoria Mounted Rifles, two men of the Australian Horse, and one man of the Ceylon Mounted Rifles. As secretary of the Fund I at once telegraphed to Messrs. Anderson and Anderson, representing the Orient Company, as follows—

"Kindly put invalided Colonials on special dietary and comforts of second saloon. Responsible for all expenses."

By return I received this letter from Messrs Anderson and Anderson, viz.—

"My Lord,—We have telegraphed to the commander of the 'Ormuz' at Gibraltar that the colonial troopers on board the steamer, for whom third-class passage was ordered by the Admiralty, are to mess and rank as second-class passengers. It will be necessary for the men to retain their third-class sleeping berths, as all the second saloon cabins are let. The difference between the third-class fare and the lowest second saloon fare is £17 3s., but, as we wish to treat the Colonial Volunteers in a liberal manner, we shall be happy to halve this amount, and to accept £8 10s. per man in settlement."

The Orient Company have very generously supplied all the men who have gone back in their ships with second-class bedding in the third-class berths. I also received the following letter, signed by the ten men—

"On our arrival at Gibraltar we were welcomed with the pleasing news that the desired change had been effected with regard to our travelling, and we now wish to convey our thanks. After twelve months campaigning we naturally are not so fit as when we started, but owing to your very kind interest we will now have six weeks comfortable and enjoyable travelling to recruit."

On 10th November I received a telegram from Sergeant Williams, of the Australian Horse, in which he said—

"On behalf of Australians on board 'Ortono' please accept my very warmest thanks. Being treated excellently."

One of the men of the New South Wales Mounted Rifles (O. A. Duffy) wrote—

"On board the 'Omrah' we are treated very well indeed. The sleeping accommodation is third class, but as we enjoy all the privileges of the second saloon, with the use of the smoke-room and deck, we find no cause for complaint."

Three other Orient vessels have left since then with colonials, and have been personally inspected by Sergeant McDonald, of Kitchener's Horse, and honorary secretary of the Lord Mayor's Fund, who reported that everything had been done for the comfort of the men. The last contingent that went out left, I think, on Saturday. Amongst them was Sergeant Legg, who belongs to one of the best Australian families. I knew the family very well when I was Governor of New South Wales. Sergeant Legg was, with Sergeant McDonald, presented to the Queen at Windsor Castle, and received Her Majesty's gracious thanks for the way he had fought for his country. He is one of six brothers, all of whom volunteered, and one of whom, I believe, has been killed. Though extremely unwell, he would have been sent back as a steerage passenger had it not been for another private fund, out of which he was provided with a separate cabin and other comforts. So much for the Orient Line. I then communicated with the Allan and Dominion Lines, and received a letter from the managers of the latter, in which they say—

"We have pleasure in informing your Lordships that we have carried in our steamers recently several contingents of wounded and invalided men of the Royal Canadians from Liverpool to Quebec. We have made special provision for them, and have supplied them with superior third class accommodation, giving them, in most respects, second saloon privileges, and we are advised in each case that this arrangement has given perfect satisfaction."

That is to say, third-class accommodation was provided for them by the Government, but through the generosity of the Dominion Line, they have been supplied with second-class accommodation. The Allan Line have shown similar generous treatment. They write—

"Although paying the lowest rate of passage money, we have placed the invalided Canadian soldiers in special compartments where they have been quite equal to the second-class passengers. We also gave instructions that they were to have cigarettes, tobacco, and a reasonable amount of malt liquor without charge. We assure your Lordship that we shall continue this treatment to all parties of returning Canadians who are entrusted to the Allan Line of conveyance."

I thought it my duty to bring the subject before the House of Lords at the earliest opportunity, because I was perfectly certain that it would not give satisfaction to the House, any more than to the nation at large, to know that these gallant men were sent home, a distance of 12,500 miles, packed like herrings in a barrel, with steerage diet, while they were far from being in a strong state of health. I would like to ask what would be said in Australia if, when these men arrived at Adelaide, Melbourne, or Sydney, the thousands of their fellow-countrymen assembled to welcome them, saw them crawl, under-fed and overcrowded, out of the steerage of one of the Royal Mail steamers. I submit that the amelioration of the conditions of their voyage should not have been left to private charity and the generosity of the steamship companies, but should have been undertaken by the Imperial Government, which has availed itself of their services. I believe this is simply and entirely a case of mismanagement, and I have a confident hope that the Government will put an end at once to this state of things.

*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Lord RAGLAN): I am sorry to have to disagree with the noble Earl in his view of this question. The expression "steerage" is a somewhat unfortunate one, for I have to point out to the House that the men have a third-class passage on board these steamers. Every man has a bunk in a cabin, and the dietary is plentiful and varied. I am informed that the third-class passage on these steamers is extremely comfortable. These men have been brought home as invalids from South Africa in order to relieve the pressure on the base hospitals and the convalescent homes in South Africa. Wherever possible the men have been sent straight from South Africa to their homes, but where this course was not possible they have been brought to England. The men are not really invalids; in far the greater majority of cases they have recovered their health and strength, and if they have not entirely recovered they are, at least, far advanced towards convalescence, and therefore it is no great hardship to ask them to travel third-class. Where a man is considered to be in a delicate state of health and needing more attention and perhaps more luxury, he is provided with a second-class passage. If these men, on account of their superior social position, are to be given a second-class passage, the same reason would apply to the men of many other corps, such as the Imperial Yeomanry and the City Imperial Volunteers. There are men in the ranks of the Army of a superior social position, and it is impossible for anything to be taken into consideration except the rank of the men in the Army. The men, therefore, for whom the noble Earl has pleaded have been sent home in the class of rank to which they are entitled; and I do not see any reason for an alteration.

*LORD MONKSWELL: My Lords, I must say that I am profoundly disappointed at the tone of the reply of the noble Lord to the question of the noble Earl behind me. It does appear to me that something should be done when the War Office discover that there has been a failure to consider, what at all events our colonial troops themselves regard as their absolute needs in the matter of health. I feel that we should not be doing our duty if we did not dissociate ourselves entirely from the view taken by the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for War. The provision for these colonial soldiers ought not to be left to private charity. To look after these men is the duty of Her Majesty's Government, and if some care had not been taken of them the neglect would have amounted to a public scandal in the minds of the people of Australia.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: My Lords, I regret that the answer of the noble Lord was not more sympathetic. The noble Earl did not raise the point as to there being any objection to these men travelling third class. He does not object to their occupying third-class bunks, and is quite willing to admit that the food given to the third-class passengers in these ships is admirably suited for men who are in a strong state of health. He did not at all assert that they did not receive sufficient food. What my noble friend contended for was that they should receive the particular food and comforts necessary for their weak state of health, because at the best they are but convalescents. They would not have received the special comforts and the special forms of food had it not been for the efforts of the association of which my noble friend is president. I should like to take this opportunity of inviting the Government to turn their attention generally to the manner in which our troops, colonial and otherwise, are being brought back from the seat of war. I daresay there will not be a great deal of complaint from the men themselves. They will be so glad to be getting home that they will be willing to put up with any hardships or discomforts, provided they are landed once more on their own shores. Ten days ago I went on board one of the recent transports, the "Hawarden Castle," which brought home the Royal Canadian Regiment, the Household Cavalry, a battery of Horse Artillery, and other troops. What was the condition of that vessel? The "Hawarden Castle" is not a new ship, neither is she a large one as vessels go nowadays; but there were, in round numbers, 1,300 men on board, packed, to use the noble Earl's expression, like herrings in a barrel. What do your Lordships imagine was the boat accommodation for these men in case of accident? Avowedly there was accommodation for 400 to 500 only. In the course of the boat drill, which was very properly carried on from time to time, provision was made so as to allow the married men to go on board the boats first, because there was not room for the larger proportion of men on board. The condensers of the ship broke down in the course of the voyage, and the men had to fall back on the supplies of mineral water on board. The electric lighting apparatus also broke down, and for ten days the only way of obtaining light was by means of small candles. In my judgment this is not a very creditable state of things. I am sure that it only needs the attention of the authorities to be turned to a state of things like this to ensure that there shall not be a repetition of what took place on board this ship on other ships carrying colonial and British soldiers. The things complained of by my noble friend are not fit things to be left to the charity of private individuals. There has, however, been too much disposition on the part of the Government throughout the last twelve months to take full advantage of every subscription which has been supplied by the public. The proper care of our soldiers in time of war should be a matter for Government expenditure, and the duty should not be left to private individuals. I am sorry that the noble Lord's first answer to a question in this House was not one showing greater sympathy with our wounded and invalided colonial soldiers.

THE EARL OF ABERDEEN: The Under Secretary for War seemed, in his reply, to admit a great deal of the case submitted by my noble friend. I refer to the statement he made to the effect that where there was an apparent need for special treatment in the case of invalided soldiers they were given second-class accommodation. That is the point on which my noble friend wishes to rest his case. No doubt the troops as a whole were prepared to rough it in time of war, but when their health is seriously impaired by hardships and exposure there is a need created not only for some exceptional treatment, but for better accommodation. This is all that my noble friend has urged on the Government. I think, moreover, that the medical officers should be encouraged to ascertain the true position of affairs, and to invite representations in this direction, so that our soldiers should not be placed in a position of appearing to be over-particular. Everyone knows that this is not the spirit of our soldiers, colonial or otherwise. They are anxious to bear themselves in the way that genuine soldiers should, and they are slow to let it appear as if they are not easily pleased. I think the House is indebted to my noble friend for bringing the subject forward, and I feel that careful precautions ought to be taken to see that none of these men are deprived of special comforts or consideration if in any sense they can be considered deserving of them.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of LANSDOWNE): I entreat the House to believe that noble Lords opposite do not enjoy a monopoly of sympathy with those gallant soldiers, or of the desire that they should be treated, not only in the most considerate manner possible, but with every degree of comfort procurable when they are returned to the countries of their origin. I thought that the noble Lord (Lord Monkswell) somewhat misrepresented—no doubt unintentionally—what fell from my noble friend the Under Secretary, who was far, indeed, from admitting that the War

Office pleaded guilty to failure in this case.

*LORD MONKSWELL: I thought he ought to have admitted that the War Office was in the wrong.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: No such admission was made.

*LORD MONKSWELL: My point was that the noble Lord should have made the admission.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: He made no admission because there was no failure to admit. Though we are at one in desiring that this question should be treated in a proper manner, I regret that the noble Earl who introduced the subject should have described the case in a somewhat highly-coloured way, and in the misleading language which he employed in the course of his speech. He imported a great deal of prejudice into the argument by constantly referring to the word "steerage." No doubt in the minds of ordinary people steerage passage suggests something of the extremely sordid and squalid kind we have seen described in the novels written perhaps forty or fifty years ago. Things have changed a great deal since then. These men were not given by any means the lowest scale of accommodation on board. They were given what is known as superior third-class accommodation. I remember having occasion to look into the matter, and I think I am right in saying that there are two classes below the class in which the colonial soldiers travelled; and it is quite unfair to describe them as having been "packed like herrings in a barrel." It is a great pity that the noble Earl should use language of that kind. In the letter which the noble Earl read, the writer admitted very frankly that the sleeping accommodation was good. How is that consistent with being "packed like herrings"? The noble Earl must know that such hyperbolical statements are mischievous and unfair to all concerned. The diet was complained of, not because it was insufficient, unwholesome, or bad, but because it was not suitable to some of the men who were recovering from enteric. That is a fair point, and I think it is conceivable that some of the men may have required special medical comforts which ought to have been given to them. Having some knowledge of this subject, I can assure the House that this matter has not been dealt with in the callous spirit which the noble Earl attributes to the War Office. While I was still connected with that department, this question was thoroughly gone into by the Quartermaster General—Sir C. Mansfield Clarke—a most thoughtful and painstaking officer, who reported to me that the accommodation secured for the colonial troops was excellent, and infinitely better than that which would have been given on an ordinary trooper. Lord Tweedmouth raised the general question, which is, of course, a very much larger one, and I do not propose to go into it. But I do not wish this discussion to close without pro-protesting against the highly-coloured language used by the noble Earl, and against the assumption that my noble friend the Under Secretary had admitted that there had been any failure or neglect on the part of the War Office.

*LORD STRATHCONA AND MOUNT ROYAL: My Lords, I should like to say a word on this subject. I have no doubt that there have been some shortcomings with regard to the accommodation provided, as was inevitable having regard to the very large number of men who had to be provided for. If that is so, it is well that the matter should be brought to the attention of the Government; and I am sure that in future there will be no cause to complain. I myself have heard that in some instances the accommodation was not such as was expected by the colonial troops; but, on the whole, the men certainly did express satisfaction.

EARL CARRINGTON: I must express deep regret that the first public utterances of the Under Secretary for War—a soldier himself, and the bearer of an honoured name—should have been of so unsympathetic a character. The noble Marquess has drawn a great distinction between steerage and third-class; but though I have travelled a great deal about the world I have never heard of such a distinction. This "superior third-class accommodation" is a new thing to me. If the men had some superior treatment, it was due to the generosity of the steamship companies.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: The noble Earl must forgive my rising to correct him. There are three classes of third-class accommodation perfectly well defined. The men were given the best of the three at the outset, and not because of any pressure brought by the noble Earl or anyone else.

EARL CARRINGTON: I am certainly learning something. But it remains true, and you cannot get out of it, that the wounded and invalided Australians were sent back third-class or in the steerage; and that, I consider, is not proper treatment for the men who have been fighting for their country. The Under Secretary said that the men were extremely comfortable, and were not invalids.

*LORD RAGLAN: I said that these gallant men were technically invalids, but that they were fully restored to health and strength.

EARL CARRINGTON: I only wish that the noble Lord had seen the men for himself. I will give the House one instance. A Victorian, name Carey, who is at the present moment an inmate of Lady Carrington's Convalescent Home, and who was ordered to travel in this "superior steerage," had a temperature of 104deg. I telegraphed at once to the Agent-General, and the man was allowed to remain. I am afraid to say what would have happened to him if he had returned. There were other men who were in great pain, and some who had been shot in the head, and some who were recovering from enteric. Not a few were so weak that they could hardly get about. The noble Lord said that second-class passages had been provided for some of the men. For how many?

*LORD RAGLAN: If it were considered that a man required special attention, he was given a second-class passage.

EARL CARRINGTON: The noble Marquess the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs began his speech with one very self-evident proposition. He said that we on this side did not enjoy a monopoly of sympathy for these gallant men. We have never claimed that monopoly; and I was particularly careful to say that I believed the fault was to be attributed to departmental mismanagement and not to the Government. It has been far from my intention to use misleading language; but I am so disappointed with the answer given to my question, and I know that it will have such a bad effect in the colonies, that I shall move on an early day—"That this House disapproves of the arrangements made by Her Majesty's Government in sending back invalided and wounded colonial soldiers"; and I shall certainly take the sense of the House on the motion.

LORD BURGHCLERE: I only wish to intervene in this debate for the purpose of putting one question to Her Majesty's Government, which, if the answer is satisfactory, will help to clear up the point at issue. Was any medical examination made by the War Office before these men embarked, so as to ascertain if there were any invalids in the condition described by my noble friend behind me? If not, then I really think there is a case against the War Office on that head.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: These men were all despatched from the depôt at Shorncliffe, and it seems to me fair to assume that they were medically examined before they were allowed to leave. But the point is one on which I think the noble Lord is entitled to a categorical answer, and if he will repeat the question we shall be prepared to answer it.

LORD STANMORE: I am not sure whether our gallant colonial troops will thank the noble earl for the advocacy which he has put forward on their behalf. To require special treatment for the sick is one thing; but to complain that the colonial soldiers were provided with third-class passages is quite another thing. The colonial troops would hardly thank the noble lord for demanding that they should have totally different treatment from that which Her Majesty's Regular soldiers and Volunteers and Yeomanry receive.

*LORD STRATHCONA AND MOUNT ROYAL: I must say that, in my opinion, there ought to have been no necessity for supplementing from private sources, or from any other than public funds, what was required for the proper accommodation of colonial forces returning to their homes. Whatever may have happened in the past, I am sure that the Government will see that there shall be no ground for complaint in the future.

House adjourned at a quarter past Five of the clock, till tomorrow, half-past Ten of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, 10*th December*, 1900.

Several other Members took and subscribed the Oath, and one other Member made and subscribed the Affirmation required by Law.

NEW MEMBERS SWORN.

The Right Hon. St. John Fremantle Brodrick for County of Surrey (South Western or Guildford Division).

The Right Hon. Robert William Hanbury for Borough of Preston.

The Right Hon. George Wyndham for Borough of Dover.

PETITIONS.

INHABITED HOUSE DUTY AND INCOME TAX.

Two Petitions from London, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

OLD AGE PENSION SCHEME.

Petition from Baildon, for adoption; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY.

Petitions for prohibition, from West Hendon; Walton-on-the-Naze; and Halstead; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, &c.

RESTRICTIONS UPON BRITISH INDIAN SUBJECTS IN BRITISH COLONIES AND DEPENDENCIES.

Return [presented 7th December] to be printed. [No. 383.]

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR.

Copy presented, of Proclamations issued by Field Marshal Lord Roberts in South Africa [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TRADE REPORTS (MISCELLANEOUS SERIES).

Copy presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Miscellaneous Series, No. 543 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copy presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, No. 2540 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

CHINA (No. 4, 1900).

Copy presented, of Reports from Her Majesty's Minister in China respecting events in Peking [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

POST OFFICE TELEGRAPHS (ANGLO-FRENCH PRESS TELEGRAMS).

Copy presented, of the Telegraph (Foreign Written Anglo-French Press Telegram) Regulations, 1900, and dated 13th November, 1900 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

PAPERS LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.

1. Inquiry into Charities (Administrative County of Durham), Return relative thereto [ordered 14th February; *Mr. Grant Lawson*]; to be printed. [No. 384.]

2. Lunacy; Copy of Report to the Lord Chancellor of the number of visits made, the number of patients seen, and the number of miles travelled by the Visitors of Lunatics between 1st April, 1900, and 30th September, 1900 [by Act].

3. Augmentation of Benefices; Copy of Return of Proceedings under the Augmentation of Benefices Act, 1863, from 15th August, 1892, to 6th December, 1900 [by Act]; to be printed. [No. 385.]

POST OFFICE (WEST INDIA MAIL CONTRACT).

Copy ordered, "of the Contract, dated the 1st day of September, 1900, with the

Royal Mail Steam Packet Company for the conveyance of the West India Mails for the period from the 1st day of July, 1900, to the 30th day of June, 1905; together with a Copy of the Treasury Minute thereon, dated the 4th day of December, 1900."—(*Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*)

Copy presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 386.]

QUESTIONS.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—HOSPITALS COMMISSION'S REPORT.

SIR WALTER FOSTER (Derbyshire, Ilkeston): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he can state when he expects to be able to present to the House the Report of the South African Hospitals Commission.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): I am informed by the Royal Commissioners that they hope to be in a position to present their Report early in the ensuing year.

SOUTH AFRICAN CORRESPONDENCE —MR. MERRIMAN'S LETTER.

MR. PIRIE (Aberdeen, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the letter from Mr. Merriman, published in the Parliamentary Paper headed "Correspondence relating to the Political Situation in South Africa," was in the hands of Sir Alfred Milner while Mr. Merriman was, as Treasurer of the Cape Colony, one of Sir Alfred Milner's Ministers, and in constant relation with him; whether the letter was shown or mentioned by Sir Alfred Milner to Mr. Merriman; and whether the Colonial Secretary or Sir Alfred Milner asked Mr. Merriman's consent to the publication of that letter, or gave Mr. Merriman any opportunity of making any observations upon it.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN, Birmingham, W.): So far as my information goes the answer to the first question is in the affirmative, and to the last two questions in the negative. The letter was in no way discreditable to Mr. Merriman.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): Is it not a fact that Mr. Merriman made a public protest in the Cape Parliament against the publication of this correspondence?

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: Yes, Sir.

SEDITIOUS NEWSPAPERS.

EARL PERCY (Kensington, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether there is any intention of taking steps in South Africa to suppress newspapers of a distinctly seditious character.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I have no doubt that the Ministers of the Cape Colony will take any action that will be rendered necessary, whilst in districts under martial law it will be for the military authorities to consider what steps are required.

SUPPOSED OFFER OF SURRENDER BY GENERAL DE WET.

*MR. KEIR HARDIE (Merthyr Tydvil): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he has any information to the effect that Captain Fiset, a French Canadian, who had been wounded whilst fighting on the British side in the Transvaal, stated that General De Wet had informed him that he, De Wet, had twice offered to surrender to Lord Roberts, but that his offers had been refused; and, if so, upon what grounds the offers were refused.

MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS (Birmingham, S.): I understand that a paragraph to this effect has appeared in the press. There is, however, no official confirmation of the report.

IRISH AND IRISH-AMERICAN WAR PRISONERS.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether some Irish and Irish-American prisoners captured during the Boer war are now interned in Ceylon and St. Helena, and if any political or other reason exists for refusing to allow them to return to their homes; or, if not, would they be brought to trial.

MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: Full lists of the prisoners have not yet reached this office, but it is understood that some prisoners of Irish nationality are interned in Ceylon and St. Helena. They cannot be treated differently from other prisoners of war.

ROYAL INNISKILLING FUSILIERS—DRAFTS FOR SOUTH AFRICA.

Mr. BARTLEY (Islington, N.): I beg to ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office whether thirty-seven recruits from the depôt at Omagh are now being sent to South Africa to reinforce the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers; if so, what are the ages of these recruits, have they had any experience in battalion drill, have they ever had any practical instruction in shooting, and have they only had four months' training.

Mr. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: I believe these figures are substantially correct. In a certain number of cases partially trained soldiers have been sent with drafts to South Africa for service on the lines of communications and have been attached where possible to Militia battalions. The Secretary of State has recently given orders to discontinue sending drafts, having regard to the large number of men in each unit now in South Africa.

POLICE RESERVISTS' PENSIONS.

Mr. SCHWANN (Manchester, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether a circular was sent by the Home Office to the Cumberland County Council, to the effect that the time the police Reservists, who are absent with the colours, pass in South Africa should not count towards their pensions in the county police force; and whether he will reconsider this decision, and agree to the time passed in service by police Reservists being added to the police service qualifying for pension.

Sir JAMES FERGUSSON (Manchester, N.E.): I beg at the same time to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, whether he will consider the propriety of amending the regulation whereby Reserve soldiers, members of the police, who have been called out for active service, will have to serve for pension an additional period equivalent to the time of their absence upon such service.

*The SECRETARY of STATE for the HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. Ritchie, Croydon): The answer to these questions is that a letter was sent by the Home Office to the Cumberland County Council giving the effect of the law as it at present exists. I am not satisfied that the law is right, and I hope to introduce a Bill to deal with the matter next session.

PIERSHILL (EDINBURGH) CAVALRY BARRACKS.

Mr. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether he is aware that the cavalry barracks at Piershill, Jock's Lodge, near Edinburgh, are so constructed that the men have to sleep in lofts over the stables, which are only separated from the stables by old floor boards, the result being that the effluvia rising from the stables flows into the men's sleeping apartment; is he aware that on the east side of the barracks there are only two baths for the use of the 400 men quartered in the barracks, and that the cistern for supplying each bath is capable of holding only sufficient water to fill the bath twice; that the two baths on the other side of the barracks have been out of order and unfit for use for upwards of a year, and that the punishment for men not taking a bath is three days' confinement in barracks; and will he say who is responsible for this housing of our soldiers, and whether steps will be taken to render the barracks fit for human beings.

Mr. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: No, Sir. The statements made in the question are not accurate. The men's rooms are not lofts, but regular upper storeys with sound floors and ceilings between them and the stables, which, the general officer commanding states, keeps the stable effluvia from the rooms. There are not only the two baths on the east side of the barracks, supplying hot and cold water, but six baths on the west side, similarly supplying hot and cold water. Over £2,000 has been spent on these barracks in the last two years, which are now reported as being in a thoroughly sanitary condition.

Dr. FARQUHARSON (Aberdeenshire, E.): Has the inquiry into the condition of the buildings promised last session yet been held?

Mr. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: Yes, Sir; it was held soon after the promise was given.

Mr. WEIR: In consequence of the unsatisfactory nature of the right hon. Gentleman's reply, I beg to give notice that I shall take the earliest opportunity of calling attention to the state of these barracks.

CHINA — DEFENCE OF THE PEKING LEGATIONS—DESPATCHES.

Sir JOHN COLOMB (Great Yarmouth): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury when the despatch of the officer commanding the British Guard of the Legation at Peking will be published, and what is the cause of the delay in publishing the official report from that officer of the operations resulting in the successful defence of the Legation.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I entirely share my hon. and gallant friend's desire that the despatch in question, which reflects great credit for gallantry upon the small guard of Royal Marines in Peking, and which was received at the end of October, shall be published as soon as possible. I understand that arrangements have been made for it to appear in the *London Gazette* on Tuesday, and I regret that, owing to a misunderstanding as to the decision of the Board on the subject, it has not been done sooner.

ANGLO-GERMAN AGREEMENT.

*Sir CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, whether the replies of the Powers to the communication inviting their adhesion to the Anglo-German Agreement will be presented to Parliament.

*The UNDER SECRETARY of STATE for FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Viscount Cranborne, Rochester): The papers are being prepared, and will be presented at once.

CHINA—PEKING SHAN-HAI-KWAN RAILWAY.

Col. HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central), on behalf of Mr. STUART-WORTLEY (Sheffield, Hallam): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he has any information which he can give to the House concerning the position and the present custody of the Peking–Shan-hai-Kwan Railway.

*Viscount CRANBORNE: Her Majesty's Government have been given to understand that the present disposition of the forces of the Allies on this railway is of a purely temporary character; and we venture to think, as my right hon. friend would probably agree, that no useful purpose would be served at the present time by describing the existing arrangements in detail. The matter is engaging the close attention of Her Majesty's Government.

INTERNATIONAL FISHERIES CONFERENCE.

Mr. WEIR: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the Report of the British delegate who attended the International Fisheries Conference held at Stockholm last year will now be published; will he state whether Great Britain proposes to take part in the investigations concerning the fishing industry which were recommended by the Conference; and will the correspondence which has taken place on the subject be laid upon the Table of the House.

*Viscount CRANBORNE: Her Majesty's Government cannot undertake to publish the Report of the British delegates. They have expressed their willingness to take part in the proposed Fishery Committee, the meeting of which has been postponed. The publication of the correspondence will be considered, when the scheme of investigations is further advanced.

MACEIO AND PERNAMBUCO—CONSULAR TRADE REPORTS.

Mr. SCHWANN: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he can explain why the Consular Report on the state of trade for 1899 in Maceio and Pernambuco has not been published yet; and whether the Report has been in the possession of the Foreign Office since May last; and can he state when it will be printed, as it is anxiously awaited in various commercial quarters.

*Viscount CRANBORNE: The Report in question has not reached the Foreign Office. Her Majesty's Consul was recently reminded of his omission.

ARMENIA—DISTURBANCES IN BITLIS.

Earl PERCY: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether disturbances of a serious character have occurred during the last four months in the Vilayet of Bitlis; and, if so, whether Her Majesty's Government will reconsider their decision to withdraw the British Vice-Consul from Bitlis.

*VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: At the end of July last a massacre of Armenians was reported to have taken place at Spaghank in the Talori district of the Vilayet of Bitlis. Her Majesty's Vice-Consul at Van made inquiries into the matter, and although there were conflicting accounts of what took place, he could ascertain no more than that a small band of revolutionists took refuge in a church at Spaghank, from which they fired on the Turkish troops, and in which they were eventually killed. This intelligence was supplied by a person who had visited and carefully examined Spaghank, which is a small village of only six houses. There have been no reports of any further disturbances in the Vilayet of Bitlis. As my predecessor informed my noble friend on the 22nd of March last, Her Majesty's Government have not decided permanently to withdraw the British Vice-Consul from Bitlis, but the matter is under consideration.

MALTESE LAW COURTS—OFFICIAL LANGUAGE.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether his attention has been called to the fact that dissatisfaction exists in Italy on account of the attempt of the Colonial Office to impose on the people of Malta the use of the English language in place of Italian in the courts of law; and in view of the irritation which this action has caused amongst the people of a friendly Power, will the Government consider the expediency of taking steps to annul the Order in Council of the 7th March, 1899.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: My attention has been called to the fact that certain Italian newspapers and persons have commented adversely on the changes which it has been found necessary to make with regard to the use of the Italian language in Malta, but they appear to have been entirely misinformed as to the facts. The only change which has hitherto been made is that where British subjects are concerned they may choose English as the language in which the proceedings are to be carried on in a court in a British colony, which is also a British fortress. It has also been stated on behalf of Her Majesty's Government that at the expiration of fifteen years from 22nd March, 1899, the English language will be substituted for Italian in the courts, and it is believed that as a very small proportion of the Maltese now understand Italian, and as, having been given the option of having Italian or English taught to their children in the public elementary schools, no less than from 85 to 100 per cent. of the parents and guardians in Malta, and 79 per cent. in Gozo have decided in favour of English, it will be a great advantage and convenience to the majority of the population fourteen years hence that this change should be made.

BREAKING UP OF LONDON STREETS.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if, having regard to the inconvenience caused to the public by the tearing up of the streets of the metropolis by the London County Council, the borough councils, water and various companies, without any common plan, he will consider the desirability of introducing a short Amendment to the Metropolitan Streets Act, or other statute, making the Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis an authority whose licence must be obtained before any street can be taken up and closed to traffic.

*MR. COHEN (Islington, E.): Is the London County Council responsible in any instance for the inconvenience?

*MR. RITCHIE: The inconvenience to which my hon. and gallant friend draws attention is certainly very great, and I notice with satisfaction that the question is engaging the joint attention of the London County Council and the borough councils. I will not lose sight of the matter. In response to the hon. Member for East Islington, I have to say I have no doubt that the London County Council is not responsible for many of the breakings-up.

MERCANTILE SHIPPING IN IRISH PORTS—SHIP MEASUREMENTS.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether his attention has been called to the complaints from Dundalk, Drogheda, and a number of port authorities in Ireland as to the mode of measuring ships, whereby dues are raised on tonnage far below the real weight of the cargo, and the authorities are deprived of the means of effectively carrying on the effective working of the ports over which they have jurisdiction; and will he state whether the Government intend to submit any legislation on the subject.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. GERALD BALFOUR, Leeds, Central): My attention has been called to the complaints to which the hon. Member refers, and the Board of Trade are preparing instructions with the view of meeting them, so far as that is possible under the existing law. The whole subject is an intricate and difficult one, and, as at present advised, I am not prepared to propose fresh legislation with regard to it.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Will the instructions be made public?

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: Yes, they will be issued shortly to the authorities concerned.

HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES—RENTS CHARGED BY LOCAL AUTHORITIES.

MR. HAY (Shoreditch, Hoxton): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether it is the practice of local authorities to charge upon the rents of working class dwellings erected by them under Parts 1, 2, and 3 of the Housing Act, 1890, the sums necessary to repay in a term of years the capital cost of the whole or part of the land forming the site thereof; and, if so, whether he will issue instructions to the local authorities to assimilate their practice in these cases to that which they follow in the case of land acquired and let by county councils under the Small Holdings Act, 1892.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. LONG, Bristol, S.): It rests with the local authorities to determine the basis upon which they will fix the rents of the houses provided by them under the Housing of the Working Classes Acts. I am not aware to what extent they adopt the practice referred to in the question, but I have no authority to give them any instructions in the matter.

POST OFFICE—WEST CHEVINGTON RURAL MESSENGER.

MR. FENWICK (Northumberland, Wansbeck): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, whether he is aware of the fact that Mrs. Lindsay, rural post messenger at West Chevington, in the county of Northumberland, has been compelled to retire through failing health after twenty-four years' service, and that in consequence of her retirement she is now left without means of support other than the workhouse; and will he undertake to see that some more suitable provision is made for her either in the form of pension or otherwise.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.): There would appear to be some misapprehension in regard to this matter. Mary Lindsay is reported to be in good health, is well able to perform her duties, and states that she has no present intention of giving up her employment.

KEYHAM BARTON POSTAL ARRANGEMENTS.

MR. KEARLEY (Devonport): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, whether he has received complaints from the inhabitants of Keyham Barton, Devonport, as to the inadequacy of the postal facilities in this district, affecting both the lateness of the morning delivery of letters and general postal accommodation; and whether, in view of the fact that a thousand new houses have recently been erected and occupied, he will arrange for a sub-office and pillar boxes to be more centrally placed in order to spare the residents the inconvenience occasioned by the existing arrangements.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The Postmaster General has received complaints from the inhabitants of Keyham Barton respecting the postal facilities in the district, and inquiry is being made on the subject. The hon. Member shall be informed of the result as soon as possible.

ABERDEEN POST OFFICE.

MR. PIRIE: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he can state when the Government intend to commence building the post office in Aberdeen; and whether, in view of the time elapsed since the site was obtained, a substantial sum will be set aside in next year's Estimates, so that effective progress may be made with the work.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The new post office buildings would by this time have been commenced, but the Corporation raised the question of widening the street, and this has led to further delay. After much negotiation, the Corporation has agreed to provide an equivalent in land to compensate for the loss of area by the street widening. Fresh plans, to meet the altered conformation of the site, will now be necessary; but the matter is being pushed on, and a sum on account will be inserted in the Estimates for the ensuing year.

CUSTOMS WATCHERS' PAY.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he is now in a position to state when the Customs watchers will receive the benefit of the concessions approved by the Lords of the Treasury in their letter of the 18th August, 1900, No. 13,833/1900; and whether he will give an assurance that the watchers will receive their back pay from the date of the Treasury letter.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The increase of the overtime rate for watchers, when "boarded," from 4d. to 6d. was introduced at once, and the increases of pay, when finally determined, will take effect as from the 18th August last—the date of the Treasury letter which sanctioned them. The selection of the individual watchers who are to receive these increases cannot be made until a complete seniority list has been compiled, but I hope that it may be announced before Christmas. The completion of a contract for the supply of uniforms has necessarily occupied some time and the uniforms will not be issued till 1st February next.

CUSTOMS BOATMEN'S GRIEVANCES.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury what decision has been come to in reference to the inquiry into the grievances of the Customs boatmen, undertaken as long ago as last May, by his predecessor in office.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: It has been decided that boatmen employed at distant stations in London between midnight and 5 a.m. should be paid an allowance of 9d. a night for the combined charges of travelling and subsistence, and also that serge jackets shall be supplied to the officers at any port at which they may be considered necessary by the Board of Customs.

SCOTTISH CROFTERS—SIR KENNETH MATHESON'S DEER FOREST.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Lord Advocate whether he is aware that Sir Kenneth Matheson's deer forest at Attadale, Ross-shire, now let to Baron Schroder, was originally tenanted by 63 crofter families; and, seeing that since the eviction of these families the forest has been increased from 12,606 acres in 1891 to 18,689 acres in 1898, will he state what steps the Government propose to take to prevent the further extension of this and other deer forests in the Highlands.

*THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. A. GRAHAM MURRAY, Buteshire): The Government do not propose to introduce special legislation on the subject of deer forests.

SCONSER (ISLE OF SKYE) CROFTERS.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Lord Advocate whether the Secretary for Scotland is aware that Lord Macdonald's estate factor, when recently urging the crofters of Sconser, Isle of Skye, to remove from their present holdings to the depopulated lands of Boreraig and Suisinish, stated that the Congested Districts Board were prepared to erect houses and fences on the new holdings, and bear the expense of the removal; is he aware that this proposed removal of crofters has for its object the absorption of the crofter township of Sconser in the adjoining deer forest; and will he state whether the Board has authorised any such statement; if so, will he explain why the Board offered to undertake this expenditure in order to secure the extension of a deer forest.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY: The crofters of Sconser have disobeyed the finding of the Crofters Commission by keeping stock beyond that allowed by the Commission, which stock can only be fed by permitting it to trespass. As the crofters have represented that without this extra stock they cannot comfortably live, and as their houses are in an insanitary condition, the estate management, which is subject to the Order of the Court of Session, approached the Congested Districts Board with a view to seeing whether a scheme of migration could be carried out. Negotiations are still pending. The scheme as proposed is conceived in the interests of the crofters alone and with no reference to the deer forest, and, if carried out, the estate would be rather a loser than a gainer in pecuniary advantage.

SCOTTISH FISHERY BOARD'S CRUISER.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Lord Advocate if he will state the cause of the delay in finishing the Scottish Fishery Board's new cruiser, whether penalty clauses for non-completion to time were inserted in the contract, and what part of the coast the cruiser will patrol when ready for service.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY: There has been no delay in finishing the new cruiser. She is to be ready in about a fortnight, as provided by the contract, in which a penalty clause was inserted. The area to be patrolled will be as decided by the Fishery Board from time to time.

MR. WEIR: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware he stated in this House a few months ago that on the 1st December——

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

DUBLIN CAR LICENCES—JAMES FITZHARRIS.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I beg to ask Mr. Attorney General for Ireland whether he is aware that James Fitzharris, a released prisoner, was refused a licence as a car-driver in Dublin by the police authorities, and being deprived of any means of earning a living has had to become a pauper in the South Dublin Workhouse; and whether it has hitherto been the policy of the authorities to assist released prisoners, irrespective of the accusation against them; and, if so, whether the Government will now interpose any obstacle to a renewal of the car licence to Fitzharris, and thus prevent a man who is willing to work being an enforced burden on the ratepayers.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. ATKINSON, Londonderry, N.): The Chief Commissioner of Police, in the exercise of the powers conferred upon him by Section 52 of the Dublin Carriage Act, 1854, refused, in conformity with invariable practice, to grant a licence to Fitzharris, he having been convicted of a felony—namely, of being accessory to the murder of Mr. Burke, and having been only recently discharged on ticket-of-leave. The Prisons Board assist released prisoners, but with a due regard in every case to the character and antecedents of the prisoner. In answer to the second inquiry in the last paragraph, I beg to say the matter is not one calling for any action on the part of the Government.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Has not the man already undergone his full punishment?

MR. ATKINSON: No, Sir.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Why should he be forced either to starve or come on the ratepayers for his maintenance? He is willing to work if only he can get a licence.

MR. ATKINSON: The law gives the police discretion to refuse a licence to a man who has been convicted of felony.

THE NEW ROYAL YACHT.

MR. WILLIAM ALLAN (Gateshead): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he will state what has been the total cost of the repairs and alterations to the new Royal yacht up to this date; and whether all the original wood lining of cabins and berths is to be removed; if so, what material is to be substituted, and at what cost.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The cost of the repairs and alterations of the new Royal yacht up to 1st December, 1900, is £22,831. The accident which occurred to her has indirectly caused greater expenditure than this by prolonging the time that the ship has been under construction, but it would be impossible to assess the exact amount. In certain places where defects in the non-inflammable wood have appeared, and it is feared that a repetition of these defects might affect costly decorations, ordinary wood will be substituted, but no decision has yet been taken as to the remainder.

DEPTFORD VICTUALLING YARD.—PAY OF LABOURERS.

CAPTAIN NORTON (Newington, W.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he is prepared to modify the decision with reference to the refusal to consider an increase of pay for the labourers at Deptford Victualling Yard in receipt of wages under 24s. a-week, with a view to the application by the Admiralty of the principle already adopted as regards labourers employed under the War Office.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The question of increasing the wages of these labourers was carefully considered by the late First Lord of the Admiralty, who, in the debate last March, gave the reasons which precluded the grant.* Any representations will have consideration, but I cannot give an undertaking to alter the decision then arrived at.

CAPTAIN NORTON: In the event of my making further representations will the right hon. Gentleman undertake to deal with the question without delay?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The representations should be made to the First Lord of the Admiralty.

H.M.S. "PELORUS"—BOILERS.

MR. WILLIAM ALLAN: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he can state what type, and whose make, of boilers are fitted in H.M.S. "Pelorus"; whether this vessel had her machinery recently overhauled prior to her departure to join the Channel Squadron; and what is the nature of the defects in her boilers that have necessitated her return to port now.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The boilers of the "Pelorus" are of the "small tube" water-tube type, termed modified "Normand"; and they, with the engines, were made by Messrs. Thomson, now the Clydebank Shipbuilding and Engineering Co., Ltd. The machinery of this ship had been recently overhauled at Devonport. The return of the ship was not due to defects in the boilers, but was necessitated by the priming of the evaporators. This affected the freshness of the feed water so as to cause such excessive priming of the boilers that the condensers were suspected to be leaking; these have, however, since been tested and found to be quite tight.

GIBRALTAR—NEW COMMERCIAL MOLE.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether Her Majesty's Government are aware that the new commercial mole at Gibraltar is only 3,200 yards from Punta Mala in Spain, and that the whole of the commercial anchorage, the man-of-war anchorage, and the three new docks, which are now being constructed there at an estimated total cost of £4,369,000, are within the range of modern artillery and the shipping therein liable to be exposed to a converging fire from a segment of nearly half a circle of the shore round the Bay of Gibraltar; whether the advisability has been considered of constructing these docks and works, or a portion of them, on the eastern side of the Rock; and, whether steps will be taken to suspend the construction of the works on the western side of the Rock until Her Majesty's Government have satisfied themselves that they are safe from attack from the land.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The distance mentioned by my hon. friend is substantially accurate. It is quite true that the western side of the Rock is more exposed than the eastern side to attack from the land, but the eastern side is more open to every form of attack from the sea. The construction of the works would have taken a serious additional number of years on the eastern side as compared with the western side. The question of the east side or the west side was very fully considered by Lord Rosebery's Government in 1894, and again by the late Government on assuming office, and in both cases it was decided that the weight of advantage was on the western side. The Government are not prepared to recommend a suspension of the works.

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* See *The Parliamentary Debates* [Fourth Series], Vol. lxxx., pages 421–432.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: In reference to the statement that the works on the eastern side would have taken longer to complete than those on the western side, is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the bottom is exactly the same depth and of the same character on each side? Why then should the works take longer?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am not aware, but if my hon. friend will put down a question I have no doubt an explanation will be given.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MR. JAMES LOWTHER (Kent, Thanet): I beg to ask the Leader of the House whether he is in a position to give the House any information as to the course of business.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: In answer to my right hon. friend, I cannot, of course, state with certainty what the course of business will be. The Government, I need hardly say, have no desire to shorten the consideration of subjects with which the House may desire to deal fully, but I cannot help thinking that the House, without giving up any time it may desire to spend in discussing the questions before it, could, if it desired, conclude all the business by Saturday next. I assume—I hope I am not sanguine in assuming—that we shall conclude the debate on the Address to-night. If that is concluded to-night we shall then really have only two questions before us—namely, the Estimates to be proposed by my right hon. friend the Secretary of State for War, and the Bill dealing with the borrowing powers of the Government to be introduced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): There is the Appropriation Bill.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Let me point out that the Appropriation Bill is confined to what is contained in the Estimates, and practically it is the same question, which can be debated again fully upon each stage of the Appropriation Bill. Practically, therefore, there are only two questions before the House, and if we proceed as quickly as our rules will permit, we have Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday in which o discuss them. I should hope that we might not only finish the Estimates to-morrow, but might also take the first stage of the Bill of my right hon. friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer dealing with the borrowing powers of the Government. Then we could take the Report of the resolution on Wednesday, the Second Readings of both Bills on Thursday, Committees on Friday, and Third Readings on Saturday. It will be seen that the questions of Estimates and borrowing powers can be discussed on all these stages, and I should therefore hope that the time between now and Saturday would be sufficient to dispose of the two topics without undue curtailment of debate. These are counsels of perfection, perhaps, but I think that to conclude on Saturday would be for the general convenience, and I put out this general scheme in order that Members may make up their minds, and that we may come to an arrangement that will conduce to general convenience on both sides.

MR. DALZIEL (Kirkcaldy Burghs): When does the right hon. Gentleman propose to ask the House to go into Committee of Ways and Means?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I hope to ask the House to go into Committee of Ways and Means to-morrow, and should it be very late at night the matter could be discussed again on Wednesday.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE: I presume there is no intention to break through the twelve o'clock rule to-morrow night, but it is intended to trust to the general desire to close the debate if possible?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I would not like to give a decision now, or until I have collected the general view in the House.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: May I suggest that the same attitude might apply now. I know that a considerable number of Members do not view with favour a motion for suspending the twelve o'clock rule. They have, as I have already said, no desire for the continuance of discussion upon matters not immediately affecting the business before the House in the present session, and I am anxious that the sittings should close this week, though I think it would be better if this could be effected without the suspension of the rule.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: If there is an understanding on both sides that the debate shall close to-night without suspension of the rule, of course I will say nothing more, but I do not gather that there is such an understanding.

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE (EXEMPTION FROM THE STANDING ORDER).

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Proceedings on the Address in answer to Her Majesty's Speech, if under discussion at Twelve o'clock this night, be not interrupted under the Standing Order, Sittings of the House."—(*Mr. Balfour.*)

The House divided.—Ayes, 214; Noes, 98. (Division List No. 3.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Aird, John
Allhusen, Augustus Henry E.
Allsopp, Hon. George
Archdale, Edward Mervyn
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arrol, Sir William
Ashmead-Bartlett, Sir Ellis
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Austin, Sir John
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Baldwin, Alfred
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manch'r)
Balfour, RtHnGeraldW.(Leeds
Balfour, Maj. K. R. (Christch.)
Banbury, Frederick George
Bartley, George C. T.
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, A.
Bigwood, James
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith-
Boulnois, Edmund
Bowles, Capt. H. F. (Middlesex)
Bowles, T. Gibson (King'sLynn)
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brookfield, A. Montagu
Carlile, William Walter
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. (Birm
Chamberlain, J Austen (Worc'r
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Charrington, Spencer
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coddington, Sir William
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colomb, SirJohnCharlesReady
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Corbett A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cranborne, Viscount
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davies, SirHoratioD (Chatham
Dewar, T. R (T'rH'mlets, S. Geo.
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Dimsdale, Sir Joseph Cockfield
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn Edw.
Fergusson, RtHn. SirJ. (Manc'r
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, George H.
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, SirRobertPenrose-
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Forster, Henry William
Galloway, William Johnson
Garfit, William
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin&Nairn
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gordon, Maj. W. (TowerHamlts
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John E.
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Graham, Henry Robert
Green, WalfordD (Wednesbury
Greene, SirEW (BuryStEdm'ds
Grenfell, William Henry
Groves, James Grimble
Gunter, Colonel
Guthrie, Walter Murray
Hain, Edward
Halsey, Thomas Frederick
Hamilton, RtHnLd. G. (Midd'x
Hanbury, Rt. Hon. Robert W.
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th
Harris, Dr. Fred. R. (Monmouth
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Hay, Claude
Helder, Augustus
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hoare, E. Brodie (Hampstead
Hobhouse, Henry (Somerset, E.
Hogg, Lindsay
Hope, J. F. (Sheffi'd, Brightside)
Horner, Frederic William
Houldsworth, Sir Wm. Henry
Hoult, Joseph
Houston, Robert Paterson
Howard, J. (Midd., Tottenham)
Hozier, Hon. James Henry C.
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hughes, Colonel Edwin
Jackson, Rt. Hn. Wm. Lawies
Jeffreys, Arthur Frederick
Jessel, Capt. Herbert Merton
Kenyon, Hn. Geo. T. (Denbigh
Kenyon, James (Lancs., Bury)
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Knowles, Lees
Lambton, Hn. Frederick Wm.
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Lawson, John Grant
Lecky, Rt. Hn. Wm. Edw. H.
Lee, Capt. A. H. (Hants. Fareh.
Legge, Col. Heneage
Leighton, Stanley
Leveson-Gower, FrederickN. S
Long, Col. CharlesW (Evesham.
Long, Rt. HonWalter (Bristol, S
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, ReginaldJ. (Portsmouth
Macdona, John Cumming
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Iver, SirLewis (EdinburghW
Majendie, James A. H.
Manners, Lord Cecil
Maxwell, W. J. (Dumfriesshire)
Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
Middlemore, J. Throgmorton
Milward, Colonel Victor
Mitchell, William
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Moore, William (Antrim, N.)
More, Robt. Jasper (Shropshire)
Morgan, D. J. (Walthamstow)
Morton, ArthurH. A. (Deptford
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, RtAnA. Graham (Bute
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Nicholson, William Graham
Nicol, Donald Ninian
Orr-Ewing, Charles Lindsay
Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
Parker, Gilbert
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Radcliffe, R. F.
Randles, John S.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Renshaw, Charles Bine
Renwick, George
Ridley, MatthewW (Stalybr'ge
Ridley, SamuelF (BethnalGr'n)
Ritchie, Rt. Hn. Chas. Thomson
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Ropner, Colonel Robert
Rothschild, Hon. Lionel W.
Round, James
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Samuel, Harry S. (Limehouse)
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Saunderson, Rt. Hn. Col. E. J.
Seely, Charles Henry (Lincoln)
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Shaw-Stewart, M. H. (Renfrew)
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Smith, James Parker (Lanarks.
Spear, John Ward
Spencer, Ernest (W. Bromwich

Stanley, Edward J. (Somerset)
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M‘T.
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stock, James Henry
Stroyan, John
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Tollemache, Henry James
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Tufnell, Col. Edward
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. H. (Sh'f'ld
Walker, Col. William Hall
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warde, Lieut.-Col. C. E.
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney
Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E. (Ta'nt'n
Welby, Sir Chas. G. E. (Notts.
Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
Williams, Rt Hn J Powell-(B'rm
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wills, Sir Frederick
Wilson, Arthur S. (York, E.R.)
Wilson, John (Falkirk)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson, J. W. (Worcestersh. N.)
Wilson-Todd, Wm. H. (Yorks.
Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R. (Bath
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George

Tellers for the Ayes—Sir William Walrond and Mr. Anstruther.

NOES.

Allan, William (Gateshead)
Allen, C. P. (Glouc., Stroud)
Asher, Alexander
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Barker, John
Barlow, John Emmott
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Black, Alexander William
Brigg, John
Brown, Geo. M. (Edinburgh)
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Bryce, Rt. Hon James
Burns, John
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Craig, Robert Hunter
Cremer, William Randal
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duncan, James H.
Edwards, Frank
Ellis, John Edward
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. M. (Leith)
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Furness, Sir Christopher
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gurdon, Sir William Brampton
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Sir William
Hardie, J. Keir (Merthyr Tydvil
Harmsworth, R. Leicester
Hayne, Rt. Hon. Charles Seale-
Healy, Timothy Michael
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Joicey, Sir James
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kinloch, Sir John George Smyth
Labourchere, Henry
Lambert, George
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leng, Sir John
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Macnamana, Dr. Thomas J.
K‘Kenna, Reginald
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Mellor, Rt. Hon. John William
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morley, Charles (Breconshire)
Nolan, Col. John P. (Galway, N.
Nussey, Thomas Willans
Palmer, George Wm. (Reading)
Paulton, James Mellor
Perks, Robert William
Pirie, Duncan V.
Rea, Russell
Reckitt, Harold James
Reid, Sir R. Threshie (Dumfries
Rickett, J. Compton
Rigg, Richard
Robson, William Snowdon
Schwann, Charles E.
Shipman, Dr. John
Sinclair, Capt John (Forfarshire
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer, Rt Hn C. R. (Northants
Strachey, Edward
Taylor, Theodore Cooke
Thomas, Alfred (Glamorgan, E.
Thomas, F. Freeman-(Hastings
Thomson, Frederick W.
Trevelyan; Charles Philips
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Weir, James Galloway
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whiteley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Arthur O (Merioneth
Wilson, Fred. W. (Norfolk, Mid
Wodehouse, Hn. Armine (Essex
Yoxall, James Henry

Tellers for the Noes—Captain Norton and Mr. Jacoby.

Ordered, That the Proceedings on the Address in Answer to Her Majesty's Speech, if under discussion at Twelve o'clock this night, be not interrupted under the Standing Order, Sittings of the House.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[Third Day's Debate.]

BRITISH INTERESTS IN CHINA.

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment [7th December] to Question [6th December], "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, as followeth—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to your Majesty for the gracious Speech which your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Gordon.*)

And which Amendment was—

"At the end of the Question to add the words, 'And we humbly represent to your Majesty that it is essential that more adequate measures should be taken for the safeguarding of the vast commercial and political interests of the British Empire in China; and we further humbly submit that no demand should be made on the Chinese Government for the punishment of Chinese officials which would not be equally imposed in the case of a European Power, and also that reparation should be sought in increased facilities to trade rather than by a money indemnity.'"—(*Mr. Joseph Walton.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there added."

Debate resumed.

SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT (Sheffield, Ecclesall) said he did not think any apology was required for referring to questions relating to China. Indeed, the gratitude of the House was due to the hon. Member who introduced the question in a speech of so much moderation and knowledge on Friday night, and he ventured to repeat what he then said, that the very treatment of this question afforded the most agreeable contrast to the personalities in which so much of the time of the House was wasted on Thursday and during a portion of Friday. It was perfectly true that the South African question had been one of great gravity, but it might now be considered as practically settled, as South Africa would no doubt be British. But the Chinese question still remained with us, and it was of even greater importance than ever the South African question had been, as our trade with China amounted to between fifty and sixty millions a year—more than double our trade with South Africa. and there was no reason why that trade should not enormously increase if only a wise and statesmanlike policy were pursued in regard to that country. It was not too much to say that the future of China, and perhaps of Asia, was now hanging in the balance. If once Russia was allowed to get military and political control of Manchuria and the North of China, she would obtain a lever to enable her to overrun the whole of China. There were in Manchuria twelve millions of people, hardy and naturally warlike, and in Pe-chi-li there were thirty millions, and what Power was there in Europe which could resist 500,000 Northern Chinese, armed, disciplined, and led by Russian officers? That was what we must keep in view. It was a real danger which the House was too liable to overlook, but he ventured to say that any statesmen who were proved to have overlooked it would, when the fact was realised by the country, earn the execration of the English people. In some two years the Trans-Siberian Railway would be finished, and then it would be too late to save Manchuria from the grip of the Muscovite. At present England and Germany, backed up by the United States and Japan, were quite able to prevent the annexation of Manchuria by Russia. But the condition necessary for success was that the policy pursued must be clear and resolute. The noble Lord the Member for Rochester, who spoke on Friday night, rather challenged the hon. Member for Barnsley to give instances of our weakness in the past. He did not wish to take up that challenge too sharply, but he would assert that if our policy was to succeed in the future, there must be no more such incidents as the ignominious withdrawal of our men-of-war from Port Arthur, no more wholly needless invitations to occupy ports in the Yellow Sea; no more such arrangements as were made for giving Russia a monopoly of all the railways north of the Great Wall, and no more tame acceptance of the constant insults offered by the Russian officers in China to our troops and flag. There could now be no doubt as to the nature of the policy of our great rival in North-east Asia, for it had been fully developed within the last two or three months. It might be described as three-fold. The first aim was to weaken and discredit British prestige by various small affronts, which though not serious individually, were very grave collectively, seeing how prestige was looked upon in the East, and especially in China. The second object was to impress the Chinese with the overwhelming might of Russia and with a sense of her relentless cruelty by the terrible massacres along the Amur river, and the third was to pose as the friend of the corrupt Palace coterie, so that when the old gang resumed control she might claim her reward. Was not the last point proved by the sudden order, two months ago, for the evacuation of Peking by the Russian troops? That was simply done to please the Palace coterie and to obtain the support of the United States, which, at the time, was somewhat embarrassed by the General Election which was then proceeding. It was a distinct breach of the alleged Concert of Europe by the Russian Government. He was not a believer in that Concert; he did not believe it did or could exist; it was only effective to inform our enemies of our plans and to give them opportunities of frustrating our objects. It was doubly dangerous—it was dangerous both at home and abroad. It deceived the people at home, and it placed in the hands of right hon. and hon. Members opposite a weapon which would be used should any failure follow upon our policy. Abroad it was even more effectual, because it placed our whole policy and conduct entirely under the control of those who were our natural rivals. If hon. Members had knowledge of the secret history of the last few months they would laugh at the Concert. It had been an unmitigated failure from beginning to end; it even delayed the relief of the Peking Legations until it became almost a miracle, and it absolutely thwarted Admiral Seymour's gallant effort. It had given Russia the lead in everything, it had allowed her to seize the railways, and terrorise the Chinese people. The noble Lord the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs told them the other night that while the difficulties of diplomatic Concert were terrific, those of military Concert were far greater. That was perfectly true, and it was therefore folly on the part of the Government to have embarked on such an expedition as they did, when the work could have been done months earlier, far better, and at less expense, by a force of 10,000 Japanese or of 7,000 British troops. He felt bound to support the protest which the hon. Member for Barnsley had made with great force against the cruelty with which the campaign had been conducted by some of those who had taken part in it. The wholesale massacres of peaceful and industrious populations, including women and children, which had taken place were absolutely indefensible barbarity, for which, owing to our unfortunate diplomatic association with the Powers whose troops had been guilty of such atrocious conduct, we should in future generations be held in detestation by the people of China. He believed that the public execution of Prince Tuan and other well-known leaders would be far better for China and her future than the massacre of thousands of villagers. It was the greatest hypocrisy for Christian Powers to claim the punishment of the Chinese responsible for the death of some 300 Europeans, and yet to say nothing against the Russian officers responsible for the massacre of 50,000 innocent Chinese. Yet he had looked in vain for any condemnation of such conduct both in our leading journals and by Members of Parliament who were only too ready to denounce the Turk. He agreed entirely with the Amendment of the hon. Member for Barnsley. He agreed that greater efforts were necessary to increase our prestige and strengthen our power in China. He also thought the proposal to substitute increased trade privileges in China for a large part of the money indemnity was excellent. It would benefit both the Chinese and the nations of Europe, and he hoped, therefore, that the Government would direct their efforts in that direction. They might also make efforts to secure an improved and more honest administration in China. That was a necessity if any beneficent result was to follow from the bloodshed and cost of the present expeditions. There were plenty of honest men in China who would come forward if only they were sure of the moral support of European nations. Russia was pursuing the same policy as she had pursued in Turkey—namely, to keep the administration in a rotten condition, and pose as the friend of the Palace coteries, in order that some day the country would fall a helpless prey to her ambition. The most remarkable condemnation of the Concert was afforded by the action of Her Majesty's Ministers who had themselves inflicted the *coup de grâce* by substituting for it an Anglo-German Agreement, the main object of which was the maintenance of the territorial independence of China. But the only thing which counted in European politics was *force majeure*, and the whole value of that agreement depended upon whether by it Manchuria was to be freed from the military and political control of Russia. If the agreement meant winking at the Russian annexation of Manchuria and freely throwing open the Yang-tsze-Kiang valley to German competition it would be worse than useless. It was customary in some quarters to describe his remarks as unconciliatory, but he was only now doing in regard to China what he ventured to do in 1894 and 1896 with regard to South Africa, when he said that unless the nettle was grasped war would come. If we now allowed Russian control to be established in Manchuria, Russia would become the *force majeure* in China, and we should be unable to cope with her. The policy he advocated was really the policy of peace, because it would put this country in such a position of strength that its opponents would not dare to attack it. If, on the other hand, the Government followed a policy of vacillation upon this occasion they would find themselves confronted with a condition of things with which they would be unable to contend.

*Mr. WYLIE (Dumbartonshire) said that as one who had practical connection with China he might be allowed to offer a few remarks upon this subject. He first, however, desired to congratulate the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs upon his safe return to this country and the position to which he had been appointed. He believed the noble Lord to be possessed of the hereditary capacity for statesmanship which distinguished his family, and that in fulfilling the duties of his office he would be of great advantage to the country and gain honour for himself. So much had been said during the elections against the policy of the Government with regard to China that it was somewhat surprising that when the points of the policy came before the House the criticisms of hon. Gentlemen should be reduced to such small dimensions, and their suggestions should be so erroneous. The second proposal of the Amendment, besides being unsound in principle, would, he believed, have a most injurious effect by encouraging the Chinese officials to repeat those horrible atrocities and cruelties which they had perpetrated upon the Christian population in China. Many business men and missionaries had been sacrificed in those atrocious massacres which were now known to have been instigated and abetted by the Chinese officials, and he felt certain that if the perpetrators of those cruelties were allowed to escape with impunity, at no distant date there would be a recurrence of those atrocities. Among the friends and relatives of those who had perished there was no thought of revenge, but for the safety of life and property in China to-day it was absolutely necessary that such condign punishment should be inflicted upon those wretched and treacherous miscreants as would burn into the Chinese official mind, as nothing else could, a wholesome dread of European power, and respect for Christian life and property, which would last for all time. In his opinion the Government had already taken ample means for the safeguarding of the vast commercial and political interests of the British in China by the formation of a successful Concert of the European Powers. Notwithstanding the remarks of the hon. Member for the Ecclesall Division of Sheffield, he thought the action of the Powers had so far been vigorous and harmonious, and that the pacification of China would soon be an accomplished fact. The Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs had intimated that the Government regarded the pacification of China as the most pressing matter in connection with our interests there. The Government was also strenuously supporting the opening up of the whole of China to the trade of all nations. To that end the agreement with Germany had been of great use; it gave a splendid lead to other nations, and it secured the predominance of the British policy of the open door. In working out this policy he thought that all duties levied by the Chinese Government upon imports should be rigorously confined to the port of entry. Sufficient duties should be levied there, under the superintendence and control of European officials, to pay the Chinese officials properly and for the conduct of administrative matters in the Chinese Empire, and that likin should be absolutely abolished. Likin consisted of extortionate extortions levied on all goods at various stages of their transit inland only; they had been measured in the past only by the greed and rapacity of the extortionate officials who levied them, and they had been one of the greatest curses to British commerce in China. If they were abolished he believed it would be greatly to the advantage not only of Europe, but China herself. Some hon. Gentlemen were of opinion that British interference in the affairs of China would be of little benefit and much expense to us. He would remind them that our interference in the affairs of India and our direct administration of that great empire had resulted in a trade to this country of £140,000,000 per annum, which every five years nearly doubled itself, and had been of very great benefit to India. Our indirect administration of a small part of China had resulted in a trade which had doubled during ten years, and last year amounted to £70,000,000, three-fifths of which was British, and five-sixths carried in British bottoms, and he believed that the pacification and the opening up of that country would create for British commerce one of the greatest markets in the world. He thought it was the duty of the House to vigorously support the policy of the Government in China, by granting ample supplies.

*MR. JOSEPH WALTON (Yorkshire, W.R., Barnsley): Though the reply of the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs as to interpretation of the Anglo-German Agreement, and also his reply to one or two other important matters to which I referred in connection with China was not satisfactory, still, in view of his promise that the Government will take into careful consideration the suggestions I have made which would be likely to assist British trade in China, I ask leave of the House to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Main Question again proposed.

CABINET AND GOVERNMENT APPOINTMENTS.

MR. BARTLEY (Islington, N.): The Amendment which I have had the honour to place upon the Paper I now desire to move. I know that to question anything of this sort is a matter that requires a certain amount of brutality, and I know perfectly well I shall not be looked upon with any great favour for the action I now take by some Members of this House; but in the remarks I shall make I shall not trespass on any personalities. I merely wish to raise a question of great public importance, and to judge it on its merits. In the steps I have taken I am not in the position of an anonymous writer; many of these matters are raised anonymously, but what I have written I have put my name to, and I bring that forward to show that I am not afraid to act in my own name. I believe the formation of the Government is a thing that everybody notices and refers to privately, but one which they do not like to refer to in public. In my judgment this matter goes to the root of the influence of the Government, and it will prevent the Government doing that which I think it is bound to do as a result of the General Election through which we have just passed. In the recent elections the country decided two great issues. One was the war, and on that question the country approved the action of the Government, and decided that the war was to be continued to the end. It gave the Government absolute power and discretion to carry it on until the British flag was supreme between Cape Colony and the Zambesi. The other question which, in my judgment, was almost as important which the country also had before it to decide was whether, without any further delay, there should be, not reform, but entire reorganisation in our system of national defence. I believe that the country felt this question to be as important as that of the carrying on of the war, if not of greater importance, and the country gave the Government this overwhelming majority on the condition that the reorganisation of our system of national defence should be taken in hand at once. The question I raise is as to the predominance of one family in the Cabinet, and how it affects that question, and I shall endeavour to show that this arrangement is detrimental to the idea that we are going to have any reform at all. It is no secret that the country was not satisfied with the action of the late Government. That is common knowledge on both sides of the House. I am speaking not only for myself but for many others, and if the House wants proof I need only refer to the letter of the hon. Member for Elgin and Nairn, written last summer and already quoted in this debate, in which he said the action of the Government was not satisfactory. If they had not felt that the hon. Gentleman was a man who could be trusted they certainly would not have selected him to move the Address, and thereby clearly shown that a good deal of what has been said was correct on these points. Everybody, whatever their feelings, sank their differences to the great issues before the country. The great question of the Church, the question of Education and Voluntary Schools, even the action of the Government concerning vaccination, were forgotten. All these questions were sunk because we wished to give the Government as long, strong, and large a majority as possible in order to support them throughout Europe and the world. The only exceptions were their Irish allies, who did not act during the General Election as if they were strong supporters of the Government, but the Government have thrown over the chief member who acted under the late Government for Ireland, and so I suppose some compromise has been arranged. Well, it may be said that if we felt so strongly on the subject of the national defence, why could we not have brought it up in the last session of Parliament? There were obvious reasons why we did not do so. There were very few on the opposite side of the House, except the section already referred to, and practically no one except one Member on this side, who did not wish to give the Government absolute freedom during the last Parliament. We did not wish to bring up those questions on which we differed, and we did not wish to raise the question of the national defence, because we wished, not to embarrass the Government, but to give them an absolutely free hand. The election having passed, and the country having decided as they have done that these questions cannot be ignored, I say that we have a right, and I think it is our bounden duty now, to consider whether the formation of the Government will tend to produce these reforms so necessary in our national defence. I lay great stress upon that; and the point which I shall try to show is that the predominance of one family, however distinguished, is certainly detrimental to that position. There are many apologists for our system who say that during last year, with all our calamities, the country sent between 200,000 and 300,000 men to South Africa, and that everything was done that could be done. I say that that was done, not by the system of the Government, but in spite of it. I say that the country rose as one man, and that everything was done—volunteers came forward, and all the other steps were taken, but it was not done by our system. It seems to me that our system of national defence led to the failure at Colenso, but it was the action of the country that changed the aspect of affairs and turned the tide to success. If that was so, I think the time has come for us to demand an inquiry into those questions, and that seems to me to be the point we should brace ourselves to consider. It was not the time, nor was it desirable that we should last session go into it, but the time has now arrived. Although there are a number of points we should inquire into, I do not wish to trespass long upon the House. Still there are a few points I must refer to. Those of us who are interested in the South African war, and many of us who were present in South Africa, know that there are an immense number of points that must be considered. We are bound to ask and to get an answer why our army was not ready, and whether our guns were less or not less efficient than those of the enemy. Why was Natal left absolutely at the mercy of the Boers, and why was Ladysmith made the Aldershot of the Cape? Was our supply of ammunition adequate? These are questions which it is absolutely necessary that we should go into. I have heard on very good authority that the Navy had to be ransacked for ammunition, and that we were absolutely at a loss for ammunition at the beginning of the current year. I say we are bound, without regard to party, without regard to personal feelings, and without regard to personal interests, to inquire why that was the case. If it was so somebody should be held absolutely and personally responsible. How is this inquiry to be made? No doubt we shall be told when Parliament meets in February next that there will be a Commission or something of that sort to inquire into these questions. That may be very good, but the whole of that inquiry depends on the way in which it is made. During the election there were continual inquiries as to what changes were to be made in the *personnel* of the Government. Everybody felt that there must be changes made to carry out this inquiry, and so loud did these inquiries become that hon. Members may, perhaps, remember that just before the election Lord Roberts was announced to be the successor of the Commander-in-Chief. That gave a great feeling of relief to the whole country, but I would ask why we were not told who was to be the First Lord of the Admiralty at the same time? I myself believe if we had been told it would have been a very satisfactory thing for us to know it. I don't think that many of us would have had any great confidence in the inquiry if the name had been announced. The *Standard*, which, I believe, is a newspaper that supports the Government, was very strong upon the point, and it said if it had been announced beforehand possibly the result of the election would have been different from what it was. But immediately after the election we had a very few authentic remarks on this subject of the inquiry by the Prime Minister at the Guildhall. Here I lead up to a point which seems to me to be very vital in the consideration of this question. At the Guildhall the Prime Minister made a very remarkable speech. He praised up the War Office, and dilated upon the fact that between 200,000 and 300,000 men had been sent out. All that, I say, was done in spite of the War Office, and not by it. It was done by the country, and not by the system of national defence—by the resources of the country, and not by the resources of the War Office. The Prime Minister said he rather deprecated than encouraged unnecessary inquiry. He used the word "unnecessary," but I think that the spirit and tone of these remarks did deprecate a complete and exhaustive inquiry such as we demand. If it took Lord Lansdowne five years and a great war, with its enormous loss to this country of life and treasure, to find out that our stores were wrong, if we do not mind it will take as many years. and perhaps another war, before we get the inquiry. When the vacancy in the office of Secretary of State for War was announced to the country every newspaper, *The Times* amongst others, dilated upon the great importance of securing somebody at the War Office who was the strongest man who could be obtained—the most decided, and the most absolutely independent, and that he ought to have a free hand if he was to do anything. Can we say that we have this *rara avis* secured to us? I have great respect for the Secretary of State for War—I think he is a most excellent man; but if there had been a guessing competition, such as we find now in various newspapers, how many in this House would have guessed that the right hon. Gentleman would have been selected for this most serious and most important duty? He is a gentleman I have known during fifteen years I have been in this House, and I have found him extremely kind. He has even gone the length of being kind after he got a seat on that august Bench. But what are the antecedents of that right hon. Gentleman? He has been nearly ten years in the War Office. He has been associated with almost all the work there up to the time of the war. If there is all this deficiency in stores and in the other preparations, such, for instance, as the absence of maps which every War Office should have, I say with all due respect and from the political standpoint absolutely, that he is largely to blame for these deficiencies. I think he will form an excellent administrator; still, I think there is reason for us to feel, looking to the events of the past year in connection with the war and the condition of our national defences, that it is unfortunate that the right hon. Gentleman has been associated with that department so long, and that he has been mixed up with all these matters. I ask this: supposing there came to be a difference of opinion between Lord Salisbury and the right hon. Gentleman, is he likely to override the Prime Minister in matters concerning the War Office? The Prime Minister, in his speech, rather deprecated unnecessary inquiry. Is it likely that the right hon. Gentleman will have the power to have his own way in the case of that difference of opinion arising? We know perfectly well that when he was in the House in the last Parliament as Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs he was not allowed to answer questions of a supplementary character without referring to the Prime Minister, and therefore it seems to me that to put a man in that position who probably will have the usual differences of opinion from the Prime Minister is very dangerous. The fact of the right hon. Gentleman, of whom I wish to speak with great respect, being put in this position suggests that the War Office will continue to be considered the perfect machine it has been in the past. But it may be said—and here I come to the chief point of my argument — that, although the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for War may differ, there are other members of the Cabinet who will look after any deficiency that may arise, that he will be guided by others, acting, of course, on their own account for the great Departments—the Navy, the Treasury, and the Foreign Office. These are great Departments of the State, but three out of the four are represented in the Cabinet, and they are practically members of the same family. I say it is an unprecedented thing that one-fifth of this swollen Cabinet should practically be all of one family party. How do you expect to get independence of opinion in that case? You want men who will administer their Departments with absolute independence and vigour, which you cannot expect to get in well-ordered sons in-law and sons. In the last Cabinet there were three of this family, whom we all very highly esteem, but I think most of us feel that was enough, and that we should not have five in positions, making the Government not one of independent units, but really a Government of one family. It appears to me that this is a serious question, as this Cabinet has been so swollen. It has now twenty members. It has become so large that a sub-Cabinet has to be made, and that sub-Cabinet, with the Prime Minister and the First Lord, is practically a Cabinet of one man. With regard to the First Lord of the Admiralty, many of us knew him when he was in this House; in fact he was so fond of us he did not want to go. He sat in this House after he became a peer, and we had politely to tell him he must go. I do not wish to say a word against anybody—I am not saying a word against anybody, except in their professional or political position—but if their was a difference of opinion in regard to the Navy between Lord Selborne and Lord Salisbury, which would have more power, the father-in-law or the son-in-law? It is obvious that such a condition of affairs is not desirable. Can we for one moment compare Lord Selborne with Mr. Goschen? I say, emphatically, that Mr. Goschen was a man of great power, originality, and industry, to whom the country owes a great debt for the way in which he managed the Navy in the last Parliament, and nobody can deny that the strength and power of the office is immensely reduced, in spite of the fact that it is the most important function of this House to maintain the strength of the Navy, by the transference of the seals of the office to Lord Selborne. Then there is the Board of Trade. I candidly say that I have never heard a single man in any direction support this appointment. We know the late Home Secretary was got rid of; I have it on very good authority that he did not want to leave, but he was got rid of in order to make way for some other Gentleman. The appointment to the Board of Trade certainly does not strengthen that Department, nor does it give it an independent voice in the Cabinet, and that I extremely regret. I think I have shown conclusively that the preponderance of this one family in the Cabinet does not strengthen the Government in the eyes of this House or of the country. I do not for one moment say that the hon. and right hon. Gentlemen of this family are not men of great ability. We know they are; but if one-fifth of the Cabinet is to be of one family, why not a half, or the whole? And then there are the Lord Chancellor and the Commander-in-Chief. There are members in the family who would well fill those positions. Take the Archbishopric of Canterbury; there is no doubt about there being one perfectly competent for that post. He is so able that when he was barely ordained he was sufficiently competent to take one of the best livings in the Church. A good many years ago Lord Beaconsfield appointed the son of a clergyman in his district, I believe, to a post in the Stationery Office. The outcry was tremendous; it was considered an outrageous job. But that was a single event, and did not mean five of a family being put into offices in which they drew £17,000 or £18,000 a year, as in the present case. It is most unreasonable that this should be considered simply as a matter of private concern. Suppose for a moment that this action had been taken by the late Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Gladstone took two offices, and a great fuss was made. But supposing he had taken for his own family five or six of the highest appointments in the Cabinet. I know what would have happened then. We should have had a bill giving the names of the relatives and their salaries placarded in every borough in the land. If it would have been wrong for Mr. Gladstone, why is it not wrong when somebody else does it? I undertake to say unhesitatingly that if this matter was thoroughly explained at any meeting in the country, whether Conservative, Tory, or even Liberal Unionist, it would be strongly objected to. It is not desirable that our Government should have this jibe thrown at all. All the newspapers are jeering; the comic papers refer to it; and the other night even the House of Lords was made to laugh about this very subject. Our friends as well as our enemies speak about it, and in our Conservative clubs and elsewhere the Government is called "The Hotel Cecil, Unlimited." This being the case, are we supposed to sit on this side of the House and look as if we approved of and liked it? I may be regarded as audacious and daring to refer to the matter, but there are many on this side who agree with me, although they do not like to say so, and doubtless they will not vote for me. No doubt they do not like to look unkind; no doubt we all owe —and I would say this most emphatically —Lord Salisbury an enormous debt of gratitude. I only regret that in the last few years of his life he has done this, because it is damaging his prestige and position. But, as I say, many agree with me, although they will not vote with me—some from very high motives, and one or two, perhaps, because they think by so doing they would cut off all chance for themselves. Let them not be alarmed. They do not lose anything by being straight on this matter. They have a better chance by telling the truth straightforwardly. They must remember that the family is not yet exhausted, and there is another family in the Midland counties to pick up any crumbs which may be left. It has been said, and will be said again, that I am taking this course because I am a disappointed man, and I expected to get a large salary for some good appointment. Many in the House think this, and dare not say it, and there are thousands outside, no doubt, who will agree with them. But whatever my motive, are these things facts or not? As regards myself it is true, no doubt, that Lord Salisbury might have told my constituents that he regretted very much that he could not give me office owing to special circumstances, but he did not repeat the statement this year—there were family reasons to prevent it. I would acknowledge that I did innocently and fully believe that the Prime Minister meant what he said, and that it was not merely a diplomatic expression. But I think I am justified in saying that I am free from any such motive as that of disappointment. I have been offered an appointment, with a—to me—very large salary, and also there was held out to me by some the glittering prospect of the honour which is so keenly received and enjoyed by some of my Liberal Unionist friends behind me—namely, a belted knighthood. The appointment, I may say, was that of Auditor General. I refused it. I did not want it. I did not leave the public service twenty-five years ago in order to get a better appointment. Strange as it may seem—although some people on the Bench there might wish me to—I did not want to leave the House, and as long as my constituents give me, as they do now, one of the largest majorities in the kingdom, I am content to remain as I am, and my aspiration now is to endeavour to keep the Government a little more in order, possibly, than it was before. Nobody knows better than I do what folly it is to speak here with independence. But the times are very serious, and independence is more needed on our side than ever. We have practically—I hope hon. Gentlemen opposite will not be offended—no Opposition. At any rate, the Opposition is not very powerful. The Government can do exactly what it likes; it never consults us, although we keep it in office still. It is necessary that independence should exist, and that we should say what we think on these particular points. I do not know whether I shall be out of order, but Lord Randolph Churchill used to call it "the old gang," and I am afraid "the old gang" is more "old gangy" than it ever was. No one can possibly object to a reasonable number of a family deriving benefit from the greatness of the State. I should be the last to object. I think it is one of the highest incentives to enterprise and success that we should do something for our children. Nobody wishes to prevent that, but it must be in reason. Important and great offices must not be given to nonentities. There is another aspect of this affair. The canker worm of patronage is not limited to Parliamentary appointments. It has rarely been done so boldly as at present, but it also enters into the Army and Navy. I say emphatically this is a matter of enormous importance. How many of the early disasters of this last war were due to improper appointments in the early days of the Government? When it was thought that the war was to be of so easy a character many of the appointments were obtained by family intrigue. Men in this country are willing to sacrifice themselves, or to give their children in the war, but still there is a feeling abroad—and no hon. Member will venture to contradict me—that many of our first reverses were due to the incompetency of officers who had been largely picked out from private considerations. They may be wrong in this, but they want to know, and they want to have the matter examined. Nobody is satisfied at the present time, and they will not be satisfied unless there is a full investigation into this matter by an absolutely independent authority. I say that it is a little "off" for the Government which is going to make this inquiry to have a certain amount of taint itself in this way. In our national defence the selection of heads will be of the most vital importance, and the example set by the Government in this respect is a very unhappy one. It seems to me that although certain persons may hold high positions their families may not all be clever, and those individuals are too apt to think that their sons are as clever as they are, and they may attempt to put them into such positions. I have brought my remarks very nearly to a close. I may be very foolish to voice here what so many think. I shall no doubt be abused and hunted down, and I am aware that the unfortunate mouse that bells the cat has a bad time of it. However, that must come to pass. That is unimportant to the community so long as this matter is brought to light, and what happens to me is a matter of no concern. [AN HON. MEMBER: Hear, hear.] I am much obliged to my Liberal Unionist friend behind me for that interruption. The responsibility, no doubt, is great in these matters, and of course it should all be done absolutely for the public good. It should not only be done in that way, but it should look so to the man in the street. That is a most important point in the giving away of high patronage. When there are so many of one family selected by the head of that family, certainly it does not inspire confidence amongst outsiders, and both in politics and in the Army and Navy this weakness is certainly a very serious one. I do not know whether I shall get even a seconder for my Amendment, and I have not inquired for one. I hope I shall, and if I do I shall certainly divide the House. It may be that the Leader of the House will not even condescend to answer me. If he does, I have no doubt that I shall receive a severe castigation. But let me warn him that the division will not be an index of the feeling of this House or of the country. If everybody here could vote as they think the result would be very different. I am sure of this—that there is a feeling abroad that this sort of thing could not happen in the Conservative party. There is also a feeling abroad that we have unlimited confidence in the Prime Minister in this matter, and we expect him to use that confidence in a way which will not only satisfy himself, but satisfy outsiders; and I am sure of this—that, although my Amendment may receive little support, it will have a tendency to stop this evil going on in the future. And, therefore, with great reluctance, and still feeling that I have brought forward a proper matter for the consideration of this House, I venture to move the Amendment which stands in my name.

MR. SCHWANN (Manchester, N.) formally seconded the Amendment.

Another Amendment proposed—

"At the end of the Question, to add the words, 'But we humbly express our regret at the advice given to Your Majesty by the Prime Minister in recommending the appointment of so many of his own family to offices in the Cabinet and Government, as being calculated to diminish the responsibility of Your Majesty's Ministers to Parliament, and gravely to impair the efficiency of the public service.'"—(*Mr. Bartley.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): My hon. friend who has just sat down appeared to be absorbed during the latter part of his speech with a feeling of glowing self-satisfaction at the courage he was displaying in carrying out a difficult and dangerous public duty. He seemed to think that some terrible Nemesis would fall upon him for the line he was taking, and that he was acting a very heroic and patriotic part in throwing himself undaunted into the breach. I do not quite understand my hon. friend's view in this matter. I have been in the House now for twenty-six years, and I do not think there is any Parliamentary task more easy than, amid the cheers of your opponents, to make a personal attack on your friends. It requires for its operation and for its successful execution neither very great courage nor very great ability. I am quite sure my hon. friend has both courage and ability which he is prepared to exhibit at an appropriate moment, but the particular job which he has taken on hand to-day does not seem to be one of those which specially call for the exercise of these heroic virtues. I listened with great attention to my hon. friend, and, though I discovered that he had a very strong aversion to the number of persons in the Cabinet connected with the Prime Minister, I did not exactly understand the line of argument by which he attempted to prove that it was inimical to the public service. He did not suggest—as far as I heard him, at all events—that any of those persons were incapable of carrying out, or unfit to carry out, the functions entrusted to them. He did not even refer, I think, to myself, who am the oldest, and, I presume, the worst offender in the line of which he was speaking. What was the argument of my hon. friend? He said the country has recently been called upon to pronounce a verdict upon two great issues. One of those issues was the continuation of the war, and the other great issue was the reform of the War Office. So far so good. I followed my hon. friend in the statements he made, but I was greatly puzzled to know what bearing they had upon the conclusion he wished the House to adopt. He made a violent attack on the War Office—upon the late occupant of the War Office. He made another attack, a very unjust, and, in my opinion, very ungenerous attack, on the present holder of the War Office. Neither the late Secretary of State nor the present Secretary of State for War has the misfortune which is shared by some of their colleagues of being nearly related to the Prime Minister. How, then, was this attack, this most unmerited attack, as I think, upon Lord Lansdowne and my right hon. friend the Secretary of State for War relevant to the issue which the hon. Gentleman has brought before the House? As I understood it, that long preface about the supposed misdeeds of the War Office and the supposed incompetence of my right hon. friend near me to reform the War Office was directed to this end—that when my right hon. friend in the Cabinet found himself in disagreement with the Prime Minister upon some subject of Army reform, a faithful phalanx of relatives would come forward and outvote my right hon. friend, and prevent him from carrying out those reforms which, in another part of his speech, my hon. friend said he was by nature and training absolutely unfitted to suggest. Is that a very reasonable point of view? The hon. Gentleman said the Cabinet is now an overgrown Cabinet. If it is an overgrown Cabinet, the proportion of this unhappy and persecuted family has the smaller influence for evil. But, he said, the Cabinet is so overgrown that there must be a sub-Cabinet, and that that sub-Cabinet is composed of the Prime Minister's near relations. How does my hon. friend know that there must be a sub-Cabinet; how does he know that these things are done by a sub-Cabinet; and, if there be a sub-Cabinet, how does my hon. friend know that it is composed of the Prime Minister's near relatives? It is purely invention on my hon. friend's part, and, though it was loudly cheered by hon. Members on the opposite side of the House, I could not help smiling to myself when I remembered how inconsistent that view is with the other theory of the Cabinet which we hear constantly put forward in the Press, in the country, and, above all, by hon. Gentlemen opposite. My hon. friend's view is that the Prime Minister and his satellites, who are also his relations, rule as a sub-Cabinet over the deliberations of their colleagues and crush the budding reforming tendencies of my right hon. friend the Secretary of State for War and others, who, however incompetent, according to my hon. friend, have still inclinations towards the right. But that is not the view held by hon. Gentlemen opposite. Their view is that this Cabinet sits simply to register the decree of one all too powerful Minister, and that all too powerful Minister is not the Premier, backed up by his family, but my right hon. friend the Secretary for the Colonies. He is not, according to my hon. friend, even a member of that sub-Cabinet. In my hon. friend's perverted view of what goes on the Secretary for the Colonies does not figure at all. He vanishes altogether, while in the view of hon. Gentlemen opposite he looms an enormous and baleful figure, overshadowing his pigmy colleagues and reducing all the other nineteen gentlemen who nominally sit with him in the Cabinet to the position of humble and subservient followers. Those are two quite opposite views of the Cabinet—views which are not only opposite, but inconsistent—and I would respectfully venture to suggest to the gentlemen who have drawn these pictures—whether the picture in which the Prime Minister with his satellites figure as the villain of the piece, or the picture in which the Colonial Secretary figures as the villain—that these are both equally the creation of an uninformed imagination and have no resemblance whatever to the reality. My hon. friend goes upon the theory that from the nature of the case relatives are too likely to agree. His view, if I do not misrepresent him, is that the very fact that people are bound together by the tie of relationship prevents that independence of judgment without which, no doubt, a Cabinet cannot fulfil its full measure of utility. I do not know that I am particularly anxious to make agreement in the Cabinet more difficult than, I suppose, some Cabinets have found it, and I certainly cannot hold out the smallest hope or expectation to my hon. friend that any members of this Cabinet are likely to disagree, and certainly not the members of this Cabinet who happen to be in any way connected by relationship. But certainly if my hon. friend is not making a personal attack upon particular individuals, but is making himself the advocate of a great general principle—if that is his view, I think the smallest knowledge of English history will inform him that there have been constantly near relations assooiated together in the Government of the country, and that they have hardly ever contrived to agree during the whole of their political career. I am not going to run down the long course of successive Ministries, but I may remind my hon. friend that Walpole could not help quarrelling with his brother-in-law, Lord Townshend, and turning him out of the Secretaryship of State; that Lord Temple first quarrelled with his brother-in-law, who won for us Canada, and then quarrelled with his brother, who lost to us America; that they alternately agreed and alternately quarrelled with each other until the quarrels of the Grenvilles and the Pitts formed half the English history of the third quarter of the last century. In the next generation, unless my memory fails me, the second Pitt and Mr. Grenville, afterwards Lord Grenville, first cousins, were two of the most important members of Mr. Pitt's first Administration. For some reason or other, which I either never knew or have forgotten, after the Peace of Amiens Lord Grenville found it impossible to work again with his relatives. The Duke of Wellington and Lord Wellesley, when they worked together, worked together for the great benefit of the country, but unfortunately, as is well known, in later life the two brothers found it impossible to work together harmoniously, greatly, as I think, to the public loss. And even in the great Reform Cabinet of Lord Grey of 1830, unless all the stories that have come down to us are erroneous, the two most important members of that Cabinet were Lord Grey and his son-in-law, Lord Durham, and their relations very often left much to be desired. I have gone into this long parenthesis, but my hon. friend really need not be so distressed about this imaginary danger that, owing to there being two or three gentlemen of the same family in the Cabinet, independence of opinion is lost and the power of the Prime Minister unduly magnified. The hon. Member has told us that if the composition of the Government had been known before the General Election was concluded it would have been alluded to at every meeting, placarded on every hoarding, and the public indignation would have been so aroused that the General Election would have turned out differently.

MR. BARTLEY: I did not say that.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I certainly thought my hon. friend did suggest that.

MR. BARTLEY: I said that if Mr. Gladstone had so acted that is what would have been done by us.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: If I remember rightly Mr. Gladstone did appoint the only son he then had in the House of Commons to office. [HON. MEMBERS on the Opposition Benches: "No."] My memory may be wrong. If he did appoint his son he was quite right. I make no criticism upon him. I thought that was the fact. I am really almost ashamed to follow the line of my hon. friend, but I think Mr. Gladstone did appoint another son. I was not referring to that part of my hon. friend's speech in which he touched on that suggestion. I have no desire to deal with a controversy of that character. I was alluding to the part of my hon. friend's speech in which he distinctly stated, as I understood him, that this was a subject which might be brought, and ought to have been brought, before the public at the election, and that if it had been so brought forward public indignation would have been aroused. Well, there is but one member of the present Government connected with Lord Salisbury who was not in the late Government. I am not aware that the composition of the late Government raised this storm of indignation of which my hon. friend complains. I have not heard, directly or indirectly, of such an attack upon this supposed evil distribution of offices. But perhaps my hon. friend will allow me to say that attacks of this sort should be made, if made at all, not upon the principle of selection, but upon the individuals selected. If it be true that any of the individuals selected are unfit for the offices they hold, it is a matter for regret and for legitimate criticism. But if they are fit, then I say that the unhappy accident of birth ought to be no bar to their selection, to these gentlemen having office. My hon. friend, perhaps only from kind feeling and good taste, refrained from suggesting that any member of the Prime Minister's family who is in office is incapable of carrying out the duties of his office. He kept the venom of his indignation for my right hon. friend near me, the present Secretary for War, and Lord Lansdowne, the late Secretary for War, neither of whom have any blood relationship, or any connection by marriage with the Prime Minister. It has never fallen to my lot to form a Government, but I have seen a good deal of the formation of Governments, and I cannot imagine a task at once more difficult and more distasteful to be imposed upon any human being. The Prime Minister has had to discharge this, of all his duties the most difficult and important, four times, and I do not think that the performance of that duty has met with any serious hostile criticism in any part of the country. If a Government were to be selected by competitive examination, if the occupants of the Treasury Bench could be chosen for their skill in Greek iambics, it would very greatly facilitate the task of the Prime Minister, though it would very greatly change the composition of this Bench. Indeed, I am not sure that there is any member of this Bench, except, perhaps, my right hon. friend and relative the President of the Board of Trade, who would come out of such an ordeal with even decent credit. But unfortunately the task of the Prime Minister is very different, and very much more important. I do not believe it possible that it could be exercised to the universal satisfaction, at all events of those who, quite rightly, perhaps, think that had the choice fallen upon them they would not have discredited the Government. My hon. friend, I think, in one part of his speech admitted that he was a disappointed candidate, and in another part he rather repudiated the suggestion. I do not know which of those two views represent the real mind and mood of my hon. friend. But this I must and can say—if the country did anything at the last election it entrusted the present Prime Minister with the task of forming an Administration. It did so with a knowledge of him reaching back to the year 1885, when he formed his first Administration, of which, I almost regret to say, I was a member, so inveterate are the faults of Lord Salisbury, so early had his unhappy leaning towards his relations shown itself. But if the country has had before it the knowledge of the manner in which Lord Salisbury has exercised this high trust, a trust which no one can share with him, which the Cabinet cannot share with him, and which none of his colleagues in the Cabinet can share with him, which from the very nature of the case he must exercise in isolated responsibility—and if the decision of the country, repeated not once, nor twice, but three or four times, means anything, it means that they repose not only in his integrity, which no man doubts, but in his ability to carry out what is the most difficult, the most responsible, and almost, I might say, the most heartbreaking and most thankless task that could be imposed upon any subject of Her Majesty.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS (Carnarvonshire, Eifion) said that nobody suggested that the accident of birth should be a disqualification for office. The right hon. Gentleman was himself a case in point, for no one would even hint that he had not fully earned his spurs. But that was not the question before the House. The question was that there were members of Her Majesty's Government who surely would never have been appointed to their offices but for the accident of their relationship to the Prime Minister, and nobody could suggest that these appointments had been made by merit. The right hon. Gentleman had made reference to the difficulties the Prime Minister had in forming a Cabinet, but Lord Salisbury had solved that difficulty in a very peculiar way. He did it much in the same way that the monkey solved the difficulty of dividing the cheese between the cats, by eating the cheese himself. The hon. Member for North Islington had made reference to Mr. Gladstone. The universal feeling in this House, he ventured to say, was that it was unthinkable, by way of suspicion, to couple Mr. Gladstone's name with such a proposition, or that a man of Mr. Gladstone's high feeling could ever descend to anything of the kind. It was only on the other side of the House that a gross job of this kind had ever been or would ever be perpetrated.

*MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): I was satisfied that this was one of the subjects that unfortunately must be raised in the House; inevitably, I think, under the circumstances. I could not but suppose that a matter which had attracted such notice outside, ought to have some little attention inside the House. My right hon. friend the First Lord of the Treasury claims that my hon. friend below the gangway did not attack the personal capacity of the Members of the Salisbury family appointed to the Government; but neither did my right hon. friend defend the capacity of these Ministers. Again, in answer to my hon. friend below the gangway, who said that there was too great a chance of several members of a family being in agreement with each other in the Cabinet, the First Lord quoted historical instances of relatives in past Governments having disagreed with each other, and the evils which had fallen in consequence upon the Empire. That, he said, suggested was the more likely thing to happen; and, therefore, if we were to abandon the position of the mover of the Amendment we must take up the position of my right hon. friend, and say that the appointment of so many members of the same family to the Cabinet will tend to a disagreement, and to the consequent ruin of the Empire. My right hon. friend was a little hard on the mover of the Amendment. He said his action was unjust and ungenerous, and had shown venom, and that he was a disappointed candidate.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No.

*MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I am in the remembrance of the House. Did not the right hon. Gentleman say that my hon. friend had reserved the venom of his indignation for particular Ministers?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I said that his attack upon the Secretary for War and upon Lord Lansdowne was irrelevant.

*MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I think my right hon. friend has now made his charge worse, for he says that the Member for North Islington had shown not merely venom, but irrelevant venom. My hon. friend has, indeed, some excuse for his action. Perhaps he is a disappointed candidate; but the right hon. Gentleman is a candidate who has not been disappointed, and he defended the place in which the House would fain keep him.

> "These fight like husbands, and like lovers
>   those;
> These fain would keep, and those more fain
>   enjoy."

The Member for North Islington fights like a lover, while the First Lord of the Treasury fights like a husband, though his marital duties are not heavy. My hon. friend the Member for North Islington, if he is disappointed, has some reason to be so; he was a Tory when right hon. Gentlemen now sitting on the Treasury Bench were Radicals and Socialists. My hon. friend was one of a small band of Tories, who in the years 1893, 1894, and 1895, stubbornly conducted the assault on Her Majesty's Radical Government, and fought unceasingly by night and day, often when their leaders were not there to lead them, when their Front Bench was empty, and when every member of it was absent, enjoying the society of congenial souls. My hon. friend was one of the foremost of the fighters, and when the fortress of the Government was captured he was left outside. Why, I do not know, and I do not undertake to say; but certainly it was very largely owing to that little band, of whom he was one of the foremost, that the Government now sits on these benches. But my hon. friend must not assume that his case is hopeless. Not at all. Last May the hon. and gallant Member for the Wellington Division of Somerset, sitting on this bench, made what was considered to be an attack on the Government with reference to the issue of General Buller's despatches. He ventured to say that Sir Redvers Buller was a gentleman, and this was so resented that the First Lord of the Treasury fell upon the hon. and gallant Member, and broke him in pieces like a potter's vessel, on the ground that to say General Buller was a gentleman was, under the circumstances, to say that the members of the Government were no gentlemen; and he said that in the whole course of his experience he had never heard so scandalous and unjust an attack, and that he did not think that any language could be severe enough to characterise it. Yet the hon. and gallant Gentleman has now been appointed to that excellent post, Vice-Chamberlain of the Household. The critic of May has become the Vice-Chamberlain of December. Perhaps the critic of December may become the Chamberlain of May! My hon. friend suggests that there are too many members of one family in the Government. Well, there are a good few of them. My hon. friend suggests that that does not strengthen the Government. If I were asked whether all the changes that have been made have weakened or strengthened Her Majesty's Government, I should respectfully ask that the question should be postponed till the next day; and I do not desire now to express my opinion about it. My right hon. friend the First Lord of the Treasury has very truly pointed out that of all the tasks the leader of a party has to undertake there is none so difficult, so invidious, and so thankless, and one in which failure is so easy, as that of constructing a Government. But the difficulty is doubled when you come to reconstruct a Government, because then you have not only to appoint people, but to disappoint them. You have not only to take in, but also to turn out. There are also certain technical difficulties, such as the need of making up to one House what was taken from it. It is held necessary to give an equal number of great offices to the House of Lords and the House of Commons. If you take away the Secretary of State for War from the House of Lords you have to take away the First Lord of the Admiralty from this House. Then there is another very serious difficulty to be considered after a General Election, which is the claim of those who have supported the Government in the election. For elections cost money. Peers and other great personages subscribe their money to Party funds, and their claims are serious; their families often are numerous. The horse leech had daughters crying "Give, give," but it is not recorded that it had sons-in-law or nephews. Finally, there is the important question of the ability of the Members to be appointed to the Government, for, though ability is the last and least thing to be considered, yet there is no doubt that ability always lends a certain charm to a Government. Here I think my hon. friend has underrated the difficulties that beset the Prime Minister. When the Prime Minister is in the House of Commons he knows his followers, and can judge for himself whether they are men of ability; but when he sits, like a Grand Lama, on the distant red benches of another place, it is difficult for him to get that knowledge, and perhaps he does not always have adequate assistance in obtaining it. In his own family circle, however, he does know; he is able to detect there the latent political talents and administrative qualities that might perhaps be unsuspected by persons outside. Consequently by utilising this talent that he does know he is exposed to the danger of somewhat disregarding the enormous amount of talent that he does not know. In the case of the Liberal Unionists, however, there is no doubt, he does get adequate assistance, for their leaders are hard fighters, they go in for power, their claims are always adequately pressed—so much so, indeed, that really I think the Government will soon become more Liberal Unionist than Conservative. But I think it is not so bad as it might have been. The Government might have been filled with souls, Cecils, sycophants, and socialists. But it is not so. A very large proportion of very able men have survived the reconstruction. I have already alluded to the difficulty of getting rid of people. One right hon. Gentleman has disclosed the method by which that was done; they were required by the Prime Minister to surrender their places, not because there was any condemnation of their policy, but because "vacancies were wanted for others." It was absolute surrender that was required, unconditional surrender, and the purpose avowed was to make places for "others." The summons to surrender met with various results. The right hon. Member for Sleaford surrendered, though he more or less kept his colours flying as he marched out. I feel that that right hon. Gentleman had been treated a little ungenerously; but he has shown very considerable dignity, and has given very useful political information. Some members of the Government, however, when summoned to surrender refused, if they did not even fire on the white flag; they were the younger and more boisterous members—giddy young things of the age of from 70 to 75, whose warlike ardour could not be restrained, and it was likely that they would fly their colours to the last. In the case of the Home Secretary, it appears that he was taken neck and shoulders and turned out. That was a very hard thing for the Prime Minister to be forced to do. The late Home Secretary performed his duties with courage and ability, and, although sometimes in the face of considerable doubt on the part of the public, always with final success. Who, now, was the "other" here? Who was the place wanted for? The immediate successor to the office was the President of the Board of Trade, but he already had an office, so it was not for him. The vacancy thereby created was given to the late Secretary for Ireland, who was the other intended to be provided for. For him it was, in reality, that the Home Secretary was turned out. That right hon. Gentleman was considered to be so great a success that he could not even be left to Ireland; he must be put into this office, and into the Cabinet. So the Home Secretary was turned out to put him in. Then Mr. Goschen was called upon to surrender the Admiralty. He evactuated the position very promptly, though I am not sure that there was not a tough fight before he went.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR interjected a remark which did not reach the gallery.

*MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I take it entirely from the right hon. Gentleman that there was no pressure whatever put upon the First Lord of the Admiralty. He retired because he was tired of public life. But the noble Lord who succeeded him is chiefly remembered in this House as having introduced, with other scions of the aristocracy, a Bill whose object was to enable them to sit in either House of Parliament when they liked. I have nothing to say against the noble Lord personally, except this, that he is not the person I should have expected to have seen appointed as First Lord of the Admiralty at this time, considering the very serious condition of the Navy. I will not go into the minor surrenders further than to say that there was the Financial Secretary to the Admiralty and the Financial Secretary to the War Office, who were both turned out and made Privy Councillors, and will now have to advise Her Majesty on great affairs of State. But the family party in the Cabinet is not so large, after all; it has only been increased from two to four. It has only been doubled, and it is only a fifth part of the Cabinet. That is to say, the family is only assumed to represent and to embody a fifth part of the talent on all the benches on this side of the House and on the Government side in the other House. Surely that is a small assumption to make for so gifted a family! They are talented. I believe there is an extreme possibility that they may all prove heaven-born statesmen, all prove illustrious men, and perform the greatest possible services to their country. But their abilities are as unknown to the Party in general as the abilities of the Party in general are unknown to their leader, Lord Salisbury. But when Lord Salisbury, knowing those abilities, reflects that he has only four of his own family in the Cabinet—though, I believe, two had been appointed outside it—he must be astonished at his own moderation. But it must have been a greater matter for astonishment that, after having so provided for all the talent that he knew of in his family, he found himself without any emolument at all—the one unpaid volunteer in a Ministry created by himself. We have heard of the pelican that fed its young with its own blood, but that was a lame and halting precedent for what must have taken place here. But there is here a difficulty and an abuse. The office of Prime Minister, as such, is unknown to the Law. There are therefore no emoluments attached to such an office. There is, however, an office that belongs to the Prime Minister of this country, one which was provided some 150 years ago; that is the office of First Lord of the Treasury. There are no administrative or departmental duties attached to that office; there are no duties whatever attached to it; it is an office consisting of a salary. I will not weary the House, else I could produce authorities on the subject. Mr. Lowe in 1869 avowed that the office has no duties connected with it; Sir William Anderson, in his recent work on the Constitution, explains that the office has no duties and has always been associated with the office of Prime Minister. So, too, says Mr. Alpheus Todd in his work on Parliamentary Government. The Duke of Wellington said in 1827 that it was difficult, if not impossible, for the Prime Minister to hold any other office than that of First Lord of the Treasury, on account of the great financial control that the department of the Treasury exercised over all the other departments of the Government. And the Duke has been justified by the fact that Lord Salisbury, in consequence of his not holding this office, has been forced —he, the Prime Minister—to make himself a most serious attack in the House of Lords on the Treasury itself. This was only because he was not himself, as he should have been, First Lord of the Treasury, and because he, therefore, could not control it. Now I do not know how far family considerations have had anything to do with it, but what I do know is this, that for some years past Lord Salisbury, whose greatness of public spirit, whose talents, knowledge, ability, and temper have been of most undoubted advantage at the Foreign Office, and who has been the almost indispensable Foreign Minister ever since he took over the difficulties of the Office, has now recognised the impossibility of continuing the duties of both Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, and has wisely placed our foreign affairs in the most capable hands of Lord Lansdowne, and so brought them under the purview of two minds instead of one. For that we ought to be very thankful. But Lord Salisbury, having retained the Prime Ministership, should have the post that belongs to him as such. He should be First Lord of the Treasury. But that is not to be done. He has assumed the post of Lord Privy Seal, an office all the duties whereof were abolished not because there are any new duties attached to it, but because the Prime Minister is kept out of his own proper office. That is a very unfortunate state of things. Eight offices were vacant in the Cabinet, and one of them might have been given to the Leader of the House. A salary is not given to the office of Leader of the House, any more than a salary is given to the Leader of the Opposition. They are the leaders of two great parties, but that is all; there is no salary attached to those offices. Now, is there any objection to an unusual preponderance of a family unduly gifted with public ability? I think there is. My hon. friend adduced argument against the inner Cabinet, and I think his argument was a strong one. The Cabinet was instituted when the Privy Council became too large to do expeditious work. Now, I do not know if the Colonial Secretary is to be taken into the inner Cabinet, but I do know that there is a strong probability of an irregular inner Cabinet in which a policy might be suggested at breakfast, discussed at luncheon, and settled at dinner, in the same dining-room. But in all this reconstruction and re-arrangement of offices the one thing which seems to me most important is the Admiralty. I am convinced that there are matters of difficulty and danger in connection with the Navy which demand the greatest exertions of the very best men available at that Department. There are serious defects in, serious dangers connected with the Navy. With regard to arrears of construction, to training, to instructions and direction, it has been impaired. I have not said much about this matter in the House, but I have never ceased to press it in other places, and all those things have filled me with great anxiety. As I say, I have not pressed them in this House, but in the private rooms of Ministers and other places, and I am not without some belief that I have given some private assistance to Ministers in some of these matters. It was a matter of great pride to me when I was told by the late Attorney General that I had rendered assistance in discovering a trading case as to contraband of war destined to a neutral port, and in other ways. My belief is that in all these matters serious dangers affect the Navy; and the answer which I and all those who feel this anxiety have received has been the appointment of a Board of Admiralty, which seems to me to be a mocking and contemptuous dismissal of the anxieties keenly felt and the representations seriously made. The new Board of Admiralty is not satisfactory, and rather adds to than diminishes these anxieties, and I regret that Lord Salisbury has shown, as I think he has, a marked absence of desire to consult the views and allay the apprehensions of his followers. It was proper, indeed, to bring forward this motion. It has now been discussed, attacked, and defended, and the jury outside will decide. I hope, therefore, that now my hon. friend will see fit to withdraw his Amendment. [Cries of "No, No."] The hon. Gentleman is in the hands of the House, but that is my suggestion.

Question put.

The House divided.—Ayes, 128; Noes, 230. (Division List No. 4.)

AYES.

Allan, William (Gateshead)
Allen, C. P. (Glouc., Stroud)
Asher, Alexander
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith, Rt. Hon. Herbert H.
Atherley-Jones, L.
Barker, John
Barlow, John Emmott
Beaumont, Wentworth C. D.
Bell, Richard
Black, Alexander William
Bowles, T. Gibson (King's Lynn)
Brigg, John
Broadhurst, Henry
Brown, Geo. M. (Edinburgh)
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Burns, John
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caine, William Sproston
Caldwell, James
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Craig, Robert Hunter
Cremer, William Randal
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duncan, James H.
Dunn, Sir William
Edwards, Frank
Ellis, John Edward
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Furness, Sir Christopher
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Griffith, Ellis J.
Gurdon, Sir William Brampton
Haldane Richard Burdon
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Sir William
Hardie, J Keir (Merthyr Tydvil)
Harmsworth, R. Leicester
Harwood, George
Hayne, Rt. Hon. Charles Seale-
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Healy, Timothy Michael
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Holland, William Henry
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Jacoby, James Alfred
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, David Brynmor (Swans'a
Jones, William (Carnarvonsh.)
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kinloch, Sir John George Smyth
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leng, Sir John
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Kenna, Reginald
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mather, William
Mellor, Rt. Hon. John Wm.
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen
Moss, Samuel
Moulton, John Fletcher
Murray, Hn. A. W. (Midlothian
Newnes, Sir George
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
Palmer, George Wm. (Reading
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Perks, Robert William
Pickard, Benjamin
Pirie, Duncan V.
Rea, Russell
Reckitt, Harold James
Reed, Sir Edw. James (Cardiff
Reid, Sir R. T. (Dumfries)
Rickett, J. Compton
Rigg, Richard
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Robson, William Snowdon
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shipman, Dr. John
Sinclair, Capt. J. (Forfarshire)
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer, Rt Hn C. R. (Northants
Strachey, Edward
Taylor, Theodore Cooke
Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.)
Thomas, Alfred (Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas, F. Freeman-(Hastings
Thomas, J A (Glamorgan Gower
Thomson, Frederick W.
Tomkinson, James
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Walton, John L. (Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Weir, James Galloway
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Bartley and Mr. Schwann.

NOES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Aird, John
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arroll, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Austin, Sir John
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch'r
Banbury, Frederick George

Beach,Rt.Hn.SirM.H(Bristol)
Beckett, Ernest William
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, A.
Bigwood, James
Bill, Charles
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith-
Boulnois, Edmund
Bowles,Capt.H.F.(Middlesex)
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brown,AlexanderH.(Shropsh.
Butcher, John George
Carlile, William Walter
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Chamberlain,Rt.Hon.J(Birm.
Chamberlain,JAusten(Worc'r
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A.E.
Coddington, Sir William
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colomb,SirJohnCharlesReady
Colston,Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Cook, Frederick Lucas
Corbett, A.Cameron(Glasgow)
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Cust, Henry John C.
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davies,SirHoratioD(Chatham
Dewar,T.R.(T'rH'mlets,S.Geo
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Dimsdale,Sir Joseph Cockfield
Dixon-Hartland, Sir F. Dixon
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford,Sir William Theodore
Duke, Edward Henry
Dyke,Rt.Hon.SirWilliamHart
Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fellowes,Hon.AilwynEdward
Fergusson,Rt.HnSirJ.(Manc'r
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, George H.
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, SirRobertPenrose-
Fitzroy,Hon.EdwardAlgernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Fletcher, Sir Henry
Flower, Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Galloway, William Johnson
Garfit, William
Gibbs,Hn.A.G.H(CityofLond.
Gibbs,Hon. Vicary(St.Albans)
Godson,SirAugustusFrederick
Gordon,Hn.J.E.(Elgin&Nairn
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gordon,Maj.W.(Tow'rH'ml'ts
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John E.
Goschen, George Joachim
Green, W. D. (Wednesbury)
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Groves, James Grimble
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Gunter, Colonel
Hain, Edward
Halsey, Thomas Frederick
Hambro, Charles Eric
Hamilton,RtHonLordG(M'd'x
Hanbury, Rt. Hn. Robert W.
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th
Harris,Dr.Fred.B.(Monmouth
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Hay, Claude
Heath,ArthurHoward(Hanley
Helder, Augustus
Hermon-Hodge, Rbt. Trotter
Higginbottom, S. W.
Hoare,Edw.Brodie(Hampste'd
Hoare, Sir Samuel (Norwich)
Hobhouse,Henry(Somerset,E.
Hogg, Lindsay
Hope,J.F.(Sheffi'ld,Brightside
Horner, Frederic William
Houldsworth, Sir Wm. Henry
Hoult, Joseph
Houstan, Robert Paterson
Hozier, Hon. Jas. Henry Cecil
Jackson, Rt. Hn. Wm. Lawies
Jeffreys, Arthur Frederick
Jessel, Capt. Herbert Merton
Kennaway,Rt.Hn. SirJohn H.
Kenyon, James (Lancs., Bury)
Kenyon-Slaney, Col.W.(Salop
Knowles, Lees
Lambton, Hon. Frederick W.
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Lawson, John Grant
Lecky, Rt. Hn. William E. H.
Lee,CaptA.H(Hants.Fareham
Legge, Colonel Heneage
Leigh-Bennett, Henry Currie
Leveson-Gower, Fred. N. S.
Long, Col. Chas.W.(Evesham)
Long, Rt.Hon. W. (Bristol,S.)
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Lucas, Col.Francis(Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reginald (Portsmouth)
Macartney, Rt. Hon. G. W. E.
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maclure, Sir John William
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Iver, Sir L. (Edinburgh,W.)
M'Killop, James(Stirlingshire
Majendie, James A. H.
Manners, Lord Cecil
Maple, Sir John Blundell
Marshall-Hall, Edward
Maxwell,W.J.(Dumfriesshire)
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
Middlemore, J. Throgmorton
Milward, Colonel Victor
Mitchell, William
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montague, G. (Huntingdon)
Moore, William (Antrim, N.)
More, R. Jasper (Shropshire)
Morgan, D. J. (Walthamstow)
Morris, Hon. Martin Henry F.
Morton,ArthurH.A(Deptford)
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray,RtHnAGraham(Bute
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Myers, William Henry
Newdigate, FrancisAlexander
Nicholson, William Graham
Nicol, Donald Ninian
Orr-Ewing, Charles Lindsay

Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
Parker, Gilbert
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy

Randles, John J.
Rankin, Sir James
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renwick, George
Ridley,Sir M.W.(Stalybridge)
Ridley, S. F. (Bethnal Green)
Ritchie,Rt.HonChasThomson
Robertson, Henry (Hackney)
Robinson, Brooke
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Ropner, Colonel Robert

Sadler, Col. SamuelAlexander
Samuel, Harry S. (Limehouse)
Sandys,Lieut.-Col.ThosMyles
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Saunderson,Rt.HnCol.Edw.J.
Seton-Karr, Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Shaw-Stewart,M.H.(Renfrew)
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Smith,Abel H.(Hertford,East)
Spear, John Ward
Spencer,Ernest(W.Bromwich)
Stanley,Edward J. (Somerset)
Stewart,SirMarkJ.M'Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stock, James Henry
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John

Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot,Rt.Hn.J.G(Oxf'dUniv.
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson,Wm.Edw. Murray
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Tufnell, Col. Edward
Tuke, Sir John Batty

Valentia, Viscount

Walker, Col. William Hall
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warde, Lieut.-Col. C. E.
Wason,John Cathcart(Orkney
Webb, Colonel WilliamGeorge
Welby,Lt.-Col. A.C.E(Taunt'n
Welby,Sir CharlesG.E.(Notts)
Wharton,Rt.Hon. John Lloyd
Williams RtHnJPowell-(Birm
Wills, Sir Frederick
Wilson,Arthur S. (York,E. R.)
Wilson, John (Falkirk)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson,J.W.(Worcestersh.N.)
Wilson-Todd,Wm.H. (Yorks.)
Wodehouse,Rt,Hn.E.R.(Bath)
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir William Walrond and Mr. Anstruther.

Third Day.

Main Question again proposed.

MINISTERS OF THE CROWN AND MEMBERS HOLDING OFFICE (INTEREST IN CONTRACTS).

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE (Carnarvon Boroughs): I rise to move the Amendment which stands in my name on the Paper. During the last seven years attention has repeatedly been called in this House to the question of Ministers holding appointments and engaging in occupations which bring their private interests into conflict with their public duty. Some of those cases were cases of directors of public companies which were contracting with the Government. There were one or two other cases in which directors held shares in public companies, some of them coming in contact with their own departments. I do not propose to-night to refer to any of those cases in support of this Amendment. I simply wish to refer to them generally in order to remind the House of the facts, and remind them also that this is simply part and parcel of the policy of objecting to operations of this kind, and that we are not singling out a single case or a single Minister. Wherever any Minister or servant of the public has placed himself in a similar position there has been no hesitation on either side of the House in raising a protest. Therefore, I do not propose to refer individually to any of those cases, although they would be perfectly relevant and germane to this Amendment. I wish simply to confine myself to the facts, most of them fresh, most of them discovered within the last few weeks, and none of which have been brought to the attention of the House at all. I therefore deem it to be the duty of some Member of the House, were it only for the purpose of eliciting an explanation, to state the facts in presence of Ministers arraigned, so as to give them full opportunity for explanation. If that be unfair, it would be worse than unfair if we missed the first opportunity that has offered of bringing all these circumstances to the knowledge of the House. They have been canvassed and discussed in the country. We have discussed them at our election meetings, and I think it is due to the Ministers whose names have been mentioned, to the House of Commons, and to the country, that all these facts should be brought to the attention of the House, in the place where there will be an opportunity of canvassing them thoroughly. There are two or three Ministers whose names have been associated with companies, concerning which there has been so much discussion of late. Before I come to the facts, I should like to say one or two words with regard to general principles. It is very difficult to lay down, I fully appreciate, a rule for the conduct of public men or Ministers of the Crown in matters of this character. The only Act of Parliament that deals with it at all is an Act passed in the reign of George III. At that time most of the industry and commerce of this country was in the hands of private firms, and it was rather the exception than otherwise for an incorporated company to be carrying on trade. Therefore rules which were framed under conditions of that character are neither adequate nor even applicable to the circumstances of the present day, when most of the industries of this country are carried on by joint stock enterprise. I might give an illustration of the unfairness of the present state of the law. A Member of this House may also be a member of a firm which has a small contract with a Government department; it does not matter how small the contract, it does not matter how insignificant in the firm his interest may be, still he is disqualified and liable to a penalty. On the other hand, he may hold nine-tenths of the shares of a public company which has an enormous trade with the Government, and that disqualification does not apply. That at once proves that there is an anomaly in the present state of the law which calls for some sort of redress or remedy. With regard to the principles which ought to be laid down I wish to deal with the right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary, and the rules which he himself has laid down. I venture to say there is no better judge. He has had great experience in business and in municipal affairs. He has had a wide range of experience, and consequently he will be able to detect the dangers and provide against them very much better than any other Member of this House. Therefore, I quote with confidence any rules or principles he may lay down as certain to be more or less applicable to cases of this character. I venture to say that no one has been more ruthless than the right hon. Gentleman himself in criticising transactions of the kind we complain of. I believe that he signalised his first entry into public life in Birmingham by the exposure of a councillor who had been guilty of contracting for the Corporation, and it will be within the memory of several Members of the House that he made a severe attack upon Lord Salisbury in the year 1885, because Lord Salisbury and his agents and friends in the Upper House had insisted upon the insertion of a clause in an Act of Parliament, the effect of which would be to give an enormously enhanced value to Lord Salisbury's own property in London. The right hon. Gentleman exposed that transaction in very scathing terms and laid it bare—that is, he stated the facts in the way he alone can state them. Therefore I am sure he will not complain if we state the facts with regard to the other circumstances which require explanation. I will, therefore, quote two or three rules which he has laid down—one at the beginning of the first part of his career and the other at the end of the same portion of his career—referring to the same kind of transactions. Since then I have not seen any cases in which he has taken the same interest, except possibly in the Transvaal. He has laid down some very important rules. One is the case of Sir Hercules Robinson. He was appointed High Commissioner by the late Government, and the right hon. Gentleman objected to the appointment, because he had held some shares in Rhodesian companies. Sir Hercules Robinson had parted with these shares before his appointment, and the right hon. Gentleman was aware of the fact, and that is rather important. Notwithstanding that fact he persisted in his criticism of the appointment, and declared that a person appointed to represent the Queen should be not only pure, but, like Cæsar's wife, above suspicion. I am quite prepared to admit these words with regard to the right hon. Gentleman himself. Allow me to say at the outset that I am not going to attempt to make or suggest any charge of personal corruption against the right hon. Gentleman, or any of the other hon. Gentlemen who are members of some public company. That is not my case at all. I shall simply state the facts, and I shall state clearly the inferences I propose to draw from them, but corruption is not one of them. The right hon. Gentleman went on to say that something more than that was necessary. It was not merely enough, in the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman, that an officer of the State should be incorruptible, but he must have no association with companies, either past or present association, which would make him open to suspicion. That is the rule which I call the rule of Cæsar's wife. I am simply stating the proposition of the right hon. Gentleman himself. That is what he lays down, and I accept it fully. The second regulation the right hon. Gentleman has laid down is for the conduct of his own officers in Ceylon. This is the rule—

> "No officer shall be allowed to engage in commercial pursuits or purchase shares in any local land company, nor shall any officer make or continue an investment which may interest him privately in any private or public undertaking with which his public duty is connected. All officers shall confidentially consult the Government as regards any investment which may be reasonally open to doubt. The foregoing regulation applies to the holding of land by an officer in the name or names of members of an officer's family."

That is practically what is wanted in the Amendment, and if Her Majesty says that there is no objection, then the blame is not upon the Minister. But the second part of this regulation is a still more pertinent one. The foregoing regulation applies to the holding of land by an officer in the name or names of an officer's family. May I suggest, then, that there is a necessary and inevitable corollary of these two rules, and it is this, that unless these rules are observed by, and enforced against, officers of State in high places you cannot possibly enforce them against subordinate officials. That is one of the principal points I propose to make. When once these rules are broken by any person in high position it leads to the complete demoralisation of the whole Civil Service. It is setting a dangerous precedent. I am sorry to say that the right hon. Gentleman, if my facts are correct, is the first to break his own commandments. He has stated in the House that he has no interest, direct or indirect, in any company which supplies to the Government munitions or war materials. What are the facts? The Colonial Secretary has since admitted that that statement is not strictly accurate.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN, Birmingham, W.): No.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: I understood him in the letter to the hon. Member for

Bradford to say with regard to one company—Tubes, Limited—that that was not strictly accurate.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I do not admit it.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: Very well, I will come to that later on, when I come to deal with the Tubes. I will give a list of the companies in which I say the right hon. Gentleman and the hon. Member for East Worcestershire, the Financial Secretary of the Treasury, are interested. The first company is called Hoskins and Sons, Limited. I believe they were incorporated in December, 1897, and I take it on the authority of the Financial Secretary of the Treasury that at the time of their incorporation they had some dealings with the Admiralty. They have since been Admiralty contractors. I find that this company now is practically a private company owned by the right hon. Gentleman's family. I do not wish to read out the names—I think it would be invidious; but I can state generally that they are related to the right hon. Gentleman; they reside under his rooftree, and they are related to him in such a way that I venture to say the right hon. Gentleman's interest is direct, or certainly indirect. The only person who holds any shares in this company except the right hon. Gentleman's family is a gentleman of the name of Hall, who is manager, I believe. It has got the usual permissions in the articles of association providing that it may be made a family company. I shall say a word later on with regard to the names added to this company, but for the present, having stated that all the shares are owned by the right hon. Gentleman's family, I will show what this company is, and I will take it from its own bill-heads. The bill-head is "Hoskins and Sons, Limited, contractors to the Admiralty." I think I am bound to mention that the Civil Lord of the Admiralty holds 600 shares of £5 each. [AN HON. MEMBER: Secretary to the Treasury.] He was Civil Lord of the Admiralty until quite recently, and he held £3,000 worth of shares in that company. There is also on the bill-heads "Shot and shell racks, and all similar fittings for Her Majesty's Navy." That is their own description of their business. They have got other things described as materials for ships' use. By the way, the telegraphic address is, "Berths, Birmingham." I recommend this to the hon. Member for North Islington. The directors, I believe, are members of the right hon. Gentleman's family and relatives of the Financial Secretary to the Treasury. There is a point with regard to this company which I think demands explanation, partly from the fact that the late Civil Lord of the Admiralty holds shares in the company which is described as "Contractors to the Admiralty." The point is that there are only five *bona fide* shareholders in this company. You must have seven in order to have a limited company. That is done by giving a share to some nominal holder, and another share to another nominal holder. Then the company is registered. The extraordinary thing about this company is that the numbers are made up not to seven but to ten. Why? It is not for me to suggest a reason, but I think I am entitled to quote the Act of Parliament dealing with contractors to the Admiralty. It provides that—

> "No Member of the House of Commons may share in any contract with the Government, or derive any benefit from an order, but this disability does not apply in the case of contracts with companies or corporations which consist of at least ten persons."

Will the House bear this in mind? The usual practice when you register a private company, and the number of real shareholders will not make up the requisite seven, is to give two or three shares to others just to make up the number. In this case the practice has been departed from, and nominal shares have been given to clerks to bring up the number to ten. In view of that Act of Parliament I think the House will infer what is the object. So much for the case of Hoskins and Sons, "Berths, Birmingham." Now I come to the case of the Birmingham Trust. The Birmingham Trust was formed to invest in selected stocks and shares and to average investments. As to this company, it is not very clear what the number of shares is. The right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary has a very considerable holding. He holds about 500 ordinary shares of £10. With regard to the preference shares, there seems to be some doubt as to the number, but the holding is a considerable one, so that between the ordinary and the preference the right hon. Gentleman has a very considerable and substantial share in this company. Then the right hon. Gentleman's family hold shares to the value of about £67,000 at par. The Financial Secretary to the Treasury is down with two others as the holders of shares to the nominal value of about £3,500. I infer that he probably holds those shares as a trustee; but that makes no difference as far as my point is concerned, because a trustee is bound to exercise the same diligence towards the interests of the beneficiary as he would do towards his own. This company holds a considerable number of shares in a concern known as Tubes, Limited, but it has another considerable interest in a company known as Elliot's Metal Company. Its interest in Tubes is about £12,500, taking the nominal value of the shares. I do not believe they are quite at par, but they have gone up considerably since the Chamberlain influence was introduced into the matter. I will give the actual figures later on to prove that statement. I simply make the point now to show that although the nominal value may be £12,500 the real value is not quite so much; but still it is very considerable, because the shares have gone up in value within the last eighteen months. The history of Tubes is a very interesting and significant one when you take into account what happened in the case of Kynochs. I find that in Tubes the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bordesley Division has a small interest—I think 300 shares. Mr. Arthur Chamberlain has about 74,800 shares, and other members of the family also have a holding. This company was formed to acquire certain cycle manufacturing companies in the Midlands; it made tubes for cycles. After a year or eighteen months trading it seems to have made a loss, and then in the beginning of 1899 Mr. Arthur Chamberlain was brought in to save the company. It is stated in the report of the directors that Mr. Arthur Chamberlain, who had acquired a large interest in the company, both in ordinary and preference shares, had consented to take a seat at the board and to accept the position of chairman. In the speech which he made at the meeting when he took over the chairmanship he made the following remark—

> "That owing to the collapse of the cycle tube trade the directors had to go into what was to them practically a new business, that of making boiler-tubes. Personally, in regard to the future he was hopeful; the question was whether they could make a profit. He reminded the company of what was done in Kynochs, and suggested that what had happened in the past might happen again."

That has a certain significance, not merely in view of what really did happen in the case of Kynochs, but to what actually happened to this company after Mr. Arthur Chamberlain took over the chairmanship. The very first report after that event, presented on the 8th December, 1899, says—

> "The business of the company has been practically confined to making the weldless tubes required for water-tube boilers by the British Admiralty."

MR. WILLIAM ALLAN (Gateshead): And they all burst.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: Oh yes, but what is far more to the point here is that they saved this company from bursting. The company goes on for another twelve months, and what is the result in the last report? It is that still the bulk of the business of the company is the provision of these tubes for water-tube boilers for Her Majesty's Navy. That is from the report, issued within the last few weeks, of a company which was losing £4,000 a year as a cycle company, but which is now, in the hands of Mr. Arthur Chamberlain, making a profit of £10,000 a year as contractors to Her Majesty's Government. I said something about the rise in these shares, and that is not immaterial, for two reasons.

COLONEL MILWARD (Warwickshire, Stratford-on-Avon): The £1 shares are at 2s.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: I will come to that point in a moment or two. What happened in regard to these shares? When it was known that Mr. Arthur Chamberlain had taken over the chairmanship, and that the directors had decided to give up their legitimate trade and to go into the business of contracting for the Government, the shares instantly went up. Mr. Arthur Chamberlain is my authority for that statement. He says that—

> "He would like to warn them that the shares he bought were bought at the price of the day, which was very much less than the price people were paying for them then."

Another circumstance is that immediately after this speech in regard to Kynochs the shares still go up. It is true that in the matter of profits the company has not realised the expectations that might well have been formed from the Kynoch reference, and therefore the shares have recently gone down; but at the same time Mr. Arthur Chamberlain's prophecy that what had been done with Kynochs might be done with Tubes has been justified. Another point in regard to the rise in the shares is that the Birmingham Trust, in which the right hon. Gentleman had a very considerable holding, acquired over 5,000 shares in Tubes in 1899, apart from their present holding, so that their entire holding amounted to something like 15,000 shares. But those 5,000 shares they disposed of, not when they were at 2s., but after the impression created by the Kynoch speech and the better prospect. Now I come to Elliot's Metal Company. The right hon. Gentleman, in reply to the statement about the Birmingham Trust and the other companies set forth in the *Morning Leader*, stated that he was not aware that he had any interest at all in Tubes. I observe that he did not make any reference at all to his interest in Elliot's, and I think there is a very good reason. This is a company which has large contracts with the Government and supplies large quantities of materials to the naval dockyards. The directors are the right hon. Gentleman's own son, who resides with him, and three of the right hon. Gentleman's brothers. The shareholders are members of the right hon. Gentleman's family residing with him, and they hold about £5,250 worth of shares, taking the company at its nominal value. The right hon. Gentleman's brothers and other relations, in preference and ordinary shares, hold about £121,000 worth; in fact, they own practically half the company, and most of their interest has been acquired since 1898, that is since the administration of which the right hon. Gentleman is the most potent factor came into power. There is another fact about these shares. The right hon. Gentleman himself held 405 £10 shares until 1897. Some time between April, 1897, and April, 1898, he transferred these identical shares to his son, and they are still held by him. I maintain that that is an indirect interest in a company dealing with the Government, the bulk of whose business is done with the Government, and whose profits are made out of the Government. I make the same point with regard to the Financial Secretary to the Treasury. He holds—I presume as trustee, although there is nothing to indicate it, but I make the assumption —£4,170 worth of shares in this company dealing with his own department. Most of these companies to which I have referred describe themselves as contractors to the Admiralty. Of course it is not merely the quantity of material supplied by them to the Admiralty; it is the fact that to all their customers and to all whom they solicit for orders this statement is made, and they are able to advertise themselves as firms which have the confidence of Her Majesty's Government. In regard to municipal corporations a £50 contract disqualifies a member; why should Ministers of the Crown be excepted? In referring to the Birmingham Trust the right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary says—

> "I hold a very small portion of the capital of this company."

Then he says—

> "I do not know whether it is invested in Tubes or not."

And he says—

> "I did not know Tubes were interested in Government business."

Then he says—

> "It comes to this: I have a small portion of Trust shares; they in turn have a small portion of their funds invested in Tubes; Tubes does some business with the Government."

Supposing the real facts were put, would not this be the correct way of stating them? The right hon. Gentleman has a considerable holding in the Birmingham Trust; the Birmingham Trust have a substantial holding in Tubes and Elliot's; Elliot's do most of their business with the Government; Tubes do, not some, but the whole of their business with the Government. Does the right hon. Gentleman now mean to say that his is a correct version of the case? I am simply contrasting the defence which he made in the answer published as an authorised version by the hon. Member for Central Bradford, and in so doing I am overlooking the very important fact that members of the right hon. Gentleman's own household own over £5,000 worth of shares in Elliot's, let alone the interest held by the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, I presume as trustee. I now pass to the Colombo Commercial Company. The importance of this company lies in the fact that the right hon. Gentleman laid down rules to be observed by his officials in this colony, under which they were not to hold any interest in land or in any company which dealt with the Government; and so rigid and searching were these rules that if they had any such interest they were to part with it at once. The right hon. Gentleman has 400 £5 preference shares in this company and 500 £10 ordinary shares, acquired, I believe, before he came into office. The character of the company was changed owing to the failure of the coffee trade in Ceylon, and from being a coffee planting company it was converted into a company speculating at large in Ceylon. It was simply a general trading company, but the memorandum and articles of association took power to deal in land, and notwithstanding the right hon. Gentleman's own prohibition of dealings of that character he still retains his interest. One of the things done by this company has recently come to the observation of people in this country. Accommodation in St. Helena for Boer prisoners being rather limited it was decided for some reason which has never been explained to send them to Ceylon. The first thing that had to be done there was to provide accommodation—to build huts and sheds, and generally to prepare the place to receive them, and a Ceylon newspaper, the *Ceylon Observer*, on the 17th May says—

> "Mr. Menzies, of the Colombo Commercial Company, has arrived and they hope to start immediately to put the buildings together"—

that is, the buildings for the prisoners. On the 20th May—

> "The iron framework of the first prison for the Boers is up under Mr. Menzies' supervision and the Colombo Commercial Company's contract, and the materials for other prisons being re-erected by the same company are scattered over the sites. The hundreds working are gradually coming up to thousands, and already the Commercial Company have four of the iron buildings up."

It gives a specification of the buildings, which are rather commodious, and I should say somewhat expensive. The bulk of the contracts let out by the Government have been given to the Colombo Commercial Company, Limited, in which the right hon. Gentleman holds £7,000 worth of shares. There was a second contract there, and on the 18th August we read—

> "The work at the camp has recommenced. Eighteen more huts are to be erected for the military and thirty more huts for the prisoners. Building operations for the new camp have already commenced, the Colombo Commercial Company being to the fore, and their representative is kept busy pushing on the work. The materials for several of the large huts that the company have to build have been received already."

I do not say that the right hon. Gentleman knew all about this company in which he had invested his money, but it is a considerable investment. I do not say he knew anything at all about this contract; I take his statement explicitly—that he is too busily engaged in public affairs to be able to look after his own investments, and that he did not give the same supervision to his investments that an ordinary careful business man would. But I do say that it illustrates the danger of investments of this character in the hands of Ministers of the Crown. I cannot conceive a more unfortunate investment at the present moment than an investment in making prisons for the Boers. Last Friday the right hon. Gentleman delivered a very remarkable speech in this House—a speech conciliatory in its tone, and evidently intended so to be as far as the right hon. Gentleman's general attitude was concerned. He proposed certain terms, but I think I shall have the assent of the House when I say that in a dispute of this character it is not so much a matter of the terms you propose as of the confidence you have in the men who are to carry them out. I ask the House, what terms can you offer to the Boers which they are prepared to accept if they knew, as know they will—[Ministerial laughter.] Can you imprison thousands of Boers there without their knowing something about this company? Again I say, what terms can you offer to the Boers which they will accept when they come to know that the gentleman who will be the supreme factor in interpreting those terms and in carrying them out is one who has a large interest in a company which is profiting out of making prisons for the Boers? I simply point that out in order to show what an unfortunate investment it is from that point of view. The other company I now come to is Kynoch and Co. The case of this company is important for two reasons. I apologise to the House for detaining it so long, but I am bound to place all these facts before the House, and if the companies are so numerous it is no fault of mine. When we come to Kynoch and Co. I find that there are two points to make about them. My first point is that it is the only company whose affairs have been investigated by a Committee of the House of Commons; Hoskins, Elliot's, and the other companies have not been investigated. My second point is that Kynochs, when investigated by the House of Commons, were very much worse than anything which had previously been said about them. In this company the shares of the right hon. Gentleman's relations are of the value—taking the present value—of something between £230,000 and £250,000, which is the amount they hold in Kynoch and Co., Limited. The Financial Secretary to the Treasury has an interest—again, I assume, as trustee—amounting at their present value to £15,000. They manufacture cordite and munitions of war. With regard to this company, it has a kind of bearing upon all the other companies, because there has been undoubted favouritism, and it shows the danger of men holding high and influential positions in the Government having an interest in this company, because, for some reason or other, unmistakable favouritism has been shown towards this company. I will take two or three instances of this favouritism. In the year 1898 the Government asked for tenders for a very large quantity of cordite, and several tenders were sent in. The National Explosives Company's price was 1s. 10½d. per lb. and Kynoch and Co.'s price was 2s. 4½d., or 6d. per lb. more. There were several other tenders which were lower than Kynochs'. What happened? Did the Admiralty and the War Office give the contract to the firm with the lowest tender? On the contrary, what they did was this—they gave Kynoch and Co. an opportunity of revising their tender. They sent another tender form to them, and asked them to tender for 1s. 10½d., and all the other companies who had tendered were ignored, and no opportunity to tender again was offered to them. I say that that is a thing which is perfectly unprecedented in the history of this country.

MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS (Birmingham, S.): No, no.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: The right hon. Gentleman says "No, no," but will he give me an instance?

MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: Yes, the previous Government.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: But in that case Kynochs were 1½d. higher than the lowest, and there was another firm which was 2s. or 3s. dearer. The previous Government took the lowest tender and said, "We will give you a share of this contract, but you must do it at the same price as the lowest." That was a very different transaction from this. What the right hon. Gentleman did here was to cut out all the intermediate tenders—they cut out all the companies that had tendered at a lower figure, and they went to the highest, and they said, "We will give you an opportunity of revising your tender," and never communicated to the others, and the right hon. Gentleman must know that is a very different transaction. The right hon. Gentleman says he has taken the responsibility for this himself. What happens? In the case of this company they had given them this opportunity of revising their price, and what followed? Instead of giving the bulk of the work to the National Explosives Company—which, by general consent, is the best company of the whole lot, which did the best work, had fewer objections, and did its work with greater promptitude—instead of giving the bulk of the work to the company that tendered the lowest, they proposed to give 470 tons to Kynoch and Co. and only 210 tons to the National Explosives Company. The Director of Army Contracts would not stand that, for he thought one piece of favouritism was quite enough in the course of a single month, and, finally, the allocation he insisted upon was 380 tons to Kynochs and 300 tons to the National Explosive Company, whose tender was the lowest. Therefore, there were two acts of favouritism—the first was giving them an opportunity to revise their tender; and the second was giving them a larger share of the order than the company which tendered lowest. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Birmingham himself admitted, in his evidence before the Committee, that no other company had ever had an opportunity of revising its tender.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: No, I did not.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: I beg the right hon. Gentleman's pardon. He did say that it was an opportunity which had never been given to any other company. Does the right hon. Gentleman deny that?

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: Yes, I do deny it. If I had made such a statement it would have been manifestly wrong. I do not remember that I made any such statement, and I do not believe that I did. But if I did I made it unconscious of the fact that the right hon. Gentleman opposite, when Secretary of State for War, did himself precisely the same thing as I did.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: I beg the right hon. Gentleman's pardon, but he is not correct in his explanation. If it was done it was done by the same company, and my point is that no opportunity was given to any other company to revise its price but Kynochs. His statement does not challenge my previous proposition, for what the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition did was a totally different transaction. Now what happened in 1899? In that year Kynochs again got half the contracts. I do not want to dwell too much upon that, because I do not want to go into too many details. I will come at once to what happened in the year 1900. In that year there was a very large contract, and a very large quantity of cordite was asked for by the Admiralty—the quantity was 1,400,000 lbs. They invited tenders for that, and seven firms tendered. Out of those seven companies Kynochs tendered for the highest price. Kynochs' price was 2s. 6d., and there were other companies who tendered at about 2s. What happened? The whole tender for 1,400,000 lbs. was divided between Kynochs and the National Explosives Company. Not only this, but Kynochs got the easiest part of the job, which is twenties, because, as I understand from the evidence, as you go up in size you increase the difficulty of production, and more skill is required. Now Kynochs got the twenties at a big price, and the National Explosives Company got the rest at a lower price. All the other companies who had tendered, and who had previously done good work—as I shall point out later on—were completely ignored. [Ministerial cries of "Oh, oh."] If these facts are unpleasant to Members opposite I really cannot help it. The next thing that happened was this. The Director of Army Contracts complained of the favouritism, and he said "This won't do," and he presented a report, which I will read to the House, which shows how very groundless this favouritism was towards Kynochs as compared with the other companies. There was an objection made, and after a good deal of discussion between the Financial Secretary to the War Office and the Secretary to the Admiralty, the following division and allocation of the order was arranged. It was divided into four parts, and given to Kynochs, the National Explosives Company, Nobel's, and the Cotton Powder Company. These facts are taken out of the evidence and are not challenged. The National Explosives Company got 2s. 1d. for size 50, which is the most difficult size to make up. Nobel's got 2s. 3d. or 2s. 4d. for size 50, the Cotton Powder Company got 2s. 1d. for 350,000 lbs., but Kynochs got size 20—the easiest size of all—at 2s. 6d. for 300,000 lbs. weight of cordite. Was there any reason for showing this favouritism to Kynochs, because this is really very material in its bearing upon the whole of the contracts? Some of the witnesses for the War Office and the Admiralty stated that it was a better firm. Some witnesses said that the other firms were found plenty of other work to do by the War Office, but the fact remains that Kynochs got more orders out of the War Office than any other company, and one witness stated in the course of his evidence that he thought it was the policy of the War Office to prefer Kynochs. Will the House now kindly listen to the Report made by the Inspector upon the quality of the goods provided? The Inspector says—

> "The National Explosives Company have by far the best record, and the Cotton Powder Company are good seconds. Kynochs have been unsuccessful as regards the large sizes required for the Naval service, and their rejections on present contracts have been very heavy."

That is to say that of all the companies reported upon by the Inspector, Kynochs was the worst, and yet what is the proposed allocation? The National Explosives Company, which is the best, gets 2s., and Kynochs, which is the very worst, gets 2s. 6d. That is to say, that upon 300,000lbs. of cordite Kynochs, which is the worst company of the lot, gets a bonus of £75,000. Who will say after that that there is no favouritism? The late Financial Secretary to the War Office said, with regard to one of these instances, and one of the most glaring instances, "I am responsible for it; the responsibility is mine." And Lord Salisbury said, "Very well, if the responsibility is yours, then out you go." Then the Secretary to the Admiralty jumps up, and he says, "The responsibility is also mine." And Lord Salisbury practically said, "Then off you go as well." And so they both disappeared, and have been dismissed into the Privy Council, which is now made a kind of laager for the undesirables of the Ministry. That is the case as far as Kynochs is concerned. The only other point is this, that afterwards, in spite of the report of the Inspector that Kynochs provided the worst cordite, in spite of the fact that they were more in arrear than all the other companies put together, they received 6d. per lb. more than their competitors. All the other companies put together were 50,000 in arrear with their orders, but Kynochs alone had arrears amounting to 240,000lbs. Even their orders for 1898 were in arrear, and they were the only company whose orders for that year were in arrear. Kynochs' orders for 1900 were also in arrear. Kynochs produce worse cordite, according to the testimony of the Inspector, and still they are paid 6d. per lb. more; they get opportunities of revising their tenders, and they also get large orders; in fact, this was a company which was so much favoured by the Government that the Storekeeper to the Navy said, "Kynochs is one of the companies built up by the Navy." There is one other fact with regard to Kynochs which I wish to mention before I dismiss it, and it is full of significance. When the present Government came into office it was very interesting to observe the change which took place in the value of Kynochs' shares. There were no fresh orders, and nothing special had happened, and there was nothing in the way of legitimate trade to account for this. And yet, comparing the value of Kynochs' shares the month before the election which put the present Government in power — I do not mean the last election, but the 1895 election—with the month after the General Election, what do we find is the state of things? The shares stood at £15 in the month of May, 1895, but in the following month of August they went up to £20. There was no corresponding rise in the value of other Explosive Companies' shares. The right hon. Gentleman complains that we have made insinuations, and that we have suggested corruption. [Ministerial cries of "Hear, hear."] Well, if hon. Gentlemen opposite insist upon that, then I cannot help it. All I can say is that I have simply stated the facts, and if hon. Members opposite insist upon reading into them corruption, they are doing so upon a bare statement of facts. What I do ask is this—What interpretation does the Birmingham Stock Exchange place upon the business? Four-fifths of them are the right hon. Gentleman's friends, and yet their view of the matter was that the change of Government was worth an addition of thirty-three per cent. to the value of the shares of the company in which the right hon. Gentleman's family held the largest interest. And now comes the significance of the statement made by Mr. Arthur Chamberlain in relation to Tubes. At a meeting the other day he said, 'What was done in Kynochs could be done in Tubes." Let the House not forget that this is the only case which has been investigated, and the result of the investigation has been to display and expose the most disgraceful condition of favouritism towards one company which has been manifested, I venture to say, in the present century by any Government Department. I might have referred to other companies, but I will only refer very shortly to the Birmingham Small Arms Company, of which the right hon. Gentleman's brother is the chairman. The only point I make in connection with that is this—that the War Office, in inviting tenders for cycles, have insisted that most of the parts which compose those cycles—I believe the proportion is about nine-tenths—should be manufactured by the Birmingham Small Arms Company, which is not the best company by any means in the cycle trade. There was no reason, as far as quality was concerned, why the parts should have been the manufacture of that company, and Coventry cycle firms could have done all this. There has been an agitation in the trade about this question, and it is only within the last few days that that company has been withdrawn from the Government contracts with regard to cycles. I say that all those are cases which demand the same searching investigation as was given to the case of Kynochs. The right hon. Gentleman has said that we are attacking his private character, but that is not what we are doing at all. Nobody has ever suggested it. All these are published facts, and they are not merely published facts, but they are facts which are necessarily public, for it is information which the law insists upon being open to the public for the information of the public, and for the protection of the public against transactions of this character and others. But although we have discussed his public affairs we have not, in order to defame his political reputation or to destroy his political career, intercepted and published his private correspondence. If we had, then I venture to say that the right hon. Gentleman would have been justified in flinging at us some of the epithets which he so freely hurls at his political opponents. But we have done nothing of the kind. We have searched the registers at Somerset House. We have inquired into the evidence published in Blue-books in this House. Those are the facts which we have brought before the House, and those alone, and I do say that they demand an explanation. I say that not merely have we a right to bring these facts before the House, but it is the duty of some Member to do it. They invite explanation, nay, they demand it: It is not that charges of corruption are brought against any Minister of the Crown, for that is not insinuated, but I do say, to use a phrase uttered by the right hon. Gentleman, "it is not treasonable but it is improper." That is exactly the description that can be given to some of these investments. The investments in the Kynochs, Hoskins, some of the Tubes, and Elliots are not corrupt, but they are certainly improper. My second point is this—that although there is no charge or suggestion of corruption, still things have been done which would set up a precedent which could legitimately be used later on to justify corruption itself. Corruption is a question of intention and of motive, but the House of Commons, in framing regulations of this kind, cannot inquire into motives. You cannot say that because A has a small interest, infinitesimal it is true, he is exactly the sort of man who would not do a thing corruptly. B has a large interest. His family have huge influence, but B is a high-minded man, and who shall profess that he is disinterested? You cannot say that. You are bound to examine the facts, and to judge upon them. These rules are laid down not altogether to prevent corruption or to hit corruption, but to prevent circumstances that might justify corruption in others. They are rigidly, sternly enforced against the officials of the Civil Service. Supposing one of these unfortunate Civil Service clerks in Ceylon had put money into a land speculation, or had had a hundred shares in the Colombo Commercial Company, which was building huts for the poor Boer prisoners, he would have invited, and would have received, the censure of the Government. Nobody, however, would have said that it was an attack upon his private character, but purely an attack, and a very just attack, upon him in his official capacity. Nobody would have suggested corruption. All that would have been said was that it was highly improper, and ought to be stopped. I know of nothing in regard to which these rules ought to be enforced with greater rigidity than in war contracts. In regard to the influence which is exercised in these there is this to be said, that although no pressure is brought to bear on officials to give contracts to favoured firms, there is a knowledge in the minds of those gentlemen who deal with the contracts, when they are distinguishing between two or three different firms, that there is one firm which has at its back most powerful influence in the Government of the day; and who will suggest that that is not an influence which has to be combated with? Anyone who reads the evidence given before the Select Committee will see that officials at the Admiralty are at a loss to explain why Kynochs are preferred. They used all sorts of reasons, which are false, I do not mean to say intentionally false, but which are entirely incorrect. It was not because Kynochs' goods were better worth; for you find that they were worse. These officials were constantly floundering to find some sort of reason. The real reason they do not know themselves. It was this unconscious influence which they themselves were unable to appreciate—the constant influence of a powerful personality at the back of the company. The right hon. Gentleman himself manifested this in the House of Commons in regard to Kynochs. In 1895 he got up in the House and said—

> "What orders have you given to Kynochs? I have an interest in Kynochs through my constituents."

He never explained that he had any other interest—

> "It is true that Kynochs is not in my constituency; it is outside it; but still my constituents are interested, and I want to know what orders have been given to that company."

The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for War got up and said that an order for five millions of cartridges had been given. "Grotesque," said the right hon. Gentleman; the idea that they should only get an order for five millions of cartridges was grotesque, and they have made up for it ever since. Now there is this danger in regard to these contracts. I do not say it exists with regard to the right hon. Gentleman, but if Ministers of the Crown are allowed to have large interests, direct, or indirect, in firms providing munitions of war to the Government, I know of no greater danger to the peace of the country or to its security. It is not that any Minister you can imagine sitting in this House would ever deliberately, for the sake of promoting his own private interest, engage in war. That is too horrible a suggestion even to think of, and I do not suggest it. But there is again the subtle influence of the constant action of a man's permanent interest upon his judgment. It does give him a bias without his knowing it. Take the case of Kynochs. A very remarkable speech was delivered by the chairman of that company two years ago. If he did it deliberately, I know nothing more horrible; but he arrived at his conclusions by the unconscious operation of that personal bias. I take this instance as an illustration of what may happen in the case of a private individual in this company, and I hold that it may also happen to a Minister of the Crown. I take from *The Times* report. He said—

> "The trade with Persia was taken away from us because Mr. [now Baron] Curzon was of opinion that the Birmingham goods supplied to Persia went to the Afridis to shoot down our own soldiers."

Mr. Arthur Chamberlain said that that was not true. If anyone said to Mr. Arthur Chamberlain that he was supplying ammunition to commit the Armenian atrocities or the massacres in Crete he would repudiate it with anger, and yet, unconsciously, that was the point he was putting in his speech. If anyone were to say to him, "Don't send your cartridges to Persia, because they are used to shoot down our own troops," I believe that he would have said, "Certainly, I would not send a single cartridge, even if Kynochs go without a dividend." I say that this illustrates the great danger of Ministers having an interest in these contracts in this country. I have stated the whole of the facts, and I am exceedingly obliged to the House for their kindness in listening to me so long. I put it again, that I brought the subject forward on the ground of the importance of ensuring that regulations of this character, as laid down by the right hon. Gentleman himself, should be rigidly enforced. We have a proud pre-eminence as a country in this matter. One of the first things anyone hears after crossing the Atlantic is charges of corruption brought against public men in connection with public municipalities, and even the State. It is suggested that contracts are given purely from influence, and if anyone draws a contrast between that country and this his heart is filled with British pride at the purity of our statesmanship. I do not say that the Secretary for the Colonies or the Financial Secretary to the Treasury has done anything to lower the standard of proud pre-eminence which we enjoy as a country in this matter. What I do say is that they have given legitimate ground for uneasiness, and, above all, they have established precedents, which, if they are followed, would lead to something infinitely worse than anything I have spoken of to-day. I beg to move the Amendment standing in my name.

*MR. SOAMES (Norfolk, S.) in seconding the Amendment, said that the hon.

Member for Carnarvon had brought forward certain specific charges which, no doubt, were deserving of explanation, but he did not propose to follow the hon. Member in that line for two reasons. In the first place, the hon. Members referred to had not yet had an opportunity of offering any explanation of the matters in question; and in the second place he desired to keep any observations he made free from any personalities. The subject was far more important than the personality or position of any member of this or any other Government, be he never so conspicuous. It was the purity, dignity, and honour of public life in this country. The principle the Amendment endeavoured to enforce was that under no circumstances should a Minister of the Crown, or any member of the Government, be involved or interested in any commercial undertaking in such a manner that his private interests might conflict, or even appear to conflict, with his duty as a trustee for the interests of the nation. This principle had been recognised many times and in many ways. As was well known, there was an Act of Parliament dealing with the position of M.P.'s and the contracts of the Government passed in the 22nd of the reign of George III., which prohibited any private Member from being interested in any Government contract. That Act, as was pointed out by Sir Erskine May in his "Parliamentary Practice," did not affect incorporated trading companies, but it imposed a penalty of £500 on any Member for sitting or voting if he was interested directly or indirectly in any Government contract. This Amendment asked the House to go one step further as regarded Ministers than the Act of 1782, and to say that they should have no interest in any Government contract even as shareholders in an incorporated trading company. He thought there was very good reason for asking the House to take that step, because since 1782 the growth of incorporated trading companies had been such that we had now to deal with a state of things which was never contemplated by the framers of the Act of that year. The growth of companies had been extensive, and sometimes peculiar. There was the one-man company and the practice of giving a small share to clerks and others in order to form a company, which was an evasion of the spirit of the law. The whole capital of a company with the exception of one £10 note might be held by two gentlemen, one of whom might be the head of a Government Department, giving contracts to that company, and yet he would be within his legal rights in so doing. He did not suggest that there was any probability of such a scandal occurring, but at the same time it ought not to be possible for it to occur. He agreed with the Secretary for the Colonies, when speaking of the case of Sir Hercules Robinson, that the principle of Cæsar's wife was the only true principle which should govern the action of Ministers where any suspicion of possible conflict between public duty and private interest might arise in the mind of even the most censorious of critics The connection of members of the Government with any undertaking of a private description had been a subject of strict scrutiny in the past. The late Mr. Gladstone made it a rule that no members of his Cabinet should be directors of companies. The House rejoiced that the new President of the Board of Trade had resigned a directorship which he held, and that Lord Hardwicke, on being appointed Under Secretary for India, had relinquished his active connection with the Stock Exchange. The late Mr. Mundella, a man of the highest integrity, resigned the presidentship of the Board of Trade under circumstances which would be remembered. In 1876 the late Lord Henry Lennox, Commissioner of Works in Mr. Disraeli's Government, was director of the Lisbon Tramways Company, promoted by the late Albert Grant. An action was brought in the High Court and it was disclosed that there had been fraud on the part of the promoters and want of proper care on that of the directors. The matter was commented on by the then Lord Chief Justice. The attention of Mr. Disraeli was called to the matter, as it did not appear that either he or Lord Henry Lennox would take any action, and Lord Henry Lennox immediately resigned his office. *The Times*, commenting on the resignation of Lord Henry Lennox and upholding a high standard of political purity, said—

> "It was clear something would have to be done. It was the duty of someone to open an inquiry, but who would do it? It appeared yesterday that Mr. Trevelyan undertook the necessary, if ungrateful, duty of showing that the House of Commons was not careless of the character of its Members, especially when also Ministers of the Crown."

And it was this necessary, if ungrateful, duty which they had undertaken that day. He regretted that there should have been any necessity to restate the principle which should govern the action of the House and members of the Government —the principle of Cæsar's wife—and he had presumed to restate it because it was of vital importance to the welfare of public life in this country.

Amendment proposed—

"At the end of the Question to add the words, 'And we humbly beg to represent to Your Majesty that Ministers of the Crown and Members of either House of Parliament holding subordinate office in any public Department ought to have no interest direct or indirect in any firm or company competing for contracts with the Crown, unless the nature and extent of such interest being first declared, Your Majesty shall have sanctioned the countenance thereof and when necessary shall have directed such precautions to be taken as may effectually prevent any suspicion of influence or favouritism in the allocation of such contracts.'"—(*Mr. Lloyd-George.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

*COLONEL MILWARD (Warwickshire, Stratford-on-Avon): I should not have intervened in this debate but for the fact that I represent a Midland constituency, in addition to which I take a very deep interest in the honour and welfare of my right hon. friend the Colonial Secretary and my hon. friend the Financial Secretary to the Treasury. The honour of all public men is the property of the nation, but those who live in the immediate neighbourhood of the Colonial Secretary and the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, and have taken so great an interest in their political career, have a peculiar interest in defending them. The House must not hide from itself the fact that under the somewhat specious garb of an Amendment, there might be a desire, and the result of this Amendment if carried will be, to hurl the Colonial Secretary from public life. The inference to be drawn from the Amendment is that the influence of the Colonial Secretary has been used to obtain Government contracts for firms in which members of his family were interested, and, of course, if such a charge could be maintained it would be impossible for a man to maintain his position in public life. For years accusations have been made with that object, and last year letters were purchased from a discharged clerk in the hope of terminating his career. They could not wonder under the circumstances that hon. Members on that side of the House, and many on the other side, should desire that these matters which had been mentioned in the press of this country, and also in foreign countries, should be cleared up, or at all events that the House should be put in possession of the facts. He was not entirely in accord with what fell from a previous speaker in regard to directorships. There were directorships and directorships, and so long as the House of Commons and public life in this country was constituted as it was, and so long as men engaged in business pursuits were expected to take part in the Government there would be Ministers connected with trading companies, for it was impossible for a man to give up his whole career in life for a year or two in office. He presumed that many Members of the House were shareholders in the Army and Navy Stores or the Civil Service Co-operative Stores. Was it possible to go and ask whether they were contractors to the Government or not? That was exactly the case with regard to the major part of the accusations against the Colonial Secretary. There were many Members in the House who could not say whether the companies in which they were interested were benefited by Government contracts. Mr. Arthur Chamberlain was well known in the Midlands as a man with splendid business qualities; his connection with Kynochs had raised that firm from a very low ebb to a position of prosperity, and it was ridiculous to suggest that he should sever his connection with the business because his brother became Colonial Secretary. If there was any special preference shown to Kynochs it was shown first of all by the late Administration. He entirely approved of their having an order for ammunition. We must maintain every ammunition company in order that we might have the supplies we wanted in time of war. He did not know anything about the question whether one company got more orders than another. He had no doubt that when Mr. Arthur Chamberlain presented himself at the War Office, either during the last Administration or this, the fact that he bore the name of Chamberlain must have been a point in his favour. If anyone called there bearing the name of Campbell-Bannerman or Harcourt it would undoubtedly create a feeling in his favour. The Colonial Secretary did not hold a share in the company, and, though naturally connection with the family of a well-known public man was a point in his favour, Mr. Arthur Chamberlain was strong business man enough to obtain orders for cordite or any other ammunition without that connection. The firm of Hoskins was mainly the business of Mr. Neville Chamberlain, and in it the Financial Secretary held a twelfth of the capital, and it had been stated that the firm enjoyed a small Admiralty contract bringing in about £600 a year. He could not see that in this the Financial Secretary was the least to blame. Of the Birmingham Trust Company he had some knowledge, and undoubtedly the reputation of the Chamberlain family as men of business led business men to invest in the company. Among other businesses the Trust Company invested in Tubes (Limited), and the Colonial Secretary had made the statement that he held no shares in the company. One of the grossest insults he had ever heard in the House was levelled against the Colonial Secretary by the hon. Member for Carnarvon, but upon the question whether the right hon. Gentleman made a truthful statement in this instance there was the balance-sheet of the company. There was not a single word in the balance-sheet to indicate to the Colonial Secretary, or to anybody, that the Birmingham Trust held any shares whatever in Tubes, Limited; and the secretary to the Trust, to whom he had telegraphed on Saturday for the balance-sheet, wrote stating that it was not the custom of that company to publish a statement of its investments in any more detailed form than they had given. With regard to Elliot's Metal Company, the Colonial Secretary did not hold a single farthing in it, nor did his son, except as a trustee. As to the only remaining company—the Ceylon Commercial Company—he believed the Colonial Secretary was one of the original holders in that company twenty-five years ago. It was true that last year they obtained some contract, he did not know what, to build huts in Ceylon; but was it possible to imagine that the Colonial Secretary could have been aware of a contract given away in Ceylon in the middle of last year? Was there anything whatever to bring it to his notice? Even if there were, was ever a charge of corruption founded upon such a slender basis? He knew something about small Government contracts, and, as far as he knew, no house in the Midlands sought them. The Government did not do its business on the same lines as private enterprises; there was none of that long association, and it was often simply a question of a fraction of one per cent. He hoped the House saw that the case for the prosecution was exceedingly slender. He believed so greatly in the honour and honesty of the Colonial Secretary he was perfectly certain that years after his critics and traducers had ceased to be remembered he would be remembered as one of the great Empire builders of this century, and that he would leave to his sons, and to the nation at large, a name that would be remembered for honour and for probity.

MR. ROBSON (South Shields): I hope that the Colonial Secretary and the Secretary to the Treasury will not leave the point so entirely untouched as the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down. I think if my hon. friend the Member for the Carnarvon Boroughs has made one thing clearer than another it is that he does not desire to mix up with this purely public question of administrative purity and propriety any charge of personal corruption. Nobody can deny the facts put forward by the hon. Member for the Carnarvon Boroughs, and it is a very serious and significant circumstance that hon. Members opposite should think that that is the natural inference from these facts. The country will be as careful as ourselves to exonerate the Colonial Secretary and the Financial Secretary from charges of personal corruption. I desire to make clear my own personal opinion that it would be in the highest degree unfair to suggest that the Colonial Secretary or the Financial Secretary to the Treasury have directly or consciously sought to influence any contract whatever. I shall be very sorry indeed if in the course of the few observations I propose to make on the subject I should say anything inconsistent with that declaration. It is really a question of public interest and importance that the House has now to consider. It is a question affecting administrative propriety as well as purity, and there cannot be a question of more importance put before the House. The later traditions of the English public service have been all in the direction of preventing public officials from taking up any private interest that might conflict with their public duty. That, certainly, has been the tendency and rule of the Civil Service, and it is also the tendency in municipal corporations. Once let it be thought that this House is disposed to relax the severity of the general understanding, depend upon it, you will very easily have a relapse in administrative purity on the part both of Civil servants and municipal corporations throughout the country. I think I may fairly say this, that the Colonial Secretary, or if not he, at all events the Secretary to the Treasury, has without being conscious of it, without appreciating what was being done, fallen below the municipal standard. They have certainly fallen below the high standard set up by the Colonial Secretary himself, which has been succinctly described as the principle of Cæsar's wife. I have always thought that standard was unreasonably high. It resulted in many grave injustices to the lady to whom it was first applied, and I should not like to judge the Colonial Secretary by the standard he has himself set up, but that well-known reference to Cæsar's wife indicates the essential principle on which the statutes on this subject have been based. It would be perfectly idle to make a rule that public officials should not be corrupt or act unfairly in the distribution of contracts. Of course, the object which everybody aims at is to prevent corruption and unfairness, but in order to achieve that you must go a great deal further than that object *simpliciter*. Your rule must be not only that officers must not be corrupt. That is a matter of opinion as to which people may differ. A rule, if it is to be of any service at all, must prevent public officials from putting themselves in circumstances where there is likely to arise any temptation to a conflict between private interests and public duty. It must seek to put them above suspicion. I am sure that no English Minister occupying a position so much attacked as that of Colonial Secretary is likely to do it. Nobody, indeed, can put himself above suspicion, but you can avoid putting yourself in circumstances to which suspicion would naturally attach. That is the utmost, I think, that Cæsar would have the right to ask of his wife; it is the utmost we have the right to ask of any public official, high or low. But we have the right to ask that much. If we merely make a general regulation against corruption or unfairness the result would be that a Minister or official might easily enough take up some private interest which it might become his public duty to check or to oppose. Everybody would naturally suspect that he would not very adequately fulfil that duty of checking or opposing that private interest. They would suspect; he would deny, and he would have a perfectly clear field for denial, because, of course, no record, no documents were made. If they were made they would not be preserved, and so a kind of gentle pressure might be exercised by one Minister upon his colleagues in order to influence contracts. Any suspicion which might arise would absolutely never be proved in any way whatever, and it would have to remain matter of suspicion. Suspicion would be met on the one hand by the Minister in question with abusive epithets, and, on the other, with charges of corruption. The Minister would be believed by his friends, disbelieved by his enemies, and suspected by a large number of persons who belonged to neither category. That is not by any means a satisfactory position with regard to a public servant in a country like this. It is in order to prevent that condition of things that this sensible rule of the Civil Service has been laid down, and by no one in stronger terms than the right hon. Gentleman himself, that no public servant should take up a private interest which in his public capacity he may be called upon to check. Has the Colonial Secretary or the Financial Secretary to the Treasury broken that rule? That is the point. We do not need to enter into questions of motive, for questions of motive in the strict sense are not really relevant to this inquiry at all. In discussing a question of this importance we ought as far as possible to keep the question of motive out of account altogether. We have to ask, first of all, what is the rule to be observed, and next, has that rule in any serious or substantial sense been infringed? Are these questions decided by the very extraordinary defence put forward by the hon. Member for

Central Bradford on behalf of the right hon. Gentleman? I can scarcely think that the Colonial Secretary would authorise such a case as that, for what does it amount to? It ignores the questions I have just stated, and says that it ought to be generally known that in entering public life the Colonial Secretary has lost opportunities by which he might have been many times a millionaire. In other words, he has lost money by the public service. What Members of this House are not in exactly the same position? We have all lost money by the public service, and we are proud of it. It is the special pride and glory of this House that its Members, one and all, are prepared to sacrifice for other, and I hope higher motives, pecuniary gain. I cannot imagine a defence which puts a more unmerited slur on the House at large than the defence put forward by the Colonial Secretary's friend. The rule to which I have referred is not merely to preserve the public official himself from temptation or suspicion. There is another and certainly not less important reason, and that is that if once it is known that a public official of importance is a shareholder or is pecuniarily interested in some company contracting with the Government it greatly facilitates the task of other persons belonging to the company—entirely without the knowledge of the Minister or official—going to the public departments, and seeking to get a contract on the strength of his name. That appears to be the true inference to be drawn from many of the charges put forward by the hon. Member for Carnarvon Boroughs. I do not for a moment suppose the Colonial Secretary knew anything about the investment in Tubes or Elliot's Metal Company, but when a public official gives his name as a shareholder in a company, and that company is competing for public contracts, it would be a very remarkable man of business indeed—and certainly it would not be the brother of the Colonial Secretary—who did not, if he could fairly from his point of view, take advantage of the circumstance. We have been told that Mr. Arthur Chamberlain is one of the best men of business in Birmingham. I certainly am not in a position to make any charges; I only draw the inference from the facts as stated, and it certainly would not be a matter for which the Colonial Secretary should be held responsible, but it is not unlikely that Mr. Arthur Chamberlain has used the name of the Colonial Secretary in connection with this company.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: That is a charge against an absent man. On his behalf I may say that he has never done anything of the kind.

MR. ROBSON: Of course, I unhesitatingly accept the statement of the Colonial Secretary, and I have ill-phrased my observations if it was not made apparent that really what I was seeking to do was to illustrate the mischief of the name of any public official appearing on the share list of any company seeking for Government contracts. I entirely accept the right hon. Gentleman's statement, and I am sorry I made any reference of the kind. Still, it does not at all deprive my observations of their force as general observations. Look at the inference which is not unnaturally drawn. When one hears of companies in a very unsatisfactory financial position being taken up and put into a most satisfactory financial position in some instances, and into a better financial position in others, it is by no means unnatural that such an inference should be drawn. Has there been any infringement of this rule? It seems to me upon the facts as stated that there has been a substantial and, in one case, a deliberate infringement of that rule. In the case of the Hoskins Company there has been an infringement which may be great or small. The hon. Member who has just spoken made some references to the amount of turnover which may properly be attributed to Government contracts. I do not care whether the amount be great or small. If we were making charges of personal culpability against the Colonial Secretary it would be most material to inquire whether the amount were great or small, but when the charge is one of a breach of a regulation the mere amount is of no importance. What are the circumstances as laid before us of the Hoskins Company? The company is formed among other objects to take Admiralty contracts, and in order that it may take such contracts without bringing the promoters within the scope of the statute the number of shareholders is increased to ten or twelve, five of whom are clerks and other persons holding only one share each. It is certainly somewhat curious that the gentlemen promoting this company instead of making the number of shareholders seven, as in the formation of an ordinary company, should have increased it to ten—obviously in order that it might come within the exceptions, and to enable the company to carry out its object of obtaining Admiralty contracts, although its members were members of the Government. It certainly seems that there there is a deliberate intention of forming a company which can take Admiralty contracts and yet not render members of the Government who are also members of the company liable to any penalty.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.): There is only one member.

MR. ROBSON: Only one? Well, one is quite enough. I am dealing with a question of principle, and whether there is one or half a dozen does not matter. Is there, or is there not, in this instance a breach of this admirable rule? If there has been a breach, what action does the Government propose to take in the matter? There have been other breaches of the ordinary understanding with regard to contracts. My hon. friend has referred to Kynochs, and he says that the official responsible for the contract being given to Kynochs has been in a somewhat rude way dismissed. That official has not been dismissed; he has been made a Privy Councillor; he has received one of the most distinguished honours the Crown can confer, and I do not for a moment suggest that he is not worthy of the honour. But I ask whether that is not to be taken rather as an approval than otherwise of his conduct. Are the Government going to approve or disapprove of the conduct of the Financial Secretary to the Treasury in relation to contracts? If they are going to justify it they will approve it. If they do not justify it let this House not allow them to escape upon any assumed charges of personal corruption. Such charges are not made. I gather that the Colonial Secretary and the Financial Secretary to the Treasury are going to treat this question as involving a charge of personal corruption. Very well. If they do so, let them not forget the other charge, which we say is the only charge that we advance. Let them not forget that, if the facts are as stated, there has been a deliberate breach of a rule which is absolutely essential to the purity and good administration of the English civil service, and we have a right to ask the Government whether they mean to approve of this irregularity. If they do, then what might be a very trivial breach, becomes a very serious constitutional matter. The dilemma before the Government is this: either there has or there has not been an irregularity. If there has been they must take some action in regard to it. They must, if it be only by way of a definite expression of opinion, take care that this irregularity is not to be construed as a precedent, and is not to be enlarged into a principle. We are entitled to have either an explicit defence or an explicit disapproval. I pass now to the Colonial Secretary's conduct in regard to Kynochs. The right hon. Gentleman will probably point out that in regard to the bulk of these companies he is not personally concerned in any way whatever, that he knew nothing about the character either of their business or of their profits, and perhaps that he did not know how many companies gather round his own table and under his own roof. Whatever he says I am prepared to accept. But while a public man cannot prevent his family forming themselves into companies to any extent they like, there is one thing he may and must do: he must be careful that he, at all events, does not aid their business purposes without disclosing exactly the relation in which he may stand towards them. Has the Colonial Secretary always done that? The famous cordite debate has been referred to, in which the then Opposition reproached the Government with not having enough ammunition. The Colonial Secretary was quite entitled to get up as he did and say they ought to get more; he was entitled to say they should get more from Kynochs. But what he said was that he proposed to address the House because of the quite legitimate interest he had in Kynochs. His words were that—

> "He believed he was the first Member who had risen who had any kind of connection through his constituency with the manufacture of cordite. He did not think the cordite was actually manufactured in Birmingham, but the firm of Kynoch and Company, whose headquarters were at Aston, a suburb of Birmingham, were cordite manufacturers, and therefore he had the legitimate interest in the matter which, as representing

his constituents, he might be expected to have."

What would be the meaning which any listener to that declaration would naturally attach to it? He would, of course, take "legitimate interest" to mean that the right hon. Gentleman's interest was purely political, that it was legitimate, as being the interest of his constituents.

Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN: So it was.

Mr. ROBSON: I daresay it was, but it was also the interest of other than his constituents. I do not say that the right hon. Gentleman, as Member for West Birmingham, in the debate, was not acting upon a legitimate public interest, but when he puts forward the legitimate interest as being that of his constituents in a way which leads the House to suppose that there is no personal or family interest, but purely the interest of his constituents and the interest of the public, does not the right hon. Gentleman then refrain from informing the House, perhaps quite unintentionally, of a very important and material circumstance, namely, that the company he is recommending is a company in which his family is overwhelmingly interested? If the right hon. Gentleman does not think it necessary to inform the House of Commons of the real character of his interest in Kynochs, why should he think it necessary to inform his colleagues; and if he does not think it necessary to inform his colleagues, we have the Colonial Secretary putting up a standard of propriety which involves very grave danger indeed to the public service. He ought, on that occasion, to have been more candid with the House, and he has himself to thank if, after that declaration, when it is discovered that Kynochs now get these large contracts, and this "most favoured nation" treatment, people will suspect him of doing with his colleagues what he did with the House of Commons. Therefore, although I am certain that if the right hon. Gentleman's attention had been called to the circumstances he would have made the declaration which I suggest he ought, yet he cannot very seriously or fairly assume an attitude of indignation at the inferences which he says are being so cruelly and unkindly drawn from his conduct. It is himself who has given the strongest ground for suspicion. I have put the question which lies before the House, and I have put it in order to invite the House to keep the Colonial Secretary and his friends to the real point—namely, what is the rule to be observed, and has it been infringed. What concerns the House is the maintenance of that high standard of administrative purity of which the House and the country has always been so proud.

Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I approach the subject which has been under discussion in the House with a repugnance which, I think, the House will feel to be natural. I do not think I am unusually thin-skinned. I believe I am ready to take blows in a fair contest with a smiling face. I have often been hard hit with reference to my public actions, and I have never complained, but I have endeavoured to give as good as I got. I have never complained of any attack made upon me in a fair field and in regard to my public action; but this is not fair fighting, and I do think it hard that, after twenty-five years of Parliamentary service, I should, in the full light of day, have to stand up here and explain to my colleagues on both sides of the House that I am not a thief or a scoundrel. It is all very well to make unctuous repudiations, such as the hon. and learned Gentleman has just done, of any intention to attack my personal honour—but it is my personal honour that is in question. I hold this feeling so strongly that at one time I decided that when this matter came on I would make no reply at all, that I would throw myself on the judgment and good feeling of the House. I have thought, however, that that course was not open to me, for reasons with which I need not trouble the House. I shall endeavour to be as brief as possible, and I shall confine myself to the facts and to the general aspect of the Amendment which has been put upon the Paper, about which not a word has been said by any speaker, but upon which the House is to be called upon to vote. Of course, the Amendment is only a peg on which to hang this personal attack; but it has been very badly drawn. It is a perfectly monstrous and absurd Amendment, and before hon. Gentlemen on either side of the House vote for it—and again I appeal to both sides—I hope they will allow me to point out to what they will be committed. First of all, I would explain the facts of the case. Now what has happened? Two or three days before the election a certain attack was made upon me, it was continued throughout the election, and pressed even down to the present time. It took the form of a series of statements, alleged facts, many of which I absolutely deny to be true, and which have been repeated to-night—it took the form of a number of alleged facts as to certain companies with which my name was connected by the comments of the writers who dealt with the subject. At the time, I took no notice whatever of them—I had other work to do; and I must admit that they do not appear to have had much influence with my countrymen. Now, what was the general effect of these statements? The hon. and learned Gentleman who has just sat down was careful to repeat again and again that he made no imputation upon my personal honour. That is what these papers said at intervals in the course of the conspiracy of slander to which they lent themselves; and it is true that nobody has made an accusation. It has been a conspiracy of insinuation—which is infinitely worse. Sir, I think that no one has the right to insinuate, as the hon. and learned Gentleman has just done, anything against the honour of a fellow-member, or, indeed, against the honour of any man, unless he is prepared to support it by a direct accusation. What is the result of the form in which these statements have appeared? Why, I do not suppose there are many Members of the House who took the trouble to read them; but let those who have read any of them say whether the suggestion which they were intended to convey was not that I had made an improper and corrupt use of my political and official position in order to benefit either myself or some members of my family. It is all very well for those who made these insinuations to deny the effect which they produced; but I could bring to the House, if I thought it desirable to mix myself up with all this mud, speech after speech made by hon. Members of this House, and by their supporters, in which I was directly charged, in consequence of these insinuations, with fattening upon the profits which I had made out of a war which I had provoked. After all, these gentlemen may be relieved by the care that they have taken from legal responsibility, but they are not relieved from moral responsibility. The suggestions were intended to be equivalent to charges. There was no accusation! When I had time to give to the matter, I had these papers—the worst of them, the gutter press—submitted to the highest legal authorities from whom I could obtain any opinion. They have advised me that there is no passage which they can find—so carefully has all this business been conducted—that there is no passage which they can find which contains a definite charge upon which I can proceed. But the fact, however, remains that, although there is no charge which I am able to bring to the test of a judicial tribunal, there has yet been produced, not to any great extent in this country, but abroad, an impression that I have been guilty of conduct which would be disgraceful in any man, not to say in any Minister. Now that is the state of facts with which we have to deal. We have heard to-night a *réchauffé*—an imperfect and incomplete *réchauffé*—of those attacks which appeared in certain journals, which must have been carefully prepared beforehand and been obtained with great trouble and at considerable expense. For months past two gentlemen at least have been employed at Somerset House endeavouring to ferret out everything concerning my private affairs and those of my relations. As far as I myself am concerned they are welcome to all the knowledge they have obtained, and, indeed, if the hon and learned Gentleman had come to me beforehand I would have given him the particulars myself. But they chose to employ these people, and I say it is evident this work must have been done with a particular purpose. It was done in preparation for the General Election, for the time which was selected for the use of the information was about a couple of days before the General Election. In the *réchauffé* of the facts which has been presented to the House—again I beg the House to understand I do not admit the facts; some of them were facts, many of them were entirely untrue—in this *réchauffé* of the companies you have an account, more or less imaginative, of a number of companies. You would suppose that the transactions of these companies had something to do with the Amendment which is on the Paper, that if they had not anything to do with the Amendment at least they had something to do with the Colonial Secretary or with my hon. friend and relative, the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, who it appears, I learn to my great regret, is as bad as his father. But will it not surprise hon. Gentlemen opposite to know that of all the companies that have been mentioned to-night—well, I do not know; I admit I have not read these papers myself—but, as far as I know, of all the companies that have been mentioned in these papers there are only two in which I am a shareholder. Is that not something in the matter? What is the charge? To this I call the attention of the hon. Gentlemen, especially to those whom I see on the Bench opposite, because they have been in the Government, and they may expect to be in a Government again. The attempt in this charge is to make a publc man responsible, not for his own acts, but for the acts of his relations. I am interested as a shareholder in two of the companies which have been mentioned, and I will deal with them directly. My relations are interested, I have no doubt, although I know nothing about the alleged amount of their interest and details of that kind, but my relations are no doubt interested in the other companies which have been mentioned. And it so happens—fortunately, perhaps, as I think — that those attacks, those scandalous insinuations, have taken a form even more offensive and definite in the case of my relations than they have done in the case of myself, and it also happens that my relations, not being public men, the slander in their case is not protected by that rule of law which gives a great privilege to comments upon public men; and, accordingly, as those who have spoken well know, my relations and those who have been attacked either have taken or intend to take legal proceedings. So far as they are concerned, therefore, we shall see whether the abominable imputations, which may be protected by the privilege of this House, which are protected to a certain extent when they are merely spoken matter, will be protected when they are in written form, and can be brought in that form before the Courts of law. I have always understood that, when a matter was *sub judice* and the subject of legal proceedings, it was the ordinary course of this House to refrain from comment. I, at any rate, am not going into the details of companies in which I myself am not a shareholder and in which the only connection I can be alleged to have is that I have got relations who are shareholders. My relations stand for themselves. I am perfectly certain none of them have done anything to forfeit the character which they have won in their own districts among those who know them for honourable conduct. It is not my business and I am not going to defend them at the present moment. But now, what is the motive? The House has listened, as I have said, to what I consider to be a fair second-hand abstract of statements which have appeared in those journals of which I can only speak with the greatest contempt, but what was the impression produced on the House by that long tirade, that dreary flow of petty malignity? Surely everybody must have felt, if the words mean anything at all, that those companies were all companies in which I was directly concerned. What is the motive for bringing in the investments of my relatives, over which I have no control, in which I really have no interest? The motive is to bring me into it, to make me responsible for a thing over which in no conceivable circumstances can I be responsible. I ask the House, I ask, again, hon. Gentlemen opposite, do they know what are the investments of all their relations? I am not in that position. They do not tell me what they do. I know nothing whatever about it in the vast majority of cases; I do not meddle with their private affairs, and my own public affairs occupy the whole of my time. Well, Sir, the motive is, and this is the effect of the Amendment—it is a serious business to vote for an Amendment without understanding what it means—the meaning of the Amendment, as explained by those who have supported it, is that a public man is to be held responsible not only for his own, but also for the investments of his relations. ["No, no."] Yes, it is so. It says "any interest, direct or indirect," and "indirect interest" has been explained to be a sort of interest which a man has in the investments of his family and his friends. Now, Sir, I say that if that view is accepted there is no man who is not a pauper, and all of whose relations are not paupers, who can safely accept public office in this country. I am not going to retaliate upon attacks which have been made upon me by introducing the names of other people. I think that the facts which have been stated, in so far as they are facts with regard to myself, do not constitute any charge, and accordingly if similar facts can be stated against anybody else, they also do not constitute a charge—the attack is a personal one due to special circumstances—and I do not want to bring anyone else to share my burden. It is not a pleasant thing to be brought into an attack of this kind. But I can speak in general language, and say that if this Amendment and this rule which the House is now asked to sanction had been in operation only a few years ago some of the most distinguished, the most prominent, the most honoured names in our public life, are the names of public men who could never have accepted the the high public offices which they filled with so much distinction. I beg hon. Members on the other side of the House not to be led away by prejudice in this matter. Let them consider what they are doing. If they are now going to lay down that rule I beg them to consider that by so doing they will be casting blame on people who I am perfectly certain they would not wish to blame, and they will be putting difficulties in the way of public servants in the future which are really incalculable. Let me ask men of business on both sides of the House—how could it be otherwise? Why, according to this resolution no Minister, and no relation of a Minister, no near relation, and, I suppose, no near friend—because some people care more for their friends than for their relations—no one who is near and dear to a Minister must hold investments which involve any possible conflict between his personal interest and the interest and work of the Government to which he belongs.

MR. McKENNA (Monmouth, N.): That is not the Amendment.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: That is the Amendment.

MR. McKENNA: The right hon. Gentleman is wrong. It is "declared."

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: The hon. Member did not draw the Amendment, and I do not think he is entitled to explain it. Now let us see. I say that is the principle of the Amendment, which is very badly drawn. There are distinctions which it is absolutely impossible to observe. For instance, the only persons who are proscribed are "firms and companies competing for contracts with the Crown." Does the hon. Member who drew this Amendment, whoever he may be, mean to say that a man who competes for a contract is to be proscribed, and a man who gets a contract without competition is to be allowed to go free? ["Oh, oh!"] It is absurd. [Opposition cheers.] Then, I understand it is agreed? ["No."]

MR. WILLIAM ALLAN: I beg the right hon. Gentleman's pardon. [Ministerial cries of "Order, order!"] Have patience for a minute. I only want to ask the right hon. Gentleman a question, and you will surely allow me to do that. If an officer of the Crown holds a Government appointment, has he a right to enter into any contract to supply a Government with stores?

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: The question is a very proper one, but it is absolutely irrelevant. I think there must be some misunderstanding as to what the argument is. My argument is that this principle, that the private interests of no Member in the position of a Minister shall conflict with his public interest as a Minister, must go much further than the resolution provides. If the resolution were passed to-night we should have to amend it to-morrow in the direction of extending it; and in the first place we should have to say that a man who deals with the Government without a contract is, of course, more properly put under supervision than the man who deals with the Government by open tender with some of his competitors. Surely that follows as a matter of course. But there is something much more important than this. For some reason unknown to me, the mover of the Amendment has omitted investments in land, in Consols, in foreign and colonial securities. Now surely it is a matter of common sense that you could not exclude them on this principle. It is perfectly clear and conceivable that a person who has invested in land or in Consols or in foreign or colonial securities may have a greater personal interest in a direction opposed to the public interest than the man who happens to have taken an insignificant contract with the Government. That is all I am pointing out. If you are to deal with this thing you must deal with it widely and broadly, and you must exclude every probable conflict of interest between the pecuniary interest of the Minister and the public interest of the Crown. No one will deny that. Will hon. Members consider in these circumstances who in future should be a Minister of the Crown? I have been trying to find out. I have gone through the list of securities. You cannot invest in railways; railways come under the Amendment, because they may have a contract with the Crown. You cannot invest in shipping companies; you cannot invest in mines or in trust companies, because they have an investment in some other security which does contract with the Government. You cannot invest in a trading or manufacturing company, because there is nothing which is made in this country which is not an article required by the Crown in connection with one or other of its departments, and which may not, therefore, be a subject of contracts with them. Therefore, I wish again to call attention to the fact that by accepting the principle of this Amendment you will be practically prohibiting any one in future from being a member of a Government who has any money whatever outside the salary of his position.

AN HON. MEMBER: You should not give out the contracts.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I think this is an occasion when at least the man who is making a defence against an attack of this kind might be allowed to proceed without interruption. The hon. Member, I understood, stated that I should not give out contracts. I have not given out any contracts—certainly no contracts connected with any one of the companies to which reference has been made. Now, I press on the House the fact that a regulation of this kind, very strictly limited as it is, is enough to prevent, I confidently believe, every single member of both front benches from again taking office. Remember, it goes further. You have not only to answer for yourselves. If it were possible, which I do not think it is, for anyone who has any investment whatever to answer for himself, it is not possible for him to answer for his relations. It is perfectly absurd and ridiculous; and yet if his relations, even without his knowledge, have an interest in any of these companies specified which come within the principle of the Amendment, he is to be held indirectly responsible. That is so, and I beg hon. Members who have any responsibility, who are dealing with this question on grounds of public interest and not on grounds of personal feeling, to consider what they are doing, what they will bring on themselves. If they commit themselves to this principle they cannot complain hereafter if their private affairs and those of their relations are examined in order to see whether they have any interest, however small, in contracts. What is the case with regard to these companies in which my relations are interested? My relations are all men of business. They are all men who have to make their own fortunes or obtain their own subsistence. I come of a family which boasts nothing of distinguished birth, or of inherited wealth; but who have a record—an unbroken record of nearly two centuries—of unstained commercial integrity and honour. It may be weakness, but I admit that an attack upon that affects me more than any other attack that could be made. Sir, my relations, as I say, have this character where they live. They are largely engaged in business on their own account. They are sought for as directors and as the chairmen of companies because they are known not to be, to use a proverbial expression, "guinea-pigs"; never to go into a company without having a large proportionate interest of their own, and without giving the best of their time and labour to the work of the company. Really, Sir, I do not whether I ought to reply; and yet, when the honour of an absent man is in question, it hardly seems fair to let these abominable insinuations pass. It is insinuated that my brother, who has a very high reputation for business capacity, raised the shares of a company, to the chairmanship of which he was invited, by some statement intended to convey to the shareholders that he had an influence, an improper influence—for it would have been improper if he had had it—which he would exercise on their behalf. The statement is absolutely false. Nothing of the kind was said; nothing of the kind was believed by any person present. The shares of that company, which was in a bad way, went up, in spite of the depressing account of the circumstances of the company by my brother, because people believed, whether rightly or wrongly, that when a man of my brother's capacity took the reins matters would improve. And they have improved. But not for the reasons which were given to this House—reasons purely imaginary, imputations of motives all imaginary, suggestions all dictated by a malice which really seems to me phenomenal.

About the companies in which my relations are engaged, I leave them to defend themselves in the law courts from the special slanders directed against their name; and I say, with regard to them, that I cannot prevent, whatever anyone else may do, my relations from investing in anything they please. They never consult me; I cannot control them; I should not have the slightest influence upon them if I interfered; and I cannot prevent them from taking Government contracts, if they can get them in the ordinary course of their business. But this I can and do say, and I think it is all that the House, in its fairness, will ask of any Minister—that whether as a private Member or as a Minister, never have I been asked to interfere, nor ever have I interfered, never have I been asked to use my influence, nor have I ever used it, in order to secure any pecuniary gain for myself or for my relatives in any improper way whatsoever. It may be said, "Why do you make that qualification?" Because it might be said that I sought office for myself, and that that was a pecuniary gain. I am obliged to be careful, because comment upon my language has become so severe. I mean, what I think the House understands, that I have never assisted anyone who has any connection, either as friend or relative, to obtain a contract or to gain any kind of advantage. Now, as to two cases—for there are only two cases—in which I am admittedly interested. I am a shareholder in two companies—the Colombo Commercial Company and the Birmingham Trust Company. Sir, I used to think that the extreme of virtue to which the Opposition desired to bring us was that rule which they themselves adopted, and by which they precluded any members of their Government——

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: No, their Cabinet.

Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN: Oh, I thought it was their Government—or their Cabinet, then—from holding any private directorship. Well, I think it is a great mistake to make any rule of that kind, as the circumstances under which directorships are held are so different that you might prevent the country from having the advantage of the services of the most desirable men by making a general rule. Of course I can see, however, that there are arguments with regard to many directorships which would lead to such a result with any practical, right-thinking man. But if that were all that were asked for, I, at any rate, am free from reproach. Almost immediately after I entered Parliament, I gave up my directorships, and I have never accepted the many offers of directorships which have been made to me since. Not at all because I think that there was any necessity for such a self-denying ordinance, but because I have preferred to have my time entirely at my own disposal, to be able to give it without reserve to my public work. But this Amendment goes a great deal further than the late Government. Are right hon. Gentlemen opposite prepared to accept it and say that in future, if they are called upon to form a Government, they will not allow any of their colleagues or their relations to hold shares? I am content to take it merely that they will themselves hold no shares which can possibly bring them into conflict with the work of the Government. Even in that respect—if this resolution is aimed at me, as I believe it to be—it does not touch me. Under the circumstances in which I stand I should not have to make any such declaration as is suggested in the Amendment before the House. Why, Sir, I admit that I am almost ashamed to have to talk about matters which most people like to keep private; but I am bound to do it, and I hope that the House will bear with me. When I went into public life I gave up private business altogether. I withdrew my capital, such as it was. I had to invest it somehow, but I have endeavoured in the whole course of my public life to be in the position in which Cæsar's wife should have been—to give no cause even of suspicion to the most malicious of my opponents. I have done what I could, I defy anyone to do more, to keep out of investments that seemed likely to bring me into relationship with the Government or public works. I will take one case. I was a considerable shareholder in the Small Arms Company and in another company, Kynochs. Now, what did I do? I sold out of both companies, and I sold out of them at a loss; not that I held or hold that there was any moral obligation on me to do so, or that anyone should follow my example—not at all—but because, knowing the kind of criticism to which I have been so frequently subjected during my public life, I thought it desirable in the work which I had to do that I should not be hampered in the discharge of that work by having to reply to charges such as these. That was my reason. I am merely now stating the facts, and I can assure the House that I am not taking any credit for what I did. But what has been the result of my action? The result I will give to the House in a very few words. The result was that, when some charges of the kind I refer to were brought against me in the last session of the last Parliament, I was able to say that I had no interest, direct or indirect, in the supplies of ammunition or of warlike stores to the Government. Sir, that is perfectly true, so true at any rate that no possible exception can be taken to it when I repeat it. But, of course, when I spoke of "indirect interest" I did not mean the interest of my relations. Because, and it is part of my statement, my brother, as is well known, is chairman of Kynochs. That is a great company, carrying on a great business, employing thousands of hands, and doing, as I have said, an enormous trade, and the fact that my brother was chairman was one that could not be hid under a bushel. But by "direct or indirect" I mean direct or indirect pecuniary interest. I have troubled the House with this statement because the accusation has been made, and it has been repeated to-day, that I was in connection with the two public companies to which I have referred. Sir, these statements as to my connection with the companies and as to my interest in them are untrue. Now I come to another matter, which has reference to another company—the Colombo Commercial Company. I think somewhere about thirty years ago I obtained an interest in some tea and coffee concerns in Ceylon. I have long since ceased to have that interest. Both companies advised their shareholders that it would be in their interest that another company should be formed in order to act as commission agents for them, to pack their goods, deal with matters of exchange, and things of that kind. On these recommendations I joined the company on its formation twenty-three years ago. As it happens, the company has never had a quotation on the Stock Exchange, and accordingly if I wanted to get rid of my shares I had no means of doing it, but I did not want to get rid of them. I mean to keep them. So far as I know, and as the report shows, the business of commission agents has been conducted by them ever since. I know nothing whatever of any change in the business of the company—nothing whatever—which, as I have said, I joined twenty-three years ago. When I saw this statement in the papers I telegraphed to Colombo, and I find that in an emergency, having to provide for Boer prisoners, without communicating with the Colonial Office, the authorities in Ceylon on their own responsibility gave an order to this company as well as to others to build a certain number of huts for the use of the Boer prisoners. As far as I understand about the business, the contract was not a large one. I can only speak from my understanding of the telegram which was sent to me. I imagine that this contract amounts to about £5,000. Now no accusation is, we are told, made against the Colonial Secretary, yet twice in this House already, and last by the hon. and learned Member, who is the very last person from whom I should expect such a blow, it has actually been suggested that the Colonial Minister sent the Boer prisoners to Ceylon in order that the company in which he was interested might reap a profit.

MR. ROBSON: I hope I may be allowed to interrupt the right hon. Gentleman. It is quite a mistake. I made no reference whatever to the Boer prisoners. The right hon. Gentleman is evidently confusing the remarks of some other speaker with mine. I certainly made no allusion whatever to the sending of Boer prisoners to Ceylon.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I accept that statement of the hon. and learned Member with the greatest pleasure; I accept the repudiation; but there are others, perhaps not himself, who have made that insinuation against me. Now I ask the House to consider this case. Here am I solemnly arraigned before the High Court of Parliament and before the whole nation because twenty-three years ago I invested in a company of my interest in which I have been unable since to divest myself, even if I had wished to do so. If I wanted, on principle, to protect myself, to choose a company which would not implicate me, or which would have no part whatever in any Government contract, I think I could not fairly have chosen a better company than this in

Ceylon. And it is on this flimsy foundation that these insinuations are based. Sir, then there is a company called the Birmingham Trust Company. It is one of the many companies of that description which exist in all our large towns. It is formed to invest money chiefly in local concerns and securities generally. People like myself who have no time whatever to deal with their own private affairs find such a company a convenient means of investment. The chairman of the company is a highly respected Birmingham Alderman, who has a reputation for shrewdness and business capacity, in whom great confidence is felt. I was very glad to entrust a small sum to his care in the hope that he might invest it for me; but it never entered into my head that under any conceivable circumstances that could bring me any responsibility for the investments which that company might make without my knowledge. Part of the business of this company is that it should not disclose its investments, for to disclose its affairs would destroy the chances of profits. These trust companies are truly trust companies, because those who put their money into them have to trust the directors. I knew absolutely nothing as to the nature of a single investment that this company had made until I was told that they held an investment in "Tubes." If I had known that, I should have thought nothing about it. All I know about Tubes is that it was one of the companies established during the cycle boom to make tubes and cycles, and that it had come to great disaster. Well, since these imputations have been put about I have made inquiries. I am told that the Birmingham Trust Company has £400,000 invested, and that the value of its investments a short time ago in Tubes was £1,500. It was put higher to-night. I do not know where the information comes from, but that is the information which I have received, and the explanation of the difference may be that, as in other cases that were quoted to-night, the nominal value of the shares may have been taken instead of their actual value. As an hon. friend of mine pointed out, these shares, which are nominally £1 shares, were some time ago quoted on the Birmingham Stock Exchange at 2s.! Now, will the House please follow this out? I hold, roughly, I do not know exactly, one-twenty-fifth part of the capital of the Birmingham Trust Company. It is a very small capital—£120,000 or something like that. Therefore my investment in Tubes is £60! Then let us follow it a little further. Tubes, we are told, is a company which depends absolutely upon the Admiralty—a company the whole of whose business is done with the Admiralty. I am afraid to say what, but only a very small, percentage of its business is done with the Admiralty. "Tubes" still make, I believe, cycle tubes, but when the boom ceased it had to find some other way of getting rid of its manufactures, and it does make boiler tubes. But a large proportion of its trade is with private contractors and not with the Government, and since my brother has taken over the business the direct business with the Admiralty has very considerably decreased. So that if, as was kindly suggested, my brother indicated to his shareholders that they might rely on his influence with the Government to get good orders, to raise Tubes to a position of prosperity, it appears that he has not carried out his beneficent intention, but that, on the contrary, he is so little satisfied with the transactions with the Government that he prefers to deal with private individuals. Again, let me ask the House, is it not hard to deal with such rubbish as this? Here, without my knowledge, involuntarily, by a casual accident which I could not possibly foresee, it appears that I, in investing in a neutral company, become interested to the extent of £60 in a company which does perhaps 5 per cent.—I do not know what it is, but let us say 5 per cent.—of its business with a Government Department. Work it out arithmetically, and it will be found that my interest in Government contracts in this matter is confined to a few pounds or a few shillings. And for that the House of Commons is called upon to pass a solemn resolution, which will not strike me, but which will be a self-denying ordinance for many members who do not, however, anticipate that result. It would not strike me. If it had been in operation, how could I have "declared" that, holding shares in the Colombo Commercial Company, a company which acted as commission agent for tea companies—how could I possibly have known that that company would have competed for contracts, or would have been given a contract by a Government which acts for itself, and over which I have no control? How could I have "declared" the Birmingham Trust Company, about whose investments I knew nothing and could know nothing? No, Sir, I think that my opponents in this matter have gone altogether beyond what was necessary in the endeavour to injure me, and they have proceeded in a way which is calculated to lower the character of the House of Commons. I have said, I think, all that I consider necessary. If the object of those who entered into this conspiracy was to give pain, I must admit that they have succeeded. They have given pain to a great number of people, private individuals, who are not politicians, who are not public men, who have seen their private affairs, with comments of the most malicious character, dragged into the fierce light of public criticism, for no crime except that they happen to be related to the Colonial Secretary. They have not injured me. They have not injured my cause. I have never received so many kindly letters and assurances of support and sympathy as I have done during the last few weeks. But they have introduced into our public life methods of controversy which are unworthy, and have made it more difficult for honourable, sensitive men to serve the State.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I am reluctant to trespass further upon the time of the House with personal matters, following closely upon a relative of my own. But I have been joined in these attacks, my name has been frequently mentioned in the course of the debate, and I think it is due to the House that I should make a statement—I hope a very brief statement—of my position as far as I am concerned in these matters. I have been attacked in two capacities. I am attacked because I hold shares in a company called Hoskins and Sons (Limited), and because I hold shares in other companies, not on my own account, but as a trustee for others. I may say, as regards all the other companies with which my name has been connected, that I have no personal interest of my own in them, and the shares which stand in my name are not my shares, but shares which I hold with other people as a trustee, and I hardly think that the House will expect me to say much more about them. I do not think they will wish to lay it down—although the hon. Member for the Carnarvon Boroughs put both classes of shareholders on the same basis, and submitted to the House that it was as incompatible with the duty of a Minister of the Crown to hold shares as a trustee for others in one of these companies as to hold shares for himself—that a man is to be incapacitated from discharging the duties which he has promised to undertake as trustee because the major portion of his time is given up to the public service. I now come to the Hoskins Company. The charge in regard to that company is twofold. I have been attacked for holding shares in that company at all, and, not content with that, the mover and seconder of this Amendment proceeded to allege that on the formation of that company I had deliberately taken steps to evade the law on the subject of the interest of Members of Parliament in public companies doing business with the Government—that I had departed from the ordinary practice in the promotion of companies with the deliberate intention of being able to trade with the Government. In stating that charge against me it was said by the hon. Member for Carnarvon that it was the almost universal practice to have seven people named in the formation of a company, and that for the purpose of evasion I had used ten names in connection with Hoskins Company. I might content myself with replying that I had nothing whatever to do with the formation of the company. But I go further, and, having inquired into the matter, I am informed that what the hon. Member stated as facts—as he stated every insinuation, every allegation, and every invention in the course of his speech was a fact—are not facts at all. I am told that the company was formed with seven shareholders—the vendor of the company, the manager of the vendor, who is now the managing director of the company, and five clerks in the office of the solicitor who dealt with the legal matters connected with the formation of the company, these clerks being put in, as I believe is usual in such cases, for the convenience of dealing with documents which have to be signed and holding the necessary meetings which are preliminary to the formation of the company. Therefore the company was formed in the ordinary way with the number of seven, and the other shareholders came in later. That is my answer to the insinuation that I went out of my way to defeat the law, or to evade the intentions of Parliament. Now, about my holding shares in the company. I held these shares whilst I was at the Admiralty. A very small portion of the company's business was done with the Board of Admiralty, and it was no part of my duty as a member of the Admiralty Board to deal with this class of contracts. I never knew when tenders were invited. I never knew what firms were invited to tender. I never saw the tenders, and never knew when the contracts were given out, or to whom they were given out. Did the Leader of the Opposition make an observation?

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): I did not speak openly. But what I said was that probably, being a Civil Lord, you had nothing to do with them. It was not in your Department.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: That is perfectly right. Being a Civil Lord, I had nothing whatever to do with these contracts. In the words of the right hon. Gentleman, it was not in my Department. I wish he had pointed out that fact to the hon. Members behind him who have made these accusations. These are the facts, as far as I am concerned. I have only one word more to say. The hon. Gentleman who moved this Amendment accused me—I am dealing with what concerns myself—of having set a bad precedent. The hon. Gentleman opposite said—he made no charge—he only said that we had committed a deliberate breach of a rule essential to the purity of the Civil Service. What does he mean by that? What is the rule, hitherto maintained, which I have broken? I held a directorship while I was at the Admiralty. I have not been accused on that account to-night. Does the hon. Gentleman mean that there was a rule against directorships? He knows or ought to know—although it appears to be forgotten—that the late Government never laid down a rule that its members should not hold directorships, and I myself sat, until I joined this Government, on the board of a company with a member of the Front Bench opposite. I make no charge against him. But I say that at least hon. Members opposite, before they accuse us of having broken down that high standard of public honour which they say they set, should know what their own standard really was. Do they mean that it was a deliberate breach of this essential rule that I should hold shares in a company which did business with the Admiralty as I myself was a member of the Board? If they mean that, this rule, which has not existed in the past, if it had existed would have excluded from Boards of Admiralty chosen from their own side of the House some of the most distinguished and most honoured naval administrators. I have made no new departure in the action which I have taken; I have set no precedent; I have trodden on ground where the footsteps of my predecessors were before me; and, as I bring no charge against them, and hold that no charge can be brought, so I feel that I have nothing to be ashamed of, and that nothing that I have done has brought discredit upon the position which I have had the honour to hold in this House or in the Government.

*MR. HALDANE (Haddingtonshire): I have listened with close attention to this debate. The right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary said at the outset of his speech that it was with deep repugnance he entered upon the consideration of this matter, but I can assure him that it is at least with as deep a feeling of repugnance that I feel it my duty to take a part in this debate. I accept unreservedly—I have never had any doubt about it—the assurance of the absolute purity of motive which has actuated both the right hon. Gentleman and the Financial Secretary to the Treasury. I have known but little of this discussion. I never referred to contracts during the elections, nor were they discussed in my constituency. Neither did I ever make any charge against the Colonial Secretary, for whose ability, in many respects, I have high admiration. But when I listened to all that he said, and to all the hon. Member who has just spoken has said, I remain with the feeling that there is something yet which remains unsatisfactory. The right hon. Gentleman said that the motion of my hon. friend was not fair fighting. He also said that he was not a thief nor a scoundrel, and he spoke of personal attacks and investigations at

Somerset House. The right hon. Gentleman seems to me to misapprehend altogether the position of the attack—if he likes to call it so—made on him by hundreds and thousands of reasonable people in various parts of the country who have no dislike to him. The right hon. Gentleman seems to think that this matter can be disposed of by being reduced to a personal attack. I would reply in the language of the *Spectator*, which the other day in a leading article on this very topic said—

> "But, in spite of these high qualities, he would be very much better for a little more discretion and more prudence, and a little more ability to see that the world cannot be run on the dilemma: 'Either I am trustworthy or I am not. If I am worthy of trust, then it is shameful and malignant not to trust me all in all.' He forgets that we must think of other people besides himself, and of other generations besides the present."

As far as I am concerned, my case is just the case which has been put by the *Spectator* newspaper. I feel that these things produce a sense of unrest and uneasiness in the public mind. Remember how the man in the street looks upon the Government. He regards the Government as a national institution of which he is proud, and he looks upon it in the same light as he looks upon the judges of the land. Let us remember the case of other people besides those holding high office in the Government. If any judge of the land were to give judgment in a case in which he was interested to the extent to which the right hon. Gentleman is interested in these matters, his judgment, not from any implication of personal motive, but on high grounds of public policy, would be void. That has occurred over and over again. Take the case of civil servants. I am reluctant to quote once more the rule which the right hon. Gentleman himself laid with regard to civil servants and which was as follows—

> "No officer shall be allowed to engage in commercial pursuits or purchase shares in any local land company, nor shall any officer make or continue an investment which may interest him privately in any private or public undertaking with which his public duty is connected. All officers shall confidentially consult the Government as regards the investment which may be reasonably open to doubt."

That may be an extremely difficult thing, as the right hon. Gentleman has said, for any Minister to carry out. I know how difficult it is to find investments, and I know how careful Ministers have to be, but yet Ministers are under special obligations. I am perfectly certain—I accept his word most implicitly—that the right hon. Gentleman has neither the time nor the inclination to give attention to these matters. I recollect the debate which took place in this House on the holding of directorships, and I remember a plain speech delivered by an hon. Member on the Government side, the Member for the Whitby Division, an hon. Member of large business experience, in which he told the Government that the difficulty about these things was not what Ministers did, not the purity of their motive, but the misconstruction to which their action gave rise in the public mind. I, for one, feel that it is desirable in the highest degree that there should be no misconception. How does the matter stand? I do not for a moment attribute any sinister motive to the right hon. Gentleman or to anyone connected with him. But these are bad things to happen. I think the Government in the beginning of its career in 1895 had not been careful to maintain the high standard to which we are accustomed, and I trust the time will come when this House will go back on the standard which was laid down long ago. [AN HON. MEMBER: What standard?] First of all the standard I have referred to in the case of judges and civil servants, and now I refer to the spirit of the Act of Parliament.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: Why do you not refer to the standard set by the previous Government?

*MR. HALDANE: The standard of the previous Government was a very different standard from that of this Government. I know a case in which a Minister on accepting office sold out investments at great sacrifice, which were as nothing in connection with his position in the Government, compared with those which have been spoken of to-night.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: It is relations you want to sell out.

*MR. HALDANE: The right hon. Gentleman is giving the go-by to the real point.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: No, it is you.

*MR. HALDANE: I am replying to the case put by the right hon. Gentleman, and I am pointing out that these high standards were insisted on and acted up to.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: No, they were not.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: Not in all cases.

*MR. HALDANE: I suppose the right hon. Gentleman knows exactly the course adopted by all the members of the late Cabinet.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: By some of them.

*MR. HALDANE: The right hon. Gentleman admits that some members of the late Cabinet set a high example.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: No, I do not. I believe they all set a high standard, but what I say is that some of them—as to the others I know nothing—were in the same position that the hon. and learned Gentleman is now stigmatising.

*MR. HALDANE: I am in this different position from the right hon. Gentleman: that I know one case where a Minister sold out investments far exceeding in value anything we are discussing to-night. What we have got to consider is the spirit of the rule which Parliament has laid down. It was in the last century that the Act regulating these things was passed, and it declared that no person occupying a public position should have an interest in Government contracts, and the exception to that was the case of incorporated companies. In those days incorporated companies were comparatively rare things. The companies such as we know to-day had not come into existence, and when we consider that incorporated companies in those days were rare, and when we consider what the principle of the Act was, the rule is clearly laid down that it is undesirable that persons in public positions should be materially concerned in transactions with the Government. We are to-day face to face with things that have caused unrest and uneasiness in the country, and, further, I say we have not got to the end of them. It is all very well for the right hon. Gentleman, but if these things are allowed to go further, and if the example he sets is followed by others, we shall open a floodgate which we will never be able to close. The right hon. Gentleman asks, what is the charge which we bring and what is the criticism we make? I say the criticism we make is that these things produce unrest and uneasiness in the public mind, and that they afford a bad example. [AN HON. MEMBER: What things?] The things are the holding of shares, or being indirectly interested in the shares of companies which contract with the Government. Take the case of Hoskins. The Financial Secretary to the Treasury says that he is a considerable shareholder in Hoskins; so are other members of his family. I say that these things show a want of attention. What is the real interest of the public in the matter? It is that the Ministry should, by their conduct, be free from all misconception or suspicion in the public mind. I accept implicitly the assurance of the right hon. Gentleman that no motive of a sinister kind entered his mind. But I feel certain—and those who think as I do will agree—that I would be wanting in a sense of duty if I did not in this House have the courage to put the facts in the course of this debate.

MR. MCKENNA: May I correct the right hon. Gentleman on two matters of fact, before I proceed to say what I have got to say on the Amendment. One is that Tubes, Limited, was chiefly concerned with private contracts, and not with making water tubes for the Admiralty. The fact is that the business of the company is practically confined to making weldless tubes required for water tube boilers by the British Admiralty. That was stated by Mr. Arthur Chamberlain, the chairman of the company, in December, 1899. The second correction which I have to make is with reference to the right hon. Gentleman's statement, in an interruption to my hon. friend, as regards Kynochs' advertising the fact of their connection with the Colonial Secretary. I hold a copy of the letter of introduction used by travellers acting for Kynochs, which states—

> "You will be interested to know that the chairman of the company is Mr. Arthur Chamberlain, brother of the present Colonial Secretary."

I quite agree that that has not very much to do with the matter, but I only desire to correct two matters of fact which have erroneously been put before the House by the Colonial Secretary. The point which the right hon. Gentlemen the Colonial Secretary and the Financial Secretary to the Treasury have persistently evaded is the effect on the official mind of any known or partially known connection between members of the Government and firms contracting with public departments. I should like to inform the House as to what the official mind is concerning companies in which Members of Parliament or members of the Government may be connected. In the course of the inquiry before the War Office Contracts Committee one of the subjects we had to discuss was a certain contract held by an hon. Member of this House acting on behalf of a shipping company. It appears that this shipping company had for the first time taken from the War Office a contract for hay, and I think for coal. However, the hay contract is the one to which I am about to refer. This shipping company had never before had any other contract for dealing with hay, and its sole connection with hay was in supplying it to the War Office. The Director of Army Contracts was questioned as to how he gave a contract for hay to a shipping company, and the reply of Mr. Major was that in view of Mr. Houston's position in the country, and he being a Member of the House of Commons, they had a very strong guarantee in these circumstances that they would get only first-class quality hay. I quite agree. I believe that any hon. Member connected with the Government would do his work quite as well as any contractor outside the House, but the point to remember is that officials are inclined to give preference to companies which have behind them the support of Members of this House, and if officials are inclined to that view *à fortiori* it would be strengthened when a company has the support of a member of the Government. I would wish for one moment that this subject were treated as if there were no question of the Colonial Secretary being concerned. I wish the House would look at what happened before the War Office Contracts Committee, and draw with me the moral which we must draw from that inquiry. What did we find on that Committee? We found that a particular firm had received a larger share of the orders for cordite than any other firm; the officials were examined as to why they had shown this preference to Kynoch and Co. It was not a small matter. The House must remember that the cordite contract given to Kynoch and Co. averaged £100,000 a year for five and a half years, and when we look at the prices charged by them and compare them with the prices charged by other firms, it will be seen that the profits could not have been less than many thousands a year on those contracts. The question arises, why did the officials select Kynoch and Co. for this preferential treatment? The Committee in the end found, and I think very properly found, that in all the officials had done they had only been actuated by good motives in the public interest. There was not a shadow of a suggestion cast on the officials, and, therefore, we also exonerated those who served this company from any suggestion of corrupting the officials. There was no suggestion. But what were the facts? The official witnesses gave their explanation of this preference. They stated as reasons, the superiority of Kynochs' deliveries, and that they were a capable and efficient firm. They gave every conceivable ground for the superiority of Kynochs as against other firms. I believe the officials gave that evidence absolutely honestly, and that they believed it to be true. But what were the facts disclosed in subsequent cross-examination? It was shown that the officials were wrong on every point; that Kynochs had not been quicker, but had been slower in their delivery, and that they had a greater proportion of rejections. How are we to reconcile the official statements with the facts ultimately proved, and how are we to believe in the incorruptibility of the officials in the face of the difficulty of reconciling their explanation with the facts? The fact is that when officials have to deal with companies which have the guarantee of great names behind them their judgment and independence are paralysed. I know one example in which I can assure the House the officials could not have taken the trouble to make the most elementary inquiry into the facts concerning a particular company. I have details that were elicited as the truth about Kynochs was elicited, as the result of returns made by the Admiralty and the War Office. We have had facts disclosed to us which ought to have been known to the officials if they had taken the trouble to inquire. But it is idle to dispute the fact—it is within the knowledge of everyone—that officials, like other persons, are human beings, they do not exercise the same caution, and they allow their judgment to be paralysed when they are dealing with persons who are their official superiors, or who are intimately associated with their official superiors. What has been the connection of the Colonial Secretary with Kynoch and Co? His connection, as he has stated, is, as far as holding shares is concerned, *nil*. In the whole course of the inquiry before the Contracts Committee there was no shadow of a suggestion of corruption made against the Colonial Secretary, the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, or any other member of his family. That was never suggested, and any hon. Member can read the evidence and satisfy himself on that point. What was his connection with Kynochs? His public connection was that unfortunate speech of his in 1895. That speech has been already twice referred to, but I wish to call the attention of the House to one point in connection with it, and to emphasise the disastrous effect it must have had. The right hon. Gentleman said that he had a legitimate interest in the matter—that is in the cordite contract—which, as representing his constituents, he might be expected to have. The interest of his constituents in relation to cordite was absolutely *nil*, because Kynochs never manufactured one ounce of cordite either in Birmingham or in the neighbourhood of Birmingham. One factory was in Arklow, in Ireland, and the other was on the Thames. The only interest that Kynochs had for the constituents of the right hon. Gentleman was the interest of the shareholders of Kynochs. It was known to the officials of the War Office that Kynochs were not manufacturing any cordite in Birmingham, and that the legitimate interest of the right hon. Gentleman was none other than his interest in the shareholders of that company. I have seen a list of the shareholders of that company, and I am well within the mark when I say that of all the shareholders in Birmingham and its neighbourhood by far the largest were the right hon. Gentleman's own relatives. Outside Birmingham the shareholders were drawn from all over the country. The effect of that speech on the official mind must have been to create the impression that the right hon. Gentleman wished to see the company prospering. It was a most unfortunate speech, and although it was referred to twice before the right hon. Gentleman spoke, he did not mention it in his reply, and so far as that is concerned I think his reply as regards Kynochs is altogether unsatisfactory. When the right hon. Gentleman sanctioned the Minute forbidding officials in Ceylon to invest in land or other companies which might conflict with their public duties, he did not charge them with corruption or improper conduct. It was the duty of the Colonial Office to see that they did not use their power improperly. Now it is the duty of the House of Commons to exercise very similar control over Ministers of the Crown, and to say that they must not do anything which might interfere with their public duties. It is in that spirit and that spirit alone that I will support the Amendment, which to my mind caries out fully the object we desire. As to the right hon. Gentleman's mere verbal criticism of the Amendment, he can only have been induced to make it by the fact that he had not read the Amendment. All that the Amendment does is to declare that every member of the Government should on taking office publicly declare to Her Majesty what investments he has, and if any of the investments are in companies on the contractors' list of any public department. As to the question of the right hon. Gentleman's family being concerned, when it pleases him he understands "direct or indirect" not to include his relations, but when he criticises the wording of the Amendment, he understands "indirect" to include his relations. What the House is asked to do is to establish a principle which nobody will deny would be advantageous to the service of the country. Forgetting these unfortunate incidents, and the supposed attack on the Colonial Secretary, I hope the House will accept the Amendment.

MAJOR RASCH (Essex, Chelmsford): As a member of the Contracts Committee, and as being in a humble way responsible for its appointment, will the House permit me to briefly state my personal experience with reference to it, in opposition to the Amendment. I attended, I think, nearly every meeting of the Contracts Committee, and endeavoured, as far as my limited intelligence would permit, to get a full hold of the matter. I heard the evidence of Mr. Arthur Chamberlain and his examination and cross-examination, and the impression left upon my mind was that the relations between the War

Office and Kynoch and Co. resembled a contest between a swordfish and a whale. The officials of the War Office, who had not much business experience, were set against some of the sharpest business heads in the Midland Counties, and the result was undoubtedly that Kynochs got the lion's share, or a very large share of those contracts, although they were late in their deliveries, sometimes turned out indifferent stuff, and had a larger percentage of rejections than any other of the explosives companies. Who was to blame for that? Certainly not Mr. Arthur Chamberlain. He did the best he could for his company, and he was perfectly right in doing so. Still less the Colonial Secretary or his family, regarding whom we had not a shred or a shadow of evidence to implicate them directly or indirectly in any conceivable way. You must look elsewhere if you want to find who are responsible. I think it is not very difficult. I think if we go to Pall Mall we will find what we are looking for pretty easily. From my own personal experience in the matter I believe it is solely due to the stupidity, fatuity, and want of business training at the War Office that these contracts were made. So long as the country allows the War Office to continue as it is, so long will contracts be made which will be of no use to the country, and which will enable contractors to take money out of the pockets of the taxpayers.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for the Colonies treated this matter as if we were starting some new idea, imposing some new principle, and as if this resolution was making a new departure altogether in the great question—the great and delicate and difficult question—of the proper relations that ought to subsist between the public duties and the private interests of public officials. But I think I shall be able to show before I sit down that, on the contrary, the Amendment now before the House merely puts in a more explicit and precise form that which has always been the ideal and conception of those relations in our public service. I must disown any intention whatever to bring those wild accusations against the Colonial Secretary which he so naturally repelled. If anyone was seeking to make out, as he said, that the right hon. Gentleman was a scoundrel and a thief, I can well understand that he showed indignation, which I think has now carried him out of this Chamber altogether. [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN re-entered the House.] I was saying that there was nothing in this Amendment which imputes to the right hon. Gentleman those charges which he naturally repelled with so much indignation. But in supporting this Amendment those who act with me on this side of the House are merely repeating to-night a similar line of action to that they took in 1899 and again last session. On those two occasions we called attention to the large number of directorships held by members of the Government, and we proposed certain words for the acceptance of the House condemning the holding of directorships by members of the Cabinet. We were received then with exactly the same display of indignation we have met with to-night. We were assured they were all men of high honour, and that our action was an imputation on their honour. We disowned any such intention, but we argued to the best of our ability that the holding of directorships was an indication that the public officials who held them were subject to certain influences which might in some cases lead them away from the straight path of public duty, and that if they were subject to that suspicion, if they did not remove the appearance of evil by divesting themselves of their directorships, harm would be done to the public interest. I remember that an hon. Member on that side of the House brought forward a notable instance of a great man and a very strong man, quite as strong a man, I think, as the Colonial Secretary himself—I mean Prince Bismarck—who not only held a very strong opinion as to any official occupying the position of director of a public company, but also as to his having any investment of his private money which would lead to his having an interest in any way different to that which the public welfare suggested. That is the line we took, and we were received with indignation. But if we were wrong last year in objecting to members of the Government holding directorships, why has Lord Selborne given up his directorship of the P. and O. Company? Why has the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade declared, with a little appearance of self-satisfaction, as if he thought—and he was right in thinking—that it was right that he has given up all the directorships he held? If that was a right thing to do why did he not do it last year when attention was called to it?

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. GERALD BALFOUR, Leeds, Central): I did not do it last year because I held a different office. The office I hold now is specially connected with companies, and it was as holding that office that I was attacked by Lord Rosebery in the House of Lords.

SIR. H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I am only sorry that the right hon. Gentleman's action was taken on narrower grounds than I have been given to understand. Now, Sir, coming down to this question of an interest in a contracting firm. Is that any new doctrine? There is nothing more hallowed in this House than the principle that no Member of the House is to vote if he has become a contractor to any Government Department for the supply of anything required for the public service. I remember two applications of that rule which occur to me, the very insignificance of which shows how fastidious the House has been in this matter. I remember one case was that of Mr. Bisley, one of the most honoured men in Manchester, who was elected as Member for Manchester. After he was elected it was discovered by himself, as well as by others, to his great surprise, that he was interested and had a share in some pottery works which supplied some kind of article to the Navy. Another case was that of a Scotch Member who was a large landowner in the island of Islay, and was elected for a constituency in Scotland. He could not take his seat because, not for pecuniary gain, but for the public advantage of Islay he had a small share in a small steamer which contracted with the Post Office to take the mails to Islay. I quote these cases to show how particular and fastidious the House of Commons and the law have always been in this matter, When it became known at the War Office that the right hon. Gentleman, either through himself or through his family, was so widely connected with such a large number of firms, all coming under the category of trading firms, I think it was very natural that great attention should be attached to it. The right hon. Gentleman complains of his relatives being brought into the matter, and especially that his brothers should be held up as guilty persons because they hold interests in firms which contract with departments of the Government. The Colonial Secretary is himself largely to blame in that respect, because he made that strong declaration in the House that he was "neither directly nor indirectly" concerned in any firms supplying materials for the public service. The word "indirectly" is obviously capable of different interpretations——

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: The statement to which the right hon. Gentleman refers was accompanied immediately afterwards with an admission that my brother was chairman of Kynochs, which was an open secret. Accordingly no one who heard me then could possibly have mistaken "indirectly interested" to mean that none of my relatives were interested.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: That precisely accords with my view of it, because I do think it would be carrying matters to the pitch of absurdity to say that a man is to be responsible for the investments and conduct of his brother. But, where you have members of your own household directly benefiting, I think the case may reasonably be brought under the word "indirectly." The right hon. Gentleman was somewhat inconsistent in two parts of his speech, because he claimed that application of the word "indirectly" when he was criticising our Amendment, but repudiated it when he was speaking of his own statement. The object of the Amendment, and what the object of all right-minded men who have the public interest in view ought to be, could not be better expressed than it is by a passage in the *Economist* of Saturday last. It is there said—

> "If a Minister happens to be connected directly or indirectly with any company whose dividends arise mainly or largely from Government contracts which he can in any way influence, the country expects him to sever his connection with such companies before taking office."

That is a very exact and correct statement.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: That does not affect either of us.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Then the right hon. Gentleman has at least the satisfaction of knowing that he has been the occasion of this question being raised. If he can make out with greater clearness than he has yet been able to do that he is neither directly nor indirectly concerned in any company whose dividend mainly or largely arises from Government contracts, I congratulate him.

Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN : I said so.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: But the country expects any man in this position to sever his connection with those companies. The Amendment, however, is not that he should sever his connection, but that he should declare his interest on taking office. That contains clearly the gist of what it is sought to enforce, and I think that the excitement that has existed in the public mind at the discovery that certain persons engaged in the public offices are so closely connected with supplying firms shows how deeply the country feels on this matter, and how necessary it is for us to maintain the old rules of perfect impartiality and freedom from suspicion. I will not say from corruption, but from the undue influence that might arise. Why, the right hon. Gentleman himself was indignant against strong rules of this sort being applied in cases where the holding was small or that some other qualifying fact existed, but what did he say to Sir Hercules Robinson? He held that the fact that he had once held shares was a disqualification for office in a region of the world where connection with a company might affect his impartiality.

Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I believe the right hon. Gentleman is misrepresenting what I said. I have not referred to the matter since it occurred, but my belief is that my reference to Sir Hercules Robinson related solely to his chairmanship of one great public company and to his directorship of another.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I looked at the right hon. Gentleman's words not long ago, and I think I have not inaccurately represented him. The right hon. Gentleman has had an opportunity of explaining his connection with all these companies.

Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN: With two.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I give him the benefit of that. He has had the opportunity of meeting those who have made violent attacks upon him —none of whom, I think, are in this House—and I think we may be left to record our strong opinion that the dangers we see in this matter ought to be strictly avoided in future.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I am not surprised that the right hon. Gentleman has thought it judicious to minimise as far as in his power lay the attacks which have been made upon my right hon. friend. Why? Because my right hon. friend, with the sympathy, I believe, of the other side of the House, with the absolute approval of this side of the House, and with the approval, I believe, of the whole country when they read the debate to-morrow, will have conclusively proved that this debate, so far as it was an attack upon himself, is an attack without the shadow of a foundation, animated by motives on which it is not now necessary to dwell. How vain is the attempt of the right hon. Gentleman to persuade us at this time of day—or night—that he and his friends are fighting for some abstract principle of purity which shall henceforth regulate the conduct of Governments and of Ministries! I suppose it was in support of this abstract doctrine that for months past there have been paid gentlemen searching the records of Somerset House, searching out all the private investments of my right hon. friend and of my hon. friend near me (Mr. Austen Chamberlain), and of all their relations—their uncles, sisters, cousins, and aunts. It was in the interest, I suppose, of this abstract principle of purity that the constituencies have been flooded with literature, whose malignity was only equalled by the ingenuity with which it was so contrived as to avoid the direct consequences of an action for libel. It was in the interests of this great cause he would have us believe that the hon. Gentleman has brought forward this motion to-night and that his embattled forces have been arrayed for the Division. Nothing of the sort. We all know how flimsy is the pretext. It is not in the interests of purity, but it is an attack upon one man who has made his power felt through the country, and whom hon. Gentlemen opposite honour with their special aversion. Surely labour might have been better bestowed than in these underground burrowings. Why, Sir, if half the trouble and expenditure had been devoted to elucidating in the Record Office some obscure point of history, we should have had some result at all events. The cause of history would have gained. But the sole purpose to which these gentlemen devoted their time was to get a case against one man to whom they object. They have failed in the country. Their humiliation has been as great to-night, when they are brought face to face with the man whom they have so pitilessly traduced. The right hon. Gentleman quoted as an exponent of his view a sentence from the *Economist*, in which the writer lays down that no Minister ought to hold investments of which the interest is mainly or largely produced by the results of Government contracts. That may be a very good principle. It is not a principle which has been traversed by my right hon. friend; it is not a principle which the right hon. Gentleman can pretend has been traversed by my right hon. friend. Two companies, and two companies only, of those which have been mentioned to-night has he got shares in. One of them is the Ceylon Company, in which he invested twenty-three years ago. Is it pretended that the dividend of that company has, during these twenty-three years, or during the last year, been "mainly or largely produced by Government contracts"? The other company is a trust company. Does the right hon. Gentleman suggest that the investors in trust companies are bound to investigate the circumstances, if they can discover them, of the subsidiary companies in which the trust company invests? They could not if they wished, considering that the whole object of a trust company is that every investor should escape the labour which he may not have time or opportunity to carry out. Is it reasonable to pretend that a Member of the Government, or of the House, or anyone else is impelled to make himself sponsor, not merely for the general conduct of that trust company, but the conduct of every subsidiary company in which that trust money is invested? There remains the case of my hon. friend near me. Is the company in which he has been charged with having improperly invested one in which the dividends are "mainly or largely drawn from Government contracts"? He informs me that the business done with the Government amounts to 2 per cent. only of the whole business of the company. Is that a case of "mainly or largely"? On the right hon. Gentleman's own principles I think he ought to have made a fuller *amende* to my right hon. friend for the attacks which to-night, on many previous nights, through many weeks, almost through months, he has been made the object of. What is the pretended motive of all these attacks? It is that an English Minister should be above suspicion; that no suggestion should ever occur to foreigners in general, and to the Boer prisoners in particular, that a member of the Government can directly or indirectly be connected with a Government contract. What Boer prisoner in Ceylon would ever have heard of the investment in the Ceylon Company if it had not been for the strenuous, persistent, and the costly efforts of the hon. Member opposite and his friends? To what foreign Government or nation would it have occurred that a British Minister had invested his money otherwise than he should have done, if this stream of calumny had not been poured upon him? These are the gentlemen who foul their own nests in the interest of domestic cleanliness. I confess, Sir, that it is with deep regret that I find the House of Commons engaged in these personalities. I say nothing of the Amendment which we had earlier in the evening directed against three or four members of Her Majesty's Government. That is a small matter which need not be considered. In any case, it does not attack personal character. It does not attack private character It was reserved for the Amendment which we are now discussing to give occasion—in faint colours indeed, and in relatively doubtful and waving outline—to repeat in this House that lurid picture which has been presented to half the constituences of the kingdom. I do not know, on the principles of the hon. Member, whom he regards as eligible as a Member of the Government. No Member of the house of Cecil, of course; but, putting them aside, I suppose that nobody who has any relations, and nobody who has any money himself to invest, and nobody who has any relations who have any money to invest, and nobody who inspires sufficient confidence to be made a trustee, is eligible. Wanted, a man to serve her Majesty, with no money, no relations, and inspiring no general confidence! I do not think, Sir, that by that means the great traditions of the purity of English public life have been built up. I so dislike all this kind of recrimination that I refrain from giving, as I could give, cases of men of the highest honour who have served Her Majesty recently—gentlemen sitting opposite—who are as open to the attack on this matter as is my right hon. friend. [Cheers, and cries of "Name."] If I am challenged I will give the names now; if not, I am prepared to give them in private to the right hon. Gentlemen opposite. But I would rather not. I think we have had enough of dragging these perfectly innocent particulars of private life into public notice; of holding them up as if they were worthy of public reprobation. Sir, they are not worthy of public reprobation. Although every one who heard my right hon. friend must feel, as I feel, from his speech how great is the pain necessarily inflicted by this kind of attack, even upon those most hardened to the wounds of public conflict, yet I can assure him that I believe the general result has been to excite in his behalf an amount of sympathetic appreciation which, perhaps, even his great services would hardly have elicited had he not been made the subject of these malevolent and venomous attacks. And, though I do not suppose for one moment that that will offer a complete compensation for all that he has gone through, yet it cannot be wholly indifferent to him that, as I believe, he has never stood higher in the general opinion of his countrymen than he does at this moment.

*MR. JOHN BURNS (Battersea): History records of the Spanish nobility that when they were arguing amongst themselves as to the antiquity of their patents of nobility, the Moors—[Interruption]—I repeat it, because the younger scions of the aristocracy do not know history. Mr. Speaker, history records that when the Spanish nobility were discussing the antiquity of their patents of nobility, the Moors, their enemies, were breaking down towns, entering citadels, and subjugating the Spanish Army. There is a parallel to what happened to Spain in her decadence in the proceedings of the British House of Commons this evening. When this old country is at war with a foreign enemy, when perhaps we should have been engaged in re-organising our Army, seeing to the Navy, and raising taxes to meet our external foes, for eight hours the British House of Commons has been discussing what proportion of one family should dominate unduly the Government of the country; and for the last six hours we have been discussing whether or not what is good for the Civil Service of the country shall or shall not be good for a Minister of the State. Now I regret that this discussion should be necessary. [Interruption and cries of "Divide!"] There is one thing the House of Commons will do, through its Speaker, and that is to get order for a Member to speak. I regret that this debate should have been necessary, but as long as the public take a genuine interest in the honour of this House, as they do—[Interruption]—do you deny it?—such debate is necessary. What differentiates the British Parliament from any other parliaments in the opinion of hon. Members opposite? It is because it does not "Panama" as the French Parliament has occasionally done. It does not do what "Tammany" has done in America, and it has not yet been under the influence of "the chosen people," of capitalist rings and other monopolists that are accustomed to reign in the representative institutions in other parts of the world. It is because you think this House is superior to many other Parliaments that you have listened for eight hours to questions which must be discussed, and which the people of this country are demanding shall be settled on a permanent and just and fair basis. Such a basis demands that no Member shall hold shares in a firm that contracts for the Government. I am not going to be switched off the path by the speech of the Colonial Secretary. I am not going to be diverted from my duty as a Member of Parliament by the speech of the First Lord of the Treasury, dictated less by an appreciation of the facts than by a desire for political reasons to shield a colleague who has not shown the discretion in his high office which he should. The first Lord of the Treasury, who is esteemed in the humblest street of my own parish, in every workshop in Great Britain and Ireland, and in every pit, mine, and factory, who has endeared himself to the House, and to all of us—has found it possible to serve the State and yet not to make ammunition. He has shown the world that it is possible for a Scottish gentleman and an Englishman of honour to "scorn delights and live laborious days," and yet have no commercial entanglements. And if that can be done by him and his distinguished uncle, that is precedent enough for me. Now what does the Colonial Secretary say after "twenty-five years of faithful services"—although other men can say the same? He says he is asked to defend himself. I have to defend myself every hour of the day from similar suggestions, and I do not regard it as repugnant to my nature, or hostile to my disposition. Why? None of my relations are Government contractors, and my answer is ready and to the point. Unlike the Colonial Secretary, I have not two centuries of commercial integrity at the back of my family. I have better than that. All my relations avoid any charges of this kind by remaining poor, and I am not to be diverted from my duty by spuriously indignant statements of that sort. It is no good for Ministers in these days when Manchester is dismissing Mayors, when Salford is dismissing councillors, and when London vestries are excluding men because they give one of their visiting cards to a sanitary inspector—for a man to come down to this House, with a tear in his throat, and simply as an answer to charges of fact talk about his integrity. What are the facts? The Colonial Secretary says that this Amendment is only a peg on which to hang a personal attack upon himself. I do not believe the Colonial Secretary is justified in making that statement. I put aside any suggestion that I am going to make a personal attack upon the Colonial Secretary. When I do that he will remember it. But I will come to the facts. Who is this high-toned, sensitive, delicate organism that complains of criticism? What was he engaged in doing before the election? He said he took no notice of these charges because he was otherwise engaged. How engaged? I leave that to him and to the candidates against whom accusations of treason and dishonourable motives and acts, and so forth, were directed. His stilted suggestion about a conspiracy of slander and insinuation does not influence me, and will not prevail with the British public, and will not appeal to them to-morrow morning. What will appeal to them is the simple fact that a Colonial Secretary has owned up to having shares in two companies. One is enough, for, like Mercutio, we can say, "'Tis not so deep as a well, nor so wide as a church door; but 'tis enough, 'twill serve." For his son, personally, there is no one for whom I have a greater regard. I have always expressed it, and I think we all like him. His son owns up to having at least one interest in one share. [Laughter.] I am not used to Throgmorton Street, so you will pardon me if I use a wrong expression. I could have sold the honour of this House by taking a place in Throgmorton Street, but I prefer to be a Member of Parliament and not a guinea-pig. But the hon. Gentleman does own up to be in some company that contracts for the Government. It is enough that the public should know that between the right hon. the Colonial Secretary, the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, and their family there is a substantial sum at stake, between £300,000 and £400,000. My answer to the Colonial Secretary is this: We only ask him to do what he asked the London County Council to do years ago, and you can judge the Colonial Secretary by his own utterances. Five years ago, in order to prevent corruption, the London County Council was driven to follow the example of Birmingham, and commenced a Works Department. But when that was done, and a slight irregularity occurred in which no member was implicated, what did the Colonial Secretary say to the London County Council? He said that the result of a policy of that kind was certain in time to lead to jobbery, and that gigantic works would not be removed from the personal supervision of responsible contractors without jobbery resulting. And he wound up by saying that the County Council was approaching to Tammany, and making baseless insinuations of that sort. Now what was good enough for the County Council is good enough for Birmingham. If the Colonial Minister and his family put themselves in the position they have done they cannot escape criticism, but must expect it. [Cries of "Divide."] I am not going to divide until I have concluded my pertinent observations. The Colonial Secretary says that this Amendment would exclude the best men from public life. What happened with his own colleague, Lord Lansdowne, when he became Minister of

War? Like the gentleman he is, he said—

> "As Minister of War I shall be brought into contact with Government contracts. I am a big shareholder in the Elswick Works at Newcastle, which have large contracts with the Government."

He not only resigned his position as director, but, to his credit, he sold out every single share he had in the Elswick Company. That transaction did not deprive the country of his services. But let us go a bit further. [Cries of "Divide."] If the hon. Member who cries "Divide" wishes to go home, the Serjeant-at-Arms will clear a passage for him at once. Lord Selborne, who is now the First Lord of the Admiralty, was a director of the P. and O. Company, which takes £300,000 to £400,000 in mail subsidies and for transport of troops per annum. Immediately he became First Lord of the Admiralty he could see that his interest as a shareholder and director would conflict with the just discharge of his duties as First Lord of the Admiralty, and he resigned. But, better than all, the new President of the Board of Trade on assuming office sold out all interest in the companies with which he was connected, because his office at the Board of Trade brought him in contact with those companies.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: I have sold out no shares of a company with which I was connected. I resigned a directorship on the ground that the Board of Trade is directly connected with the company.

MR. JOHN BURNS: The right hon. Gentleman does not diminish the force of my point; it is only one of degree. He has resigned his directorship, and the very motive that induced him to do so is the motive which should induce the new Secretary to the Treasury to sell his shares in his company. The Colonial Secretary said that if the Amendment were adopted it would exclude men from public life who hold Consols. If he read the Standing Orders he would find that they do not. What do the Standing Orders say? An hon. Member is not entitled to vote on a question in which he has a direct pecuniary interest, not held in common with the rest of the subjects of the Crown. Consols can be held in common, as they are sold and bought in the open market, as can also shares in railway, steamship, and other companies. And when I am told that this would apply to a number of distinguished men, my answer is that we need not fear, because the Colonial Secretary informed us with portentous significance that the British Empire would go on after he died. I want it to go on well and cleanly and honourably, and it can only go on on these lines as long as you prevent Ministers from dabbling in companies. I will show the House how this matter affects the public life of this country. The Colonial Secretary does not know it, but seventeen years ago I was a servant of his on the banks of the Niger. He had a very substantial interest in the Royal Niger Company. I did not happen to be in the House when the Bill compensating the Niger Company went through in about half an hour, but had I been in the House I probably would not have criticised what I still think, and what every Liverpool merchant thinks, was the extravagant compensation given. But if the relations of employer and employee, between the right hon. Gentleman and myself, had been different, then I would have criticised the Bill, and would have shown that even in that case he got more than his interest was worth. In these matters I care not whether the interest be £60 or £500 or £50,000. The fact is that the Colonial Secretary has shares in two companies—one having indirect, the other direct relations with the Government—is, to my mind, a reason why this Amendment should be supported. [Interruption.] You will not accept my view because I am only a layman, but I will give the Lord Advocate's view, which he stated on the 8th May as follows—

> "There may be certain directorships which would involve a conflict of interest, and if there were such directorships I am certain nobody on this Government Bench would continue to hold them. Of course no Minister would continue to hold a directorship which brought him into contact with departments of the Crown dealing with Government contracts."

These two companies have brought the Colonial Secretary and the Financial Secretary to the Treasury into contact with Government departments, and on the showing of the Lord Advocate he ought either to abandon his shares or resign his office. I wish now to refer to the speech made by the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for the

Chelmsford Division of Essex. He put the case in a nutshell with regard to Kynochs. He said that they were late in their deliveries, that they had many rejections, that their prices were high and their ammunition was bad; and instead of turning his criticism to the Colonial Secretary and asking this House to safeguard the taxpayers of the country, he poured it forth on Pall Mall. Pall Mall is responsible for much, but not for the delinquencies of the Colonial Secretary. I think you will never get clerks of works, Government inspectors, and engineers who superintend Government work to do their duty fairly and impartially when firms who do work for the Government have Ministers of the Crown as directors. Why do I say that? The contracts Committee states that the law should be strengthened against officials who do not do their duty. But it also says that it is undesirable for Members of Parliament to negotiate with departmental officials, and what is more—and it is a sinister suggestion—that when firms are asked to revise their tenders all the firms tendering should be given an equal opportunity. All these safeguards were urged against a firm in which the Colonial Secretary's family have large holdings of shares. It is perfectly true that in former days the House appears to have been more strict than it is now, when directors and shareholders vote for private Bills affecting their companies. What is the effect of this laxity? I will tell the First Lord of the Treasury. He spoke to the Primrose League the other night, and he said that the League had to fight against the growing apathy and increasing indifference of the people of this country. What is the reason of that apathy and indifference? He who runs may read. A belief is growing up amongst the people of this country that Parliament is not so rigid in these personal matters as it ought to be, and that it is susceptible to outside financial influences. The *Birmingham Post*, the organ of the Colonial Secretary, said that it had been the proud boast of the mother of Parliaments that the amosphere of the Palais Bourbon in Paris had never found a footing in Westminster, but it added that one had grave doubts whether that boast could ever be repeated owing to the influences exercised in connection with the Petroleum Bill and the Telephones Bill. The man in the street who reads the *Birmingham Post* is beginning to think that our Parliament is also being "Panama-ed," and that our public life has not that high standard of honour it formerly had. What is the charge of the right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary against President Kruger? It is that his administration was inefficient, and his Government corrupt. If that be true, and it has not been proved to the extent it has been stated, we ought to put ourselves in a position which would make it impossible under our Standing Orders for such a charge to be made against our Parliament or any of our Ministers. Anyone hearing the Colonial Secretary speak would think that the hub of the Universe came up through his doorstep in Birmingham; that he should be a law unto himself. We must apply the same standard of public conduct as the right hon. Gentleman himself would apply to the London County Council, when it suited his purpose. Supposing my brother had been supplying the Works Department with drain pipes or machinery, would not the Colonial Secretary deliver an eloquent homily about the inherent corruptibility of Labour Members? Suppose I sneaked behind the skirts of my good wife, and unloaded my shares on her shoulders, I should be accused—and properly accused—of ungentlemanly and unmanly conduct. But that is what he and his relations are doing. The right hon. Gentleman can say what he likes, but he has got to unload the Kynoch shares, he has got to divest himself of the Colombo Commercial Company's shares; he has got to get rid of Birmingham Trusts, and he must not look down Birmingham Tubes for Government work. He must not act under the supposition that he can do what other men do not undertake. I say, as one of the poorest Members of this House, that I rejoice that I have this opportunity of expressing the views of the common people on this subject—[Interruption]—and that when our country is in a tight place in fighting a "corrupt oligarchy" we ourselves should be above suspicion. But I tell you that you will regret voting against this Amendment when our Civil Service takes this example and traffics in companies and commercial interests as they have a perfect right to do if you allow a Minister of State to do this. When corruption creeps in and when the evil example of the Colonial Secretary brings discredit to the State, dishonour to our country, and degradation to our Parliament, you will regret the day that you voted against this Amendment. I had hoped that the House of Commons would have upheld to-night its reputation of being fair and gentlemanly. I appeal to it to remember its traditions. I beg of it not to damage this instrument of representative Government which can only exist by fair play and toleration all round. [Interruption.] But whether its Members are fair or unfair, they will not deprive me of my right which I now exercise of telling the House of Commons that if the British Parliament is to remain unsullied, and the great assembly we would all wish it to be, if it is to be the embodiment of honour and the centre to which all other countries can look for example, inspiration, and guidance, it can only do so by passing this Amendment, making everyone declare his interests and declare to the world all the shares he holds in public companies, and until they do that the common people will say that the House of Commons is not doing its duty, but is sheltering favourites, giving privileges to a few, opening the door to corruption, swindling the taxpayer, and becoming a disgrace to the country of which I have the honour of being a representative.

Question put—

The House divided; Ayes, 127; Noes, 269. (Division List, No. 5.)

AYES.

Allan, William (Gateshead)
Allen, C. P. (Glouc., Stroud)
Asher, Alexander
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herbert H.
Barker, John
Barlow, John Emmott
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Bell, Richard
Black, Alexander William
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Brand, Hon. Arthur G.
Brigg, John
Broadhurst, Henry
Brown, G. M. (Edinburgh)
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Craig, Robert Hunter
Cremer, William Randal
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Dewar, John A. (Inverness)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duncan, James H.
Dunn, Sir William
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellis, John Edward
Emmott, Alfred
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Furness, Sir Christopher
Gladstone, Rt Hn Herbert John
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Griffith, Ellis J.
Gurdon, Sir William Brampton
Haldane, Richard Burdon
Harcourt, Rt. Hn. Sir William
Hardie, J.K. (Merthyr Tydvil)
Harmsworth, R. Leicester
Harwood, George
Hayne, Rt. Hn. Charles Seale-
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir A. D.
Healy, Timothy Michael
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Holland, William Henry
Hope, John Deans (Fife, W.)
Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, Wm. (Carnarvonshire)
Kinloch, Sir John G. Smyth
Labouchere, Henry
Langley, Batty
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leng, Sir John
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lough, Thomas
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Laren, Charles Benjamin
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mather, William
Morgan, J. L. (Carmarthen)
Morley, Chas. (Breconshire)
Moss, Samuel
Moulton, John Fletcher
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
Palmer, Geo. Wm. (Reading)
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pickard, Benjamin
Pirie, Duncan V.
Rea, Russell
Reckitt, Harold James
Rickett, J. Compton
Rigg, Richard
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Robson, William Snowdon
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Schwann, Charles E.
Shaw, Charles E. (Stafford)
Shipman, Dr. John
Sinclair, Capt. J. (Forfarshire)
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer, Rt Hn C. R. (Northants
Strachey, Edward
Taylor, Theodore Cooke
Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.
Thomas, A. (Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas, F. Freeman- (Hastings
Thomas, J. A. (Glam., Gower
Thomson, Frederick W.
Tomkinson, James
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackm'nn'n)
Weir, James Galloway
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley, George (York, W. R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wilson, Fred. W. (Norfolk, Mid)
Wilson, H. J. (York, W. R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)
Wodehouse, Hn Armine (Essex

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—
Mr. Lloyd-George and Mr. John Burns.

NOES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Aird, John
Allhusen, Augustus H. Eden
Allsopp, Hon. George
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Archdale, Edward Mervyn
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arrol, Sir William

Ashmead-Bartlett, Sir Ellis
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John Geo. Alexander
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Rt. Hn. G. W. (Leeds)
Balfour, Maj. K. R. (Christch'ch
Banbury, Frederick George
Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir M. H. (Bristol
Beckett, Ernest William
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, A.
Bigwood, James
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith-
Bowles, Capt. H. F. (Middlesex)
Bowles, T. Gibson (King's Lynn
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brookfield, A. Montagu
Brown, Alex. H. (Shropshire)
Bull, William James
Bullard, Sir Harry
Butcher, John George
Carlile, William Walter
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt Hn J. (Birm.
Chamberlain, J. A. (Worc'r)
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Cochrane, Hon. T. H. A. E.
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colomb, Sir J. Charles Ready
Colston, Chas. E. H. Athole
Cook, Frederick Lucas
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cranborne, Viscount
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Cust, Henry John C.
Davies, Sir Horatio D (Chatham
Dewar, T. R. (T'r H'mlets, St. G
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Dimsdale, Sir Joseph Cockfield
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dixon-Hartland, Sir F. Dixon
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Edward Henry
Dyke, Rt. Hon Sir William Hart
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn Edw.
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Manc'r
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, George H.
Firbank, Joseph Thomas
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose-
Fitzroy, Hon. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Fletcher, Sir Henry
Forster, Henry William
Galloway, William Johnson
Garfit, William
Gibbs, Hn. A. G. H (City of Lond.
Gibbs, Hn. Vicary (St. Albans
Godson, Sir Augustus Fredk.

Gordon, Hon. J E (Elgin & Nairn
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gordon, Maj W (Tower Hamlets
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
Goschen, George Joachim
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Green, W. D. (Wednesbury)
Greene, Sir E. W. B'ry S Edmnds
Grenfell, William Henry
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Groves, James Grimble
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Hain, Edward
Halsey, Thomas Frederick
Hambro, Charles Eric
Hamilton, Rt. Hn. Lord G. M'dx
Hanbury, Rt. Hon. Robert Wm.
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tyne'mth
Harris, Dr. F. R. (Monmouth)
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Hay, Claude
Heath, Arthur H. (Hanley)
Helder, Augustus
Hermon-Hodge, Robert T.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Higginbottom, S. W.
Hoare, Edw. B. (Hampstead)
Hoare, Sir Samuel (Norwich)
Hobhouse, H. (Somerset, E.)
Hogg, Lindsay
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield Brightside
Horner, Frederic William
Houldsworth, Sir Wm. Henry
Hoult, Joseph
Houston, Robert Paterson
Howard, Capt J (Kent, Faversh.
Hozier, Hon Jas. Henry Cecil
Jackson, Rt. Hon. Wm. L.
Jeffreys, Arthur Frederick
Jessel, Capt. Herbert Merton
Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir J. H.
Kenyon, Hon. G. T. (Denbigh)
Kenyon, James (Lancs., Bury)
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. (Salop)
Keswick, William
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Knowles, Lees
Lambton, Hon. Fred. Wm.
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar
Lawson, John Grant
Lecky, Rt. Hn. Wm. Ed. H.
Lee, Capt. A. H. (Hants, Fareh.
Legge, Col. Heneage
Leigh-Bennett, Henry Currie
Leighton, Stanley
Leveson-Gower, Fred. N. S.
Lockwood, Lt.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col. C. W. (Evesham)
Long, Rt. Hon. W. (Bristol, S.)
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. F. (Lowestoft)
Lucas, R. J. (Portsmouth)
Macartney, Rt Hn W. G. Ellison
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maclure, Sir John William
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Iver, Sir L. (Edinburgh, W.)
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire

Majendie, James A. H.
Manners, Lord Cecil
Maple Sir John Blundell
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F
Maxwell, W. J. (Dumfriesshire
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Middlemore, J. Throgmorton
Milner, Rt. Hon. Sir Fredk. G.
Milward, Colonel Victor
Mitchell, William
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Montagu, Hon. J. S. (Hants.)
Moore, William (Antrim, N.)
More, Robt. Jasper (Shropshire)
Morgan, D. J. (Walthamstow)
Morrell, George Herbert
Morris, Hon. Martin Henry F.
Morton, Arthur H. A (Deptford)
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Muntz, Philip A.
Murray, Rt Hn A. Graham (Bute
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Newdigate, Francis Alexander
Nicholson, William Graham
Nicol, Donald Ninian
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Orr-Ewing, Charles Lindsay
Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Peel, Hn. Wm Robert Wellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Pilkington, Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Radcliffe, R. F.
Randles, John S.
Rankin, Sir James
Rasch, Major Frederic Carne
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renshaw, Charles Bine
Renwick, George
Richards, Henry Charles
Ridley, M. W. (Stalybridge)
Ridley, Samuel F. (Bethnal Gr.)
Ritchie, Rt. Hn. Chas. Thomson
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Ropner, Colonel Robert
Rothschild, Hon Lionel Walter
Saddler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Samuel, Harry S. (Limehouse)
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Saunderson, Rt Hn. Col. Edw. J.
Seeley, Charles Hilton (Lincoln
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Shaw-Stewart, M. H. (Renfrew)
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East
Smith, Jas. Parker (Lanarks)
Spear, John Ward
Spencer, Ernest (W. Bromwich
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.

Stock, James Henry
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot,Rt.HnJ.G.(Oxf'dUniv.
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Wm. Edw.Murray
Tufnell, Col. Edward
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Valentia, Viscount
Walker, Col. William Hall
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warde,Lieut.-Col.C.E.
Wason,JohnCathcart (Orkney
Webb, Col. William George
Welby,Lt.-Col.A.C.E(Taunt'n
Welby,Sir CharlesG.E.(Notts.
Wharton, Rt.Hon.John Lloyd
Whiteley,H.(Ashton-under-L.
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams,RtHnJ.Powell(Birm
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wills, Sir Frederick
Wilson, Arthur S. (York,E.R.)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson,J.W.(Worcestersh.N.)
Wilson-Todd, Wm.H.(Yorks.)
Wodehouse,Rt.Hon.E.R(Bath
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong
Young, Commander(Berks.E.)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
Sir William Walrond and
Mr. Anstruther.

Main Question again proposed—

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The House divided; Ayes, 253; Noes, 106. (Division List, No. 6.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allhusen, Augustus Henry E.
Allsopp, Hon. George
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Archdale, Edward Mervyn
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arrol, Sir William
Ashmead-Bartlett, Sir Ellis
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John GeorgeAlexander
Balfour,Rt.Hn.A.J.(Manch'r)
Balfour,RtHnGeraldW (Leeds
Balfour,MajKR(Christchurch
Banbury, Frederick George
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Beach,Rt.Hn.SirM.H.(Bristol
Beckett, Ernest William
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, A.
Bigwood, James
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith-
Bowles, Capt. H. F. (Middle'x
Bowles, T. Gibson (King's L.
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brown, Alexander H. (Shrops.
Bull, William James
Bullard, Sir Harry
Butcher, John George
Carlile, William Walter
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hn.J.(Birm)
Chamberlain,J.Austen(Worc'r
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H.A.E.
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colomb,SirJohnCharlesReady
Colston, Chas. Ed. H. Athole
Cook, Fred. Lucas (Lambeth)
Corbett,A.Cameron(Glasgow)
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cranborne, Viscount
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Cust, Henry John C.
Davies, Sir H. D. (Chatham)
Dewar,T.R.(T'rH'mlets,SGeo.
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Dimsdale,Sir Joseph Cockfield
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dixon-Hartland, Sir F. Dixon
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford,Sir William Theodore
Duke, Edward Henry
Dyke, Rt. Hn. Sir W. Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn Edwd.
Furgusson,RtHn.SirJ.(Manc'r
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, George H.
Firbank, Joseph Thomas
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald,SirRobertPenrose-
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
Fletcher, Sir Henry
Forster, Henry William
Galloway, William Johnson
Garfit, William
Gibbs, Hn.A.G.H.(City of Ld.
Gibbs,Hon. Vicary (St.Albans)
Godson, Sir Augustus Fredk.
Gordon, Hn.J.E.(Elgin& N'n.
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gordon,Maj.W.(TowerH'ml't
Goschen, George J. (Sussex)
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Green, Walford D.(Wednesb'y
Greene.SirE.W.(B.St.Edm'ds
Grenfell, William Henry
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Groves, James Grimble
Hain, Edward
Halsey, Thomas Frederick
Hambro, Charles Eric
Hamilton,Rt.Hn.Ld.G.(Mid'x
Hanbury, Rt. Hn. Robert W.
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris,F.Leverton(Tynem'th
Harris, Dr. Fred. R. (Monm'th
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Hay, Claude
Heath, A. Howard (Hanley
Helder, Augustus
Hermon-Hodge, R. Trotter
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Higginbottom, S. W.
Hoare, Edward B. (Hampst'd)
Hoare, Sir Samuel (Norwich)
Hobhouse, H. (Somerset, E.)
Hogg, Lindsay
Hope, J. F. (Sheff., Brightside)
Horner, Frederic William
Houldsworth, Sir Wm. Henry
Hoult, Joseph
Houston, Robert Paterson
Howard,Capt.J.(Kent,F'versh
Hozier,Hon. J. Henry Cecil
Jackson,Rt. Hon. Wm.Lawies
Jeffreys, Arthur Frederick
Jessel, Capt. Herbert Merton
Kenyon, Hon. G. T. (Denbigh)
Kenyon, J. (Lancs., Bury)
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. (Salop
Keswick, William
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Knowles, Lees
Lambton, Hn. Frederick Wm.
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar
Lawson, John Grant
Lee,CaptAH(Hants.Fareham
Legge, Col. Heneage
Leigh-Bennett, Henry Currie
Leighton, Stanley
Leveson-Gower,FrederickN.S.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long,ColCharlesW.(Evesham
Long,Rt.Hn.Walter(Bristol,S
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas,Col.Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas,ReginaldJ.(Portsmouth
Macartney,RtHonWGEllison
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maclure, Sir John William
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Iver,SirLewis(EdinburghW
M'Killop, James(Stirlingshire
Majendie, James A. H.
Manners, Lord Cecil
Maple, Sir John Blundell
Massey-Mainwaring,Hn.W.F.
Maxwell,W. J.(Dumfriesshire

Melville, Beresford Valentine
Middlemore, John T.
Milner, Rt. Hn. Sir Frederick G.
Milward, Colonel Victor
Mitchell, William
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Montagu, Hon. J. Scott (Hants.
Moore, William (Antrim, N.)
More, Robert J. (Shropshire)
Morgan, D. J. (Walthamstow)
Morrell, George Herbert
Morris, Hon. Martin Henry F.
Morton, Arthur H. A. (Deptford
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Muntz, Philip A.
Murray, Rt. Hn. A. G. (Bute)
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Newdigate, Francis Alexander
Nicholson, William Graham
Nicol, Donald Ninian
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Orr-Ewing, Charles Lindsay
Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Peel, Hon. Wm. Robert W.
Pemberton, John S. G.
Pierpoint, Robert
Pilkington, Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Radcliffe, R. F.
Randles, John S.
Rankin, Sir James
Rasch, Major Frederic Carne
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renshaw, Charles Bine
Renwick, George
Richards, Henry Charles
Ridley, Mat. W. (Stalybridge
Ridley, Sam. F. (Bethnal Gr'n
Ritchie, Rt. Hn. Chas. Thomson
Robertson, H. (Hackney)
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Ropner, Colonel Robert
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alex.
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Saunderson, Rt Hn. Col. E. J.
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Shaw-Stewart, M. H. (Renfrew)
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith, Abel H. (Hert. East)
Smith, Jas. Parker (Lanarks.)
Spencer, E. (W. Bromwich)
Stewart, Sir M. J. M'Taggart
Stock, James Henry
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G. (Oxford U.
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Wm. Edw. Murray
Tufnell, Col. Edward
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Valentia, Viscount
Walker, Col. William Hall
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warde, Lieut.-Col. C. E.
Wason, J. Cathcart (Orkney)
Webb, Col. William George
Welby, Lt.-Col A. C. E. (Taunt.
Welby, Sir Chas. G. E. (Notts)
Wharton, Rt. Hon. J. Lloyd
Whiteley, H. (Ashton-under-L.
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Rt Hn J. Powell-(Bir.
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wills, Sir Frederick
Wilson, A. S. (York, E. R.)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson, J. W. (Worcestersh. N.
Wilson-Todd, Wm. H. (Yorks.)
Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R. (Bath
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Young, Commander (Berks, E.)

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir William Walrond and Mr. Anstruther.

NOES.

Allan, William (Gateshead)
Allen, C. P. (Glouc., Stroud)
Asher, Alexander
Barker, John
Barlow, John Emmott
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Bell, Richard
Black, Alexander William
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Brand, Hon. Arthur G.
Brigg, John
Broadhurst, Henry
Brown, Geo. M. (Edinburgh)
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Burns, John
Burt, Thomas
Caldwell, James
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Craig, Robert Hunter
Cremer, William Randal
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Dewar, J. A. (Inverness-shire)
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duncan, James H.
Dunn, Sir William
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellis, John Edward
Emmott, Alfred
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Foster, Sir W. (Derby Co.)
Furness, Sir Christopher
Gladstone, Rt. Hon. H. J.
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Griffith, Ellis J.
Gurdon, Sir William B.
Haldane, Richard Burdon
Hardie, J. K. (Merthyr Tydvil
Harmsworth, R. Leicester
Hayne, Rt. Hn. C. Seale-
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Healy, Timothy Michael
Helme, Norval Watson
Holland, William Henry
Hope, J. D. (Fife, West)
Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, David B. (Swansea)
Jones, William (Carnarvonsh.)
Langley, Batty
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lough, Thomas
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
M'Laren, Charles Benjamin
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mather, William
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morley, Charles (Breconshire)
Moss, Samuel
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
Palmer, George Wm. (Read'g
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pirie, Duncan V.
Reckitt, Harold James
Rigg, Richard
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Sinclair, Capt. John (Forfarsh.
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer, Rt. Hn. C. R. (N Hants.
Strachey, Edward
Taylor, Theodore Cooke
Thomas, A. (Carmarthen, E.)
Thomas, Alfred (Glamorgan, E.
Thomas, F. Freeman-(Hastings
Thomas, J A (Glamorgan, Gow'r
Thomson, Frederick W.
Tomkinson, James
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Warner, Thos. Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan
Weir, James Galloway
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley, George (York, W. R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wilson, Fred. W. (Norfolk, Mid.
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W. R.
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)
Wodehouse, Hn Armine (Essex)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Samuel Smith and Mr. Channing.

Main Question put accordingly—

The House divided; Ayes, 265; Noes, 23. (Division List, No 7.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allhusen, Augustus H. Eden
Allsopp, Hon. George
Anson, Sir Wm. Reynell
Archdale, Edward Mervon
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arrol, Sir William
Ashmead-Bartlett, Sir Ellis
Atkinson, Right Hon. John
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George A.
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Mnch'r.)
Balfour, Rt. Hn. G. W. (Leeds)
Balfour, Maj. K. R. (Christ'ch.)
Banbury, Frederick George
Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir M. H. (Brstl.)
Beckett, Ernest William
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, A.
Bigwood, James
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith-
Bowles, Capt. H. F. (Middlesex
Bowles, T. Gibson (King's Lynn
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Bull, William James
Bullard, Sir Harry
Butcher, John George
Caldwell, James
Carlile, William Walter
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. (Birm.
Chamberlain, J Austen (Worc'r
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colomb, Sir John Charles Ready
Colston, Charles Ed. H. Athole
Cook, Frederick Lucas
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow
Cranborne, Viscount
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Cust, Henry John C.
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, Sir H. D. (Chatham)
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.
Dewar, T. R. (T'r H'ml'ts, S. Geo.
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale, Sir Joseph Cockfield
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dixon-Hartland, Sir F. Dixon
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Doxford, Sir Wm. Theodore
Duke, Edward Henry
Dunn, Sir William
Edwards, Frank
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Fardell, Sir T. George
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn Edward
Fergusson, Rt Hn. Sir J (Manc'r
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, George H.
Firbank, Joseph Thomas
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir R. Penrose-
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
Fletcher, Sir Henry
Forster, Henry William
Furness, Sir Christopher
Galloway, William Johnson
Gibbs, Hn. A. G. H. (City of Lon.
Gibbs, Hon. Vicary (St. Albans)
Godson, Sir Augustus Fred.
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gordon, Maj. W. (T'wer H'mlts
Goschen, George Joachim
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Greene, Sir E. W. (B'ry S Edm'ds
Grenfell, William Henry
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Griffith, Ellis J.
Groves, James Grimble
Hain, Edward
Halsey, Thomas Frederick
Hambro, Charles Eric
Hamilton, Rt Hn Lord G. (M'dx)
Hanbury, Rt. Hon. Robert W.
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th.
Harris, Dr. Fred. R. (Monm'th.
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Hay, Claude
Hayne, Rt. Hn. Charles Seale-
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley
Helder, Augustus
Helme, Norval Watson
Hermon-Hodge, R. Trotter
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Higginbottom, S. W.
Hoare, Ed. Brodie (Hampstead
Hoare, Sir Samuel (Norwich)
Hogg, Lindsay
Hope, J F (Sheffield, Brightside
Horner, Frederic William
Houldsworth, Sir Wm. Henry
Hoult, Joseph
Houston, Robert Paterson
Howard, Capt J (Kent, Faversh.
Hozier, Hon James Henry Cecil
Jeffreys, Arthur Frederick
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Jones, David B. (Swansea)
Kenyon, Hon. Geo. T. (Denbigh)
Kenyon, James (Lancs., Bury)
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. (Salop.
Keswick, William
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Knowles, Lees
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar
Lawson, John Grant
Lee, Capt A H (Hants. Fareham)
Legge, Col. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N. S.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col. Chas. W. (Evesham
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Bristol S.
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth
Macartney, Rt Hn W. G. Ellison
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maclure, Sir John William
Maconochie, A. W.
M‘Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M‘Iver, Sir L. (Edinburgh W.)
M‘Killop, James (Stirlingshire
M‘Laren, Charles Benjamin
Majendie, James A. H.
Manners, Lord Cecil
Maple, Sir John Blundell
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell, W. J. (Dumfriesshire
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Middlemore, J. Throgmorton
Milner, Rt. Hon. Sir Fk. G.
Milward, Colonel Victor
Mitchell, William
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Montagu, Hon. J. Scott (Hants.
Moore, William (Antrim, N.)
More, R. Jasper (Shropshire)
Morgan, D. J. (Walthamstow
Morley, Charles (Breconshire
Morrell, George Herbert
Morris, Hon. Martin Henry F.
Moss, Samuel
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Muntz, Philip A.
Murray, Rt. Hn. A. G. (Bute)
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Newdigate, Francis Alexander
Nicholson, William Graham
Nicol, Donald Ninian
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Orr-Ewing, Charles Lindsay
Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Peel, Hon. William Robert W.
Pemberton, John S. G.
Pierpoint, Robert
Pilkington, Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Radcliffe, R. F.
Randles, John S.
Rankin, Sir James
Rasch, Major Frederic Carne

Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renshaw, Charles Bine
Renwick, George
Richards, Henry Charles
Ridley, M. W. (Stalybridge)
Ridley, S. F. (Bethnal Green)
Rigg, Richard
Ritchie, Rt. Hn. Chas. Thomson
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Ropner, Colonel Robert
Sadler, Col. Sam. Alexander
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Shaw, Charles Ed. (Stafford)
Shaw-Stewart, M. H. (Renfrew
Shipman, Dr. John
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Sinclair, Capt. J. (Forfarshire)
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, E.)
Smith, Jas. Parker (Lanarks.)
Spencer, Ernest (W. Bromwich
Stewart, Sir M. J. M'Taggart
Stock, James Henry
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt Hn. J. G. (Oxf'd Univ.
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, William Edw. M.
Tufnell, Col. Edward
Valentia, Viscount
Walker, Col. William Hall
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warde, Lieut.-Col. C. E.
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan
Wason, J. Cathcart (Orkney)
Webb, Col. William George
Weir, James Galloway
Welby, Lt-Col A. C. E. (Taunt'n
Welby, Sir Charles G. E. (Notts.
Wharton, Rt. Hn. John Lloyd
Whiteley, H. (Ashton-under-L.
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Joseph Powell-(Birm
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wills, Sir Frederick
Wilson, Arthur S. (York, E. R.
Wilson, Fred. W. (Norfolk, Mid
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson, J. W. (Worcestersh. N.
Wilson-Todd, Wm. H. (Yorks)
Wodehouse, Rt Hn. E. R. (Bath)
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Young, Commander (Berks, E.)

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—
Sir William Walrond and
Mr. Anstruther.

NOES.

Bell, Richard
Black, Alexander William
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Brigg, John
Burns, John
Craig, Robert Hunter
Cremer, William Randal
Duncan, James H.
Fenwick, Charles
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Harmsworth, R. Leicester
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Markham, Arthur Basil
Partington, Oswald
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Taylor, Theodore Cooke
Thomas, J. A. (Glam'n, Gower)
Thomson, Frederick W.
White, George (Norfolk)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W. R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
Mr. T. M. Healy and Mr.
Keir Hardie.

Resolved, That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, as followeth—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."

To be presented by Privy Councillors and Members of Her Majesty's Household.

SUPPLY.

Resolved, That this House will, this day, resolve itself into a Committee to consider of the Supply to be granted to Her Majesty.

Ordered, That the Estimate presented to this House on the 6th inst. be referred to the Committee of Supply.—(*Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*)

WAYS AND MEANS.

Resolved, That this House will, this day, resolve itself into a Committee to consider of the Ways and Means for raising the Supply to be granted to Her Majesty.—(*Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*)

In pursuance of the Order of the House of the 7th day of this instant December, Mr. Speaker adjourned the House without question put.

Adjourned accordingly at half after One of the clock.

In pursuance of Standing Order No. 1, "Sittings of the House," I hereby nominate—

The Right Hon. Charles Beilby Stuart Wortley,
Mr. John Edward Ellis,
Mr. Edward Blake,
Mr. Arthur Fredrick Jeffreys, and
Mr. Henry Hobhouse,

to act during this Session as temporary Chairmen of Committees when requested by the Chairman of Ways and Means.

WILLIAM COURT GULLY,
Speaker.

10th December, 1900.

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, 11*th December*, 1900.

The Lord Bishop of Lichfield took the Oath.

LUNACY.

Report to the Lord Chancellor of the number of visits made, the number of patients seen, and the number of miles travelled by the visitors of lunatics, pursuant to the Lunacy Act, 1890, between 1st April and 30th September: Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

House adjourned at half-past Two of the clock, to Thursday next, half-past Ten of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, 11*th December*, 1900.

Several Members took and subscribed the Oath.

NEW WRIT.

County of Lancaster (North Lancashire, Blackpool Division)—in the room of the Right Hon. Sir Matthew White Ridley, baronet (Chiltern Hundreds).—(*Sir William Walrond.*)

PETITIONS.

MAMSA, SULAYMAN AHMEDJIE.

Petition of Sulayman Ahmedjie Mamsa, for inquiry into his son's case; to lie upon the Table.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR.

Petition from King's Lynn, for prevention of cruelties; to lie upon the Table.

Petition from Bristol, for termination; to lie upon the Table.

NEW MEMBERS SWORN.

Ernest George Pretyman, esquire—for county of Suffolk (South Eastern or Woodbridge Division).

Sir Alexander Fuller Acland-Hood, baronet—for county of Somerset (Western or Wellington Division).

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copy presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, No. 2,541 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TRADE REPORTS (MISCELLANEOUS SERIES).

Copy presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Miscellaneous Series, No. 544 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

INDIAN EXPENDITURE (ROYAL COMMISSION).

Address for "Copies of any Correspondence between the Secretary of State for India in Council and the Treasury on the subject of the Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure."—(*Secretary Lord George Hamilton.*)

QUESTIONS.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—GRATUITY FOR THE NAVAL BRIGADE.

Sir JAMES FERGUSSON (Manchester, N.E.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the gratuity granted to officers and men of the Army for war service in South Africa will be extended to corresponding ratings in the officers and men of the Fleet who have served in the Naval Brigades in the field.

The FIRST LORD of the TREASURY (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.): I can answer at once in the affirmative on the general question, but I cannot deal with details on the present occasion.

*Sir JOHN COLOMB (Great Yarmouth): Will the forces engaged in the relief of Coomassie be included?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I cannot reply without notice of the question.

GOVERNMENT PENSION SCHEME FOR SOLDIERS' DEPENDENTS.

Mr. KEARLEY (Devonport): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he is now able to state the details of the scheme by which the

Government purpose making provision by pensions for the widows, orphans, and dependents of those killed in the South African and other campaigns; and whether any financial proposals in furtherance of such scheme are contemplated this session.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The main features of a scheme have been settled, and the committee is now arranging details. The work is nearly done, and provision will be made for carrying out the scheme in the Estimates for the coming year.

MR. MCKENNA (Monmouthshire, N.): Will the scheme be retrospective in its action? Will payments be made as from the date of the resolution of the House or the date of the scheme coming into operation?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Neither date will have anything to do with it; everybody who is qualified will secure the benefit who has suffered the loss of a relative in the war, which dates from 11th October last year.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): Will Irish workhouses be recouped for payments made?

MR. KEARLEY: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the dependents of many of the men killed have long been in very necessitous circumstances, and the need of help is therefore urgent?

TERMS OF SETTLEMENT.

MR. HARWOOD (Bolton): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if, in the document promulgating the terms of settlement with the Boers, it will be plainly set forth that, as soon as circumstances allow, there will be extended to the populations of these colonies similar conditions of self-government to those prevailing in the other South African colonies.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN, Birmingham, W.): I certainly propose to make this plain, either by means of the proclamation referred to in my speech on Friday last, or in such other manner as may appear best adapted to secure the object in view.

BURNING OF FARMS.

MR. TREVELYAN (Yorkshire, W.R., Elland): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is yet able to give any accurate and official information as to the number of farms which have been burnt by our armies for any reason in the Transvaal and Orange River colonies in the course of military operations, and also details as to the reason for their destruction.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (MR. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): We have not yet received from Lord Kitchener the details referred to.

MR. TREVELYAN: Does the right hon. Gentleman expect the information before the session is over?

*MR. BRODRICK: I cannot say. Such details ought to be of great accuracy.

MILITIA OFFICERS' ALLOWANCES.

CAPTAIN JESSEL (St. Pancras, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether it has been decided that the £100 allowance granted to officers of the Militia when the battalions are disembodied will not be granted to those officers of Militia who are given commissions in the Army; and whether, if this is the case, he can see his way to give the allowance to officers of the Militia who have been serving in South Africa and are transferred to the Army.

*MR. BRODRICK: This question is under consideration. I will endeavour to see what can be done about it.

SURRENDERS OF BRITISH TROOPS—COURTS OF INQUIRY.

SIR E. ASHMEAD - BARTLETT (Sheffield, Ecclesall): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether any court of inquiry has been held with regard to the surrender of British troops at Nicholson's Nek, Sanna's Post, Reddersburg, Lindley, and Roodeval; and, if so, whether the result of such inquiry will be made public.

*MR. BRODRICK: Courts of inquiry were held in each of the cases referred to, and will be held in all such cases. No decision as to publication can be given till the various reports have been received and considered.

SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: Will the results of the courts of inquiry be made known?

*MR. BRODRICK: Any information which can be will be made known.

MR. T. M. HEALY: When and where was the inquiry into the surrender at Lindley held?

*MR. BRODRICK: I cannot say without inquiry.

NON-DELIVERY OF THE QUEEN'S GIFT OF CHOCOLATE.

MR. BROADHURST (Leicester): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is aware that a number of the troops that were in Ladysmith during the siege have not yet received the chocolate sent for them by Her Majesty the Queen; whether there is any hope of their getting it, or an equivalent; and, if so, will men whose time has since expired be excluded.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS (Birmingham, S.): It has not been reported that the troops who were in Ladysmith during the siege have not received the Queen's chocolate. Any claimants for the Queen's gift who have not received it should address their application to the General Officer Commanding the Lines of Communication, Cape Town, who has sole charge of the distribution.

TYPHOID FEVER STATISTICS.

SIR WALTER FOSTER (Derbyshire, Ilkeston): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can state the total number of cases of typhoid fever among the forces in South Africa up to the end of September, the number of deaths from that disease, and the number sent home as invalids.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: The total number of cases of typhoid fever among the forces in South Africa from the beginning of the war to 28th September, 1900, is 15,655, the number of deaths from that disease, 3,642, and the number sent home as invalids, 9,128.

RETURN OF TROOPS—PRIORITY.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if directions can be given that the Volunteer Service Companies, Imperial Yeomanry, Militia, and married men of the Army Reserve are to be given priority in the return from South Africa, so soon as it can be safely permitted by Lord Kitchener, and if thereby any one battalion is reduced below its proper establishment provisional battalions and regiments may be formed from two or more battalions, as in the case of depôts of Regular troops and administrative battalions of Volunteers and Yeomanry.

*MR. BRODRICK: I cannot make any statement as to the order of return of troops from South Africa, but full weight will be given to the considerations urged by my hon. and gallant friend.

ROYAL RESERVISTS' SEPARATION ALLOWANCES.

CAPTAIN NORTON (Newington, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether it has been brought to his notice that the wives of non-commissioned officers and men in the Royal Reserve in receipt of separation allowance have been refused medical attendance for themselves and their children in cases where they do not happen to live within a mile of a military medical man or civilian practitioner in attendance on troops; and whether, seeing that Reserve men came forward voluntarily at a time of national danger, are only temporarily employed, and consequently cannot conveniently alter their domestic arrangements, steps will be taken to place the families of all of them upon an equal footing as regards medical attendance, irrespective of their abode.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: The families of soldiers of the Royal Reserve are being treated on the same lines as those governing the medical attendance of the families of soldiers of the Regular forces. The same privileges have been extended to them when separated from their husbands. It is not possible to provide medical attendance for those residing at a distance from military headquarters.

CAPTAIN NORTON: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the non-commissioned officers and men of the Royal Reserve occupy a totally different position?

[No answer was given.]

CAMP COOKERY.

CAPTAIN NORTON: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether his attention has been drawn to the defective state of camp cookery in the British Army as compared with that existing both in the German and United States Army; and whether, seeing that some of the South African sickness among our troops might have been saved by the provision of a due number of trained camp cooks, he will consider the advisability of organising practical courses of camp cookery for the Army Service Corps, as well as military flying kitchens, with cooks capable of producing an emergency invalid diet from common rations.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: Reports on the working of the system of Army cooking have recently been called for from general officers commanding in South Africa. Sir Redvers Buller has replied that the system has worked satisfactorily. None have been received showing that the camp cookery in the British Army is defective or that sickness was attributable to such a cause. In regard to courses for the Army Service Corps, that corps has nothing to do with the cooking for units.

THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF—CONDITIONS OF OFFICE.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether Lord Roberts accepted the position of Commander-in-Chief subject to the conditions laid down by Order in Council, 21st November, 1895, which defines the duties and responsibilities attached to that office; and, if so, whether Lord Roberts will, like Lord Wolseley when Commander-in-Chief, be only one of several military advisers of the Secretary of State, as provided by that Order in Council.

*MR. BRODRICK: No change has taken place in the status of Commander-in-Chief since Lord Roberts accepted office.

THIRD BATTALION SEAFORTH HIGHLANDERS.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether complaints have reached him that the arrangement under which part of the staff of the 3rd Battalion Seaforth Highlanders (Ross-shire Militia) is quartered at Fort George, whilst the rest of the staff is quartered at Dingwall, the regimental depôt, is detrimental to the interests of the regiment; and, in view of the fact that there are several sites in the immediate vicinity of Dingwall on which buildings suitable for the accommodation of the whole of the staff and men might be erected, will he consider the expediency of providing such accommodation.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: I have nothing to add to the reply given to an identical question put by the hon. Member in February last.†

MR. WEIR: The answer in February last stated that only one site was available; now there are several. Will the right hon. Gentleman look into this matter?

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: As I have already said, I have nothing to add to what I said in February last.

OFFICERS' OUTFIT ALLOWANCES.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if the £100 outfit allowance granted under the Pay Warrant, 1899, to officers of the Militia, Yeomanry, and Volunteers on their release from active service, applies to non-commissioned officers and privates of the Regular Army and Auxiliary forces promoted to commissions in the Army for conspicuous gallantry or distinguished service in the field; and, in the contrary case, if he will take steps to have this difference of treatment removed.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: The outfit allowance of £100 is given to any soldier of two years service promoted from the ranks to a commission in the Regular forces, whether he belongs to those forces or to the Auxiliary forces called out for service. Officers of the Militia, Yeomanry, and Volunteers are given, on release from service, a gratuity of £100 for their service in the Auxiliary forces. This is in no sense an outfit allowance, but is of the nature of a pension or gratuity for service.

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† See *The Parliamentary Debates* [Fourth Series], Vol. lxxix., page 373.

MOUNTED INFANTRY.

MR. WARNER (Staffordshire, Lichfield): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if anything is proposed to be done as to raising permanent companies of mounted infantry.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: I think the hon. Member will see that it is not in my power to anticipate the programme of next year by answering questions of this character.

ARTILLERY ESTABLISHMENT.

MR. WARNER: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether a large order has been given for guns for the Army; and, if so, what steps are being taken to increase the establishment of artillery, and how far the new batteries which it was decided to raise this year have been raised.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: As regards the guns, all those required for the approved establishments have been ordered. As regards the batteries of the seven Horse Artillery and forty-eight Field Artillery batteries authorised in this spring, all the former and forty-five of the latter have been raised. This is in addition to the sixteen batteries raised in the years immediately preceding.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): Can the right hon. Gentleman say whether any of the new quick-firing guns are yet in the possession of these batteries?

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: I cannot answer that question without notice.

MR. BARTLEY (Islington, N.): Are the new guns of the same pattern as those sent out to the Army in South Africa, or a new pattern?

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: They are in many respects a new pattern.

LICHFIELD RIFLE RANGE.

MR WARNER: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he can state what progress has now been made towards the construction of the rifle range for Withinton Barracks, Lichfield.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: The acquisition of the land has not yet been completed, as it has been found necessary to submit the question of price to arbitration. It is hoped that the case will be heard shortly.

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF IN INDIA.

MR. CAINE (Cornwall, Camborne): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India if he can state how long the office of Commander-in-Chief in India has been vacant, and when an appointment is to be made.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Lord G. HAMILTON, Middlesex, Ealing): Sir William Lockhart died on the 19th of March last. Since then Sir Power Palmer has been acting as Commander-in-Chief. I hope to make a permanent appointment shortly, but I am at present unable to fix any date.

INDIAN FINANCE—TRANSFER FROM BRITISH TO INDIAN TREASURY.

MR. CAINE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India if any arrangements have yet been made to carry out the transfer of the sum of £250,000 from the British to the Indian Treasury, as recommended by the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure, and foreshadowed by himself on 26th July last in his speech introducing the Indian Budget to the House.

LORD G. HAMILTON: It has been arranged that the Indian revenues shall be relieved of payments amounting to £257,000 a year with effect from the 1st of April next. The correspondence on the subject has been laid before Parliament, and is now being printed.

INDIAN STAFF CORPS OFFICERS.

THE MASTER OF ELIBANK (MR. ALEXANDER MURRAY, Edinburgh, Midlothian): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if his attention has been called to the grievances of Indian Staff Corps Officers in respect of their supersession by officers of the British service; and, if so, when a decision may be expected to be arrived at in the matter.

LORD G. HAMILTON: The question of the length of service for promotion of Indian Staff Corps Officers has been for some time past under consideration in India, but I have not yet received any definite proposals on the subject, and I have reason to believe that some months must elapse before any decision is arrived at.

BRITISH EAST AFRICA—MURDER OF MR. JENNER.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he can state under what circumstances the Sub-Commissioner for the northern portion of the British East Africa Protectorate was killed by a party of Ogaden Somalis on 13th November, and what measures are being taken in the matter; what are the relations between Her Majesty's representatives in British East Africa and the Sultan of Afmadu and other chiefs in Jubaland; and whether he has any information showing recent disturbances to be connected with the religious agitation of the Sheikh Mohamed-ben-Abdallah.

*THE UNDER SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Viscount CRANBORNE, Rochester): Mr. Jenner was killed in a sudden and totally unexpected night attack made on his camp by a party of Ogadens. He was at the time on a tour of inspection through his province, and was accompanied by an escort of forty native policemen. Of these a few men escaped and brought the news to Kismeyu. A punitive expedition is being organised. The relations between the Protectorate Administration and the Sultan Ahmed Margan and all the chiefs of the district had been apparently most friendly ever since the suppression of the rising in 1898. It is understood that the Sultan's brother, who had been in personal communication with Mr. Jenner, and exchanged presents with him only a few days previously, led the attack. The information available is not sufficient to allow of a judgment being formed as to any connection between Mr. Jenner's murder and the movement in the northern portion of the Ogaden country led by the Mullah Mohamed-ben-Abdallah.

TURKEY—OFFICIAL CONGRATULATIONS TO THE SULTAN.

MR. PIRIE (Aberdeen, N.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether any official congratulations were sent to the Sultan of Turkey from this country upon the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his accession to the throne; and, if so, what were the terms of those congratulations; and whether it was by the orders or with the approval of Her Majesty's Government that the British Fleet was illuminated upon that occasion.

*VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople presented a letter from the Queen to His Imperial Majesty the Sultan of Turkey on the 1st of September, congratulating him on attaining the twenty-fifth anniversary of his accession to the throne. This course was in conformity with that adopted by the other Great Powers, many of whom sent special missions to Constantinople for the purpose. It is not the practice to make public the terms of such letters, and no exception to the rule can be made in the present instance. It was decided that Vice-Admiral Sir John Fisher, Commander-in-Chief of the Mediterranean Squadron, who was about to visit Constantinople at this date, should associate himself with Her Majesty's Ambassador on the occasion, and the despatch boat, in which he proceeded, was illuminated, together with vessels of other nations, and those of the Ottoman Fleet, on the evening of the 1st of September.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Were Her Majesty's representatives instructed to ask when the massacres in Armenia will cease?

TURKEY — DISTURBANCES IN 1896—BRITISH MERCHANTS' CLAIMS.

MR. STEVENSON (Suffolk, Eye): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs what progress has been made by Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople in obtaining payment of the claims of British merchants at Stamboul, Pera, Galata, and Haskeni for compensation in respect of losses of property which were suffered by them during the disturbances of August, 1896, and which have already been made the subject of repeated representations by the British Chamber of Commerce in Turkey.

*VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: I regret to state that these claims have not yet been settled. Her Majesty's Ambassador has made frequent verbal representations to the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs on the subject, and Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires was directed towards the end of last month to address a fresh Note to the Porte pressing for an early settlement.

CRETE—CORRESPONDENCE WITH EUROPEAN POWERS.

MR. STEVENSON: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he is able to lay upon the Table copies of the recent correspondence which has passed between the principal European Powers, their representatives at Athens, and Her Majesty's Government with respect to the administration of Crete, and the provision of the funds required for that purpose.

*VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: A collection of Papers will be prepared for the purpose of presentation to Parliament.

FOREIGN OFFICE FINANCE—DELAGOA RAILWAY AWARD.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs can he state what is the practice of the Foreign Office with regard to the disposal of public moneys received by the office; are all such moneys paid into the Bank of England or into other banks, and, if into other banks, can he give the names of such other banks if more than one, and explain who is responsible for the choice of these banks as custodians of public moneys; and can he state the exact amount of money received by the Foreign Office in November, 1900, in respect of the Delagoa Railway award, into what bank that money was paid, and whether, at the time of its payment into the bank, any arrangement was made for the payment of any interest on the amount; if so, at what rate.

*VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: The answer to Paragraphs 1 and 2 is that all public moneys received by the Foreign Office are paid into the hands of Her Majesty's Paymaster General. As regards Paragraph 3, although receipts for £941,511 13s. 10d. were given to the Comptoir d'Escompte by the Governments of Great Britain and the United States on the 21st November, no money was actually paid to the Foreign Office in respect of the award. The money deposited by the Portuguese Government at the London Agency of the Comptoir d'Escompte was in accordance with the terms of the agreement arrived at by the British and American creditors of the Delagoa Bay Railway Company and approved by the British and United States Governments, paid by that agency against the discharge of the two Governments to Messrs. Glyn, Mills, Currie and Company (£840,377 17s. 5d.) and Messrs. Seligman Brothers (£101,133 16s. 5d.). The money so paid over was to be placed immediately to the credit of the representatives of the first and second mortgage debenture holders to be applied as provided in the agreement. There is no stipulation that interest should be paid pending the distribution of the money.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: Do I understand that this money was not received at the Foreign Office, but was paid into the bank by some other person?

*VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: That is so.

UGANDA RAILWAY—BRITISH AND AMERICAN TENDERS FOR BRIDGE CONTRACTS.

SIR ALFRED HICKMAN (Wolverhampton, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is aware that orders involving expenditure of many thousands of pounds for bridges for the Uganda Railway have been given to an American firm; and whether he will take steps to prevent such orders being given in future without full opportunity being given to bridge builders in the United Kingdom to compete on the same conditions as regards tests, mode of manufacture, inspection, and erection at makers' works, as the American makers are subject to.

*VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: The answer to the first paragraph is, yes. With regard to the second paragraph, tenders were invited in the United Kingdom on drawings and specifications prepared by Sir A. Rendel and Company, the consulting engineers, under the same conditions as regards tests, etc. One of the American tenders was found to be considerably the lowest in every respect, and was therefore accepted. British firms are always given full opportunity to tender for work for this line, and I need not say that Her Majesty's Government are anxious to employ them whenever the terms offered are consistent with the interests of the public service.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: Were the British firms invited to tender before the Americans?

SIR ALFRED HICKMAN was understood to ask if the American firms had not first to erect the bridges at their own works.

*VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: I must ask for notice of both questions.

IMPERIAL DEFENCE—MR. SEDDON'S SCHEME FOR AN IMPERIAL MILITARY RESERVE.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether Mr. Seddon's scheme for the erection in the self-governing colonies, by British financial assistance, of an Imperial Military Reserve has had his consideration; and whether the scheme, as modified in its financial proposals by a Joint Committee of the two Houses of the New Zealand Legislature, has yet been submitted to him.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir M. HICKS-BEACH, Bristol, W.): I have not, personally, had the scheme brought to my notice, but I am aware that it is under the consideration of the Government.

SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM—BUCKLAND FISH COLLECTION.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is yet in a position to make any statement in reference to the ultimate destination of the Buckland Fish Collection at South Kensington.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. GERALD BALFOUR, Leeds, Central): No, Sir. Negotiations on the subject are still pending.

GERMAN TARIFFS—SHEFFIELD STEEL.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade if he is aware that a movement is on foot in Germany to increase the duties on British steel to an extent highly injurious to the trade of Sheffield; and if he will take care to watch the agitation.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: I am aware of the movement to which the hon. Member refers. The whole subject of the lapse of the German commercial treaties and of the probable effect on British trade is being carefully watched.

GREAT EASTERN RAILWAY—SIGNALMAN'S DISMISSAL.

MR. BELL (Derby): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade if his attention has been called to the action of the Great Eastern Railway Company in discharging one of their employees for being elected as one of the representatives of the electors on the Poplar Borough Council; and will he state what action he proposes to take in regard to the matter.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: I am aware that such a question has arisen between the railway company and an employee, but I have no official information as to the facts. The matter is not one which comes within the purview of the Board of Trade.

CALEDONIAN RAILWAY COMPANY—DISMISSAL OF EMPLOYEES.

MR. BELL: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether his attention has been called to the dismissal of a number of engine-drivers and firemen by the Caledonian Railway Company, and the hours worked by those remaining in their employ in consequence; and if he will call for a Return of the number of engine-drivers, firemen, and goods guards employed at each depôt of the company and the number employed above ten hours, stating the number of hours above ten hours for each day of November.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: The answer to the first paragraph of the hon. Member's question is in the negative. With regard to the second paragraph, if any representation is made to the Board of Trade as regards the hours of labour of any servants employed by the company, the Department will inquire into that representation.

TRAINING OF POLICEMEN AS SOLDIERS.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if, having regard to the action taken by the City Councils of Sheffield and Liverpool as to the training of their police forces in the use of a rifle, with a view to co-operation in the work of national defence with the disciplined men of the county, city, and borough constabulary, he will permit similar action to be taken by the police of the metropolis; and, whether he has any objection to constables joining Volunteer corps at their own expense, like the remainder of the civil population, and discharging its duties in their own time, provided no objection is entertained by the several Joint and Watch Committees under whom they serve.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. RITCHIE, Croydon): I do not see my way to giving to the police of the metropolis the facilities suggested by the hon. Members. Besides the great objection to turning the police into anything like a military police, it is obvious that in a time of national emergency it would not be practicable to relieve constables of their ordinary duties in order that they might join the troops. On the contrary, the probability is that at such a time the police force would have to be strengthened. I fear that constables could not discharge the duties of a Volunteer in their own time.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: Will that apply to provincial police forces who have taken this action with the approval of their Watch Committees?

*MR. RITCHIE: I do not like to offer any opinion on the action of the Watch Committees, but my hon. and gallant friend can gather what my view of the matter is.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT—CASE OF JOHN HOLDEN, OF BURY.

MR. HARWOOD: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if the evidence was submitted to him in the case of Joseph Holden, of Bury, who was hanged at Manchester on Tuesday, 4th December.

*MR. RITCHIE: The answer to the question is, of course, in the affirmative, but I may perhaps be allowed to explain that as the prisoner's sanity was called in question I appointed two gentlemen of great experience in criminal lunacy to hold an inquiry, as prescribed by statute, into his mental condition, and that they came to the clear conclusion that he was sane and responsible for his actions at the time of their examination and when the crime was committed. The murder was a peculiarly brutal one, and after careful consideration of all the circumstances I did not feel justified in advising interference with the due course of law.

MR. HARWOOD: Was it brought under the notice of the right hon. Gentleman that this man had been confined in a lunatic asylum and yet the judge accepted his plea?

*MR. RITCHIE: All the circumstances in connection with this matter were fully before me.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: Was not the man tried?

*MR. RITCHIE: He pleaded guilty.

MR. CALDWELL (Lanarkshire, Mid): Do you accept a plea of guilty in the case of a lunatic?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

SWINE FEVER REGULATIONS IN YORKSHIRE, W.R.

MR. FISON (Yorkshire, W.R., Doncaster): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Agriculture whether he can now see his way to remove the restrictions regarding the movement and sale of swine in the southern portion of the West Riding of York.

*THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE (Mr. HANBURY, Preston): Since the imposition in April last of the restrictions to which my hon. friend refers there has been a very considerable improvement in the position with regard to swine fever in the district in question. Six outbreaks have, however, been confirmed during the past six weeks, and these have been scattered widely throughout the area. One occurred as lately as the 24th November, and one on the 19th November was just outside the borough of Doncaster. It would therefore be premature to assume that the restrictions have done their work. I shall, however, be glad to keep the representations made to me by my hon. friend in mind with a view to the withdrawal of the Order at the earliest possible moment consistently with safety.

IMPORTS OF FRENCH MILK.

MR. JEFFREYS (Hampshire, N.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of

Agriculture whether he is aware that French milk is imported to London viâ Southampton and sold as English milk; whether any inspection is made of the milk to test its purity and quality; and whether he can take measures to stop this importation.

*Mr. HANBURY: It is the case that a certain quantity of French milk is being imported into this country. Whether any offence against either the Merchandise Marks Acts or the Sale of Food and Drugs Acts has been committed I am not as yet able to say, as the trade has recently assumed a new form. We are making inquiries into the representations we have received on the subject in co-operation with the Board of Customs. Although there is no power to prohibit importation, my hon. friend may be sure that as regards imported milk found to be adulterated, or sold under a false descripton, I am doing everything in my power to secure a strict compliance with the requirements of the law.

HIGHER ELEMENTARY AND HIGHER GRADE SCHOOLS.

Mr. ALFRED HUTTON (Yorkshire, W.R., Morley): I beg to ask the Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education if he will state how many schools have been brought under the minute relating to higher elementary education, and how many scholars are in average attendance in them; also how many so-called higher grade schools still remain outside the operation of the minute.

The VICE-PRESIDENT of the BOARD of EDUCATION (Sir John Gorst, Cambridge University): Two schools—the Central Higher Grade School at Sheffield and one at Ipswich—have already been recognised as higher elementary schools. There are several others on the point of being recognised. The Board of Education have no knowledge of the number of schools which call themselves "higher grade." But the number of those known to the Board of Education to be giving instruction beyond the limits of the Elementary School Code was 70 at the time the minute was issued.

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS—PAYMENT OF FEE GRANTS.

Mr. HEYWOOD JOHNSTONE (Sussex, Horsham): I beg to ask the Vice-President of the Committe of Council on Education if, in framing the Code of Minutes of the Education Department for 1901, consideration will be given to the convenience which the payment of fee grants by quarterly instalments is to the managers of public elementary schools, with a view to making the payment of principal grants under Articles 98 and 101 by similar instalments; and if the Department will take into consideration the desirability of altering Article 94 of the Code so as to provide for the payment of the principal grant by instalments, in the same manner as the fee grant is now paid under the minute of 26th August, 1891.

Sir JOHN GORST: No. It is impossible to carry out such a suggestion without a very large additional Exchequer Grant in any year in which such practice would be commenced.

DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS—COST OF MAINTENANCE.

Mr. ALFRED HUTTON: I beg to ask the Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education if he will state what has been the average cost of maintenance in denominational schools for the years 1895-1900; also what has been the amount stated in the audited accounts of Voluntary schools to have been paid for rent during the years in which the audit has been operative.

Sir JOHN GORST: From 1895 the average cost has been £1 18s. 11¼d., £1 19s. 6¾d., £2 0s. 6d., £2 2s. 4¾d., £2 5s. 1¼d., and £2 6s. 4½d. The amounts stated to have been paid for rent in the two years for which audit has been compulsory are £111,465 1s. 8d. and £112,964 13s. 7d.

THE MARBLE ARCH.

Mr. GUTHRIE (Tower Hamlets, Bow): I beg to ask the First Commissioner of Works if it has been decided that the Marble Arch is to be pulled down; and, if so, whether it is proposed to re-erect it elsewhere.

The FIRST COMMISSIONER of WORKS (Mr. Akers Douglas, Kent, St. Augustine's): No, Sir; there is no truth in the report alluded to by my hon. friend.

STORNOWAY MAILS.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, if he will state what progress has been made with the negotiations with the North British Railway Company for the conveyance of the Stornoway mails, via Mallaig; and in view of the unsatisfactory nature of the present mail steamer service to Stornoway, will every effort be made to secure a fast and well-equipped steamer for the new service between Mallaig and Stornoway.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.): The Postmaster General has for some time past been in communication with the North British Railway Company as regards the practicability of using the Mallaig route for the mail service to Stornoway and other places, when the new railway to Mallaig is opened; but time tables have not yet been issued by the company, and the Postmaster General is awaiting further information from them.

MIDHURST EX-POSTMASTER.

MR. HEYWOOD JOHNSTONE: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, if he will take into consideration the application of Mr. William Joyes, late postmaster of Midhurst, Sussex, for a pension, Mr. Joyes having been called upon to resign under the age limit, after an uninterrupted service of thirty-three years in the Post Office, during which his whole time has been given to the duties of his office.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: Mr. Joyes, late postmaster of Midhurst, carried on a private business, and could not in these circumstances be certified to have given his whole time to the public service. This being so he was ineligible for any benefit under the Superannuation Acts.

SCOTTISH FISHERIES—ILLEGAL TRAWLING IN BROAD BAY.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Lord Advocate whether he is aware that from the new lighthouse at Tuimpan Head, Island of Lewis, the presence of trawlers in Broad Bay may be readily detected; and will he, with a view to the prevention of illegal trawling in the bay, consider the expediency of making such arrangements with the Northern Lighthouse Commissioners as will enable the lightkeepers to report any trawlers seen trawling in the bay.

*THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. A. GRAHAM MURRAY, Buteshire): There are considerable difficulties in the way of adopting the suggestions, but it will be considered.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Lord Advocate whether the Secretary for Scotland has received a letter, signed by the Secretary to the Lewis and Harris Fishermen's Association, dated 16th November, 1900, stating that illegal trawling is still extensively prosecuted in Broad Bay, Lewis; and will he consider the expediency of securing a picket or other boat for service in the bays and lochs around the coast of Lewis.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY: The Secretary for Scotland has received the letter in question. The vessel at present patrolling the coast of Lewis has paid special attention to Broad Bay, but the only trawlers sighted, seven in number, were at work fourteen miles from the coast. In present circumstances the answer to the last paragraph of the question is in the negative.

LOCHBROOM PARISH COUNCIL ACCOUNTS.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Lord Advocate if he will state the result of the recent audit of the accounts of the Lochbroom Parish Council by the Local Government Board.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY: I am informed that the auditor's report and abstract of accounts have not yet been received by the Local Government Board.

SCOTTISH CONGESTED DISTRICTS BOARD.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Lord Advocate if he will state whether the circular letter sent out some time since by the Secretary for Scotland to landlords in the highlands and islands of Scotland has yet resulted in offers of land to the Congested Districts Board.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY: I am informed that land has been offered for holdings in Skye, Harris, North Uist, Mull and Sutherlandshire, although no crofter has as yet been emigrated from congested districts to other parts of Scotland. The Congested Districts Board have completed arrangements, so far as they are concerned, for the creation of holdings in certain places, and in some cases new holdings have actually been occupied. The Board are also negotiating about others. Full details will be given in their next annual report.

IRISH GUARANTEED RAILWAYS.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I beg to ask Mr. Attorney General for Ireland whether, owing to the framing of the Local Government Act, the baronial representation on the directorate of certain guaranteed railways was unintentionally abolished in certain cases, and, as the late Chief Secretary undertook to provide for this omission by rule, could he say when the proposed new regulations would be made known.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. ATKINSON, Londonderry, N.): The election of directors to represent guaranteeing baronies has only been interfered with where boundaries were altered under the Local Government Act. Under Article 18 of the Transitory Provisions Order in Council regulations have been issued providing for elections in the case of certain of these guaranteed lines, and further regulations are in preparation in the case of the remaining railways. Some delay unavoidably takes place in the issue of these Orders, as it is the practice of the Local Government Board to consult the various local authorities concerned before making the Orders final.

MR. T. M. HEALY: The publication of the new regulations was promised last session.

IRISH RAILWAY FARES.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade if in Ireland his Department take the initiative in obliging railway companies to run trains, or to meet trains on other lines, so as to convenience the public; also, if the Board of Trade in Ireland in cross-channel traffic takes the initiative in keeping down fares and rates; or if, on the other hand, the Board of Trade expects that on all or on most occasions the newly-formed public bodies in Ireland should take the initiative and should appeal against inconvenient fixtures or high rates.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: The question of the refusal of due facilities is one for the Railway Commissioners and not for the Board of Trade. The maximum fares and rates chargeable by the Irish railway companies having been determined by Parliament, any excess of charge over those maxima can be resisted in an ordinary court of law. I would, however, refer the hon. and gallant Member to Section 31 of the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1888. The Board of Trade would always be glad to act on any representations made under that section. The hon. and gallant Member is also probably aware of the powers possessed by the Irish Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction in connection with matters of this description.

GALWAY COASTGUARD STATION.

MR. MORRIS (Galway): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the Board of Admiralty will as soon as possible take the necessary steps to commence the erection of a new coastguard station at Galway.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Steps have been taken, but the question when the erection of the new buildings will be proceeded with depends on the relative importance of the work as compared with other pressing requirements of the coastguard in Ireland.

ROYAL COLLEGES OF PHYSICIANS—CORPORATION TAX.

SIR JOHN TUKE (Edinburgh and St. Andrews Universities): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he proposes to impose the corporation tax (1894) on the Royal Colleges of Physicians in London and Edinburgh, having regard to the fact that the two colleges administer and regulate medical education and examination; maintain laboratories for original research; that they are consulted by Government and by municipal authorities in matters relating to public health and medical matters generally; and that each fellow of the colleges is required to pay a stamp duty of £25 on election as fellow, whereas the Royal Institution of Civil Engineers has, by a decision of the House of Lords, been exempted from payment of the corporation tax; and whether, in face of the fact that the corporation tax has never been levied, he proposes to make the Royal Colleges liable for five years of arrears, thus placing a strain on the resources of two bodies who perform the services indicated for the State.

SIR M. HICKS BEACH: The question of the liability of the Royal Colleges of Physicians in London and Edinburgh to pay Corporation Duty was raised by the Board of Inland Revenue in 1894, but was disputed by the Colleges. It was allowed to remain in abeyance pending a decision on a similar claim, made on the Royal College of Surgeons, which has since been decided in favour of the Crown by the Court of Appeal. Following this decision the Board of Inland Revenue feel compelled to press their claim on the Royal Colleges of Physicians. The facts of the case differ from those in the case of the Royal Institution of Civil Engineers.

MONOPOLY VALUE OF PUBLICANS' LICENCES.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON (Dundee): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether before imposing additional taxation on the country he will consider the possibility of appropriating for the public service the monopoly value of publicans' licences, arising from the present scale of duties.

SIR M. HICKS BEACH: The subject referred to no doubt deserves consideration, but, as I have stated before in reply to the hon. Member, I think it must be considered rather in connection with local taxation, to which the proceeds of these licences are at present devoted, than in connection with Imperial taxation.

DELETERIOUS MATTERS IN BEER.

SIR CUTHBERT QUILTER (Suffolk, Sudbury): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury what action the Government intend to take in view of the epidemic in Manchester and other places attributed to the presence of poison in beer.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am informed by the President of the Local Government Board that his department has, from the first outbreak of the epidemic, had the matter under observation. One of the medical inspectors of the Board has visited the places affected, and has been instructed to obtain all possible information on the subject from those who, in brewing or in other manufactures, use brewers' sugar, and including the action taken by local authorities for detecting arsenic and other substances in manufacture. The Board have addressed a circular to local authorities recommending that analysis should be made of beer and articles of food in which glucose and similar substances are used.

GREENWICH HOSPITAL—THEFT OF NELSON RELICS.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he can give any information respecting the robbery of Nelson relics at Greenwich Hospital; and whether Her Majesty's Government will consider the question of the removal of those that remain to the Museum of the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, under conditions affording more adequate security for their safe custody.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: In answer to my hon. and gallant friend I have to say that on Saturday evening eighteen articles, of which thirteen were Nelson relics, chiefly medals, were abstracted from cases in the Painted Hall at Greenwich Hospital. As the matter is now in the hands of the police I cannot give further details. A reward of £200 has been offered for the recovery of the articles, which, I am informed, considerably exceeds their intrinsic value. The question of safe custody of the other articles is under consideration, and meanwhile they are locked up in the strong-room.

CAPTAIN NORTON: Is it a fact that these priceless national relics were left in the building without any night protection, and were only in charge of old pensioners? Was not this too great a responsibility to place upon men in that position?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

SUPPLY.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

ARMY (SUPPLEMENTARY) ESTIMATE, 1900-1901.

MR. JAMES WILLIAM LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith), upon the Motion of

Mr. Balfour, took the Chair as Chairman of Ways and Means.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): I confess I feel a certain measure of disquietude that, upon this the first occasion upon which I am called upon to address the House in my present position, I should have to ask for so large a Supplementary Estimate as that which we have before us to-night. I have had considerable experience in moving Supplementary Estimates, but I have never diverged from the feeling that it is the business of a Department, and the duty of the responsible Ministers, in ordinary times so to take stock of the position that in presenting Estimates they should endeavour to obtain a fair measure of the requirements for the year, and to avoid further demands upon Parliament at doubtful and uncertain periods of the session, rather endeavouring to leave the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the public in the first instance in possession of the full demands. But it will be recognised by every member of the Committee that this is not an ordinary year, that circumstances have been exceptional from first to last. It would have been as grave an error on the part of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the War Office to have come here previously and asked for sixteen millions too much as to ask for sixteen millions too little. We have had one Supplementary Estimate already this year, and I may be asked why in July was it not possible to form a more accurate estimate of our war liabilities. Perhaps I may be pardoned if to-night I ask the Committee briefly to consider what the position was last July and what it is now, marking the close of what may be termed the second period of the war. The first period was comprised in the three months ending with December last year—three months, to a large extent, of miscalculations and disappointments; miscalculation of the strength required and the work for our troops, disappointment at the manner in which some of the operations were carried out. These three months ending with December were succeeded by a period of six months and the Estimates of last July. During that period of six months this country made a great effort and embarked 150,000 troops for South Africa, and this great effort, which was seconded by the strategy and decision of Lord Roberts, resulted in a complete change in the whole position of affairs in South Africa. In the first six months of this year Ladysmith, Kimberley, and Mafeking were relieved, Pretoria and Bloemfontein were occupied, and the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal were annexed to the Queen's dominions. The early expectations which might well have been legitimately held by those responsible for making our Estimates up to the close of the year have been disappointed. I think that anybody who knew of the dispersal of the Boer troops, and who was aware of the opinion which our own generals entertained as to the probable course of the war last July, would have said that the Chancellor of the Exchequer and my predecessor, Lord Lansdowne, were justified in the basis they took for the probable cost of the provision for the war. That basis was of this description: They estimated that during the quarter which began last July the war would proceed on the normal highest level it had reached, of about 230,000 men in South Africa; but that from October to December, the month in which we now are, that provision might be legitimately reduced to half, and that for the last quarter of the year, on which we are now entering, we might probably hope that the war would be run at about a quarter of the enormous cost entailed when the full body of troops were assembled in South Africa. In one respect a complete account of what has occurred shows that those expectations were too sanguine. The war has had to be maintained up to the present date at the full level, the same number of troops practically are there, the same number of supplies are being shipped week by week, the strength of our forces cannot immediately, at all events, be decreased, and, unpalatable as it may be to all of us, unexpected as it is to most of us, we must look forward until 31st March next to an expenditure little short of that which we have been incurring during the whole of the present financial year. Now, I think it is very natural that even in this House of Parliament, in which, with hardly a dissentient voice, every Member is prepared to say that as long as the war goes on it must be sustained in a manner which is worthy of those of us who have to provide for those who are fighting on our behalf, we should be asked whether there is any prospect, and at what period, that the troops may be reduced, whether there are any changes in military policy in the Transvaal which may cause us to carry on the war at a less expenditure, and whether we can form any estimate of its probable duration. In one respect, as I have said, in our expectations we were too sanguine. And yet I think that if we go closely into this war and the form which it has now assumed, and compare it with other wars which have assumed the same form under similar conditions, we shall not find that the cost of the war, as far as it has gone in the last six months, reflects discredit in any way on those who have had to undertake it. The organised resistance of our adversaries in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony has been changed to guerilla warfare, which has proved exceedingly harassing to our troops, and which has occupied, with the long lines of communication we have had to hold, the whole body of troops which has been landed in South Africa. Our experience in that respect is not in the least different from that of other nations who have undertaken a similar task. Anybody who has studied history is perfectly aware that when men are determined enough, or are desperate enough, to abandon the ordinary course of war, and, without any belief possibly, probably without any hope, of ultimate success, are willing to put their country to the extreme trouble of devastation, and to put their adversaries to the extreme harassment which is caused by guerilla warfare, they are able to prolong this trouble for a great number of months. There is this that is common, I believe, to those examples which have taken place in the present century, and we know it must be the result in this case, that such a policy on the part of the adventurers, though it may prolong the war for a great period, cannot—and never has without external aid—ultimately prove successful. If I remind the Committee of cases that have occurred in the present century, I do so simply in order to justify the retention of this large body of troops for so comparatively small a number of men in arms against us. At the beginning of the century the French troops occupied Spain for five years with a body of troops nearly amounting to 400,000 men. They had against them an enemy miserably equipped, inexpert in the field, but expert in all the arts of guerilla warfare. During the course of those five years the French army, I believe, lost more than in any campaign, except the retreat from Moscow and the campaign of 1813. I was only going to point out what is the power of men who are determined to carry on this particular warfare. I will mention one single point. It is on record that no despatch could be carried from one French general to another without an escort of 200 men. In the course of a single year 200 French officers, or an average of four a week, who carried despatches, were cut off and slaughtered. What was the experience of the French in Spain was also the experience of the Spaniards in Cuba. Recently, there have been two insurrections in Cuba—one lasted for ten years, from 1868 to 1878; the other three years from 1895 to 1898. In May, 1898, the Spaniards had 227,000 men in Cuba. The number of the Cubans was from about 30,000 to 50,000. The American general, General Lawton, who on coming over with a rescuing force reported upon them, explained that they were useless as soldiers. And yet that small body of troops stretched over an island only covering 42,000 square miles, with arms of all patterns and without artillery, were able to keep 227,000 Spanish soldiers from conquering the island for over three years. What the experience of the Spaniards was in Cuba is going on at this moment in the case of the Americans in the Philippines. The revolution against the Americans in the Philippines broke out on 4th February, 1899; it is not yet over. They had at first 50,000 troops, and we are told that 150,000 men will be required before the business can be completed. In a despatch General Otis said he believed 25,000 rifles, with but little ammunition, was all the insurgents could boast of. Nobody supposes that the insurgents in the Philippines will succeed in face of the spirit shown by the American troops. Nobody doubts what the result must be, but that result has been delayed much longer than I hope will be the case in the Transvaal. I hope I have not wearied the Committee; I have only stated these points in order to draw this comparison. What it took 400,000 Frenchmen to do in Spain and 227,000 Spaniards in Cuba, what it is taking 100,000 Americans to do in the Philippines against troops ill-equipped, badly armed, badly officered, and in every respect badly found, it is not surprising that we should find some difficulty in doing in the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal, over a country as large as Spain, Cuba, and the Philippines put together, with immense lines of communication, against an enemy whose bravery none of us will deny, whose equipment leaves nothing, for that country, to be desired, and who have shown an extraordinary power of using strategic means to make the best of their country. Therefore, I think that if our expectations were too favourable they were formed because those engaged on the spot who were best qualified to speak, were convinced that the collapse of the Boer army would end in the submission of the Boer leaders. Now we are face to face with the difficulty of carrying on this warfare under different conditions. I do not propose to justify this Estimate in detail, because as far as it goes it allows for no change of policy or procedure on the part of our generals from that which we have had to provide for in the last six months. It consists of £16,000,000. Of that £500,000 is taken for the operations in China, which have not got to do with the Transvaal. Then £1,000,000 is taken for the provision of the police, which we believe will be a more useful force for the purposes which have to be carried out than even the Regular soldiers.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Monmouthshire, W.): How many?

MR. BRODRICK: We have taken roughly, as the maximum, 10,000 police.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): Where is the pay shown in the Estimate?

MR. BRODRICK: It is shown under the general charges. I should perhaps say that the larger part of the charge for these police is for their outfit, transport, and for their provisions. Of course, the force is not yet ready; it has only just begun to be started. We have to enlist them, as well as equip and transport them, and the matter is one of account between us and the Colonial Department. Ultimately a considerable share of this burden will, we trust, be borne by the colony.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Will the right hon. Gentleman say how many of them have enlisted at the Cape?

MR. BRODRICK: I telegraphed to the Cape for that information, and I have not yet got it. I hope to get it before many hours are over. I cannot say what has been the enlistment here, but a very large number of men have come forward. One million more we estimate is taken for the repairs of railways. That is a reproductive expenditure, and the question of the incidence of that charge will have to be settled as between Her Majesty's Government and these railway companies. But as regards the remainder of the charge, £13,500,000 is simply, if I might so term it, continuation of service. It is for continuing to provide practically unstinted supplies as far as the generals call upon us for the active prosecution of the war. I am not going to say a single word to-night either in vindication of the policy of the war or the administration of the war, or the future conduct of the war. I am ready to answer, to the best of my ability, any points which may be raised with regard to any of these questions; but I take it that this subject has been to a large extent tried out in the past, and if it is to be tried again it must be tried as a whole. But I should like to say this: that so far as I can ascertain—and the Committee, I am sure, will admit that I have no responsibility, and can only speak from what I have been told—although we have paid enormous sums, and although we have had to call upon this House to provide on a scale on which provision has never hitherto been made for any force that has left these shores, yet we may lay one thing to our satisfaction. A great many hard things have been said about the War Office, a great many insinuations which I could rebut have been made about their administration, but I will not touch those. It is worth saying this: whatever may have been the sufferings of our troops in the Transvaal, whatever deficiencies may have been found at one place or another, owing to the difficulties of transport over enormous distances, to the rapid movements of troops and to the necessity of a strategy conducted on a scale which has not been hitherto usual in the art of war, there has been no case, so far as I know, during which, in these twelve months of strain, a single man in the army of South Africa has gone hungry, or a single column has been stopped for want of supplies, or a single operation of any general has had to be checked for want of material which has not been delivered in Cape Town, or Durban, or wherever it was desired, by those responsible at home. I feel at least that if they had to pay largely it is not due to any remissness on this side that our troops have had to suffer from shortness of supplies. Having said that I do not propose to justify the items of the Estimate any further. Perhaps I may be allowed to take this opportunity of saying one word as to the nature of the troops whom it is proposed to keep in South Africa under this Supplementary Estimate. Since I have been in office I have been inundated with letters asking me whether there is no possibility of releasing those who came forward as Volunteers to serve the Queen and who are now engaged in hostilities in South Africa. I should like to say in the first instance that, as will be found from the return which, on the motion of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouthshire, I had prepared for him and have laid on the Table of the House, we had not been remiss in using the Regular troops of the Queen before calling upon others to volunteer. When the war broke out we had in South Africa in round figures 10,000 men, all Regular troops. We have in the fourteen months which have since elapsed sent from this country and landed in South Africa 175,000 Regular soldiers, a number which exceeds by far any number which any Minister from this bench or any gentleman sitting behind these benches or in front of them ever suggested that this country ought to be in a position to ship to any part of the world, and a number far in excess of that which, during any period that I have sat in the House any Member of the House, except an official, would have been willing to believe that the War Office could find to dispose of. But they are not the only troops. We have called on them, I will not say to the extreme limit of our power, but, at all events, with an unsparing hand. But you have in addition, as this return will show, some 40,000 Volunteers of various descriptions from the United Kingdom—40,000 including the Imperial Yeomanry, whose service is spoken of by every officer under whom they have served with such satisfaction; thirty Militia regiments, who are also Volunteers, since their term of service was only for the United Kingdom, and who have gone abroad at great personal sacrifice to themselves; and the Volunteer companies who have joined the Regular battalions. You have also got 40,000 colonial troops, to a large extent, no doubt, men raised in the colonies affected, and, as everybody knows, to a still larger extent consisting of men who have gone for a year from Australia, Canada, and other places. I want, with the indulgence of the Committee, to say one word about these men. All of these men are suffering from the natural desire to return home. They all of them have left their homes for a much longer period than they believed they would; many of them left their business; some, perhaps, may have lost largely in pocket by the transaction; some have sacrificed their health; some of their comrades have lost their lives; and I believe that without exception, these men who came forward believed that the overwhelming force which it was in our power to put into the field would cause the emergency for which they were summoned to be but a temporary emergency, and they were fired with the idea of sharing with the Regular Army in the fatigues and also in the glory of a great battle, and then probably returning to their homes. That expectation has been disappointed. They have had long marches to march and wet bivouacs, they have often had insufficient food, and the course of events has tended terribly to increase the labour of the troops involved. The service of most of them exceeded one year, and instead of brilliant engagements they have had, to a large extent, for the last three months to serve on police duty, from which the glamour of war is absent, in which the danger of war remains. I take this opportunity, if I may, of replying to correspondents who are far too numerous for me personally to answer. Conscious as we are of the strain that has been imposed upon them, and well as we are aware of the desire to return home, we must for the present ask them to make a further sacrifice and remain at the post which they have undertaken to fill. I do so not from any feeling that they need lose patience or confidence as to the early issue of the result of their labours in the war. As everybody knows, the moment when you feel the strain yourself most is the moment when your adversary is usually feeling the same strain to the snapping point. That, I believe, is the position at the present moment. There may be weariness, but there is no ground for discouragement. Our policy must be not merely in the interests of this country, whose honour is at stake, but in the interests of the new colonies, whose future existence and whose prosperity in the near future will be measured by the prompt ending of this devastating war; also in the interests of the Boers themselves who are still in arms and to whom Lord Roberts has held out the opportunity of surrendering and settling down as peaceful citizens; our policy can only be this—to pursue the war with the strongest possible force, with a continuous stream of military supplies, and with absolutely unrelenting forces in respect of the numbers with which we will overwhelm resistance, in order that we may the more quickly bring back that country to peace. I believe that is the only humane policy we can undertake at this moment. For that we must ask, not only our Regular troops, whom we have a right to call upon, but our Volunteer troops to second our efforts, and not to relax their spirit at the moment when we believe we are near reaching the climax. Before the House meets in February I trust we may be able at all events to give much more satisfactory assurances than we are in a position to make now. Anything I could say to the Committee at this moment would be thrown away. I have only had three or four weeks of office. Though I have not been inactive during that period, I have not had the opportunity, the Government has not had the opportunity, of communicating personally with Lord Roberts, which we shall enjoy, I trust, before February. We have not been able yet to hear from Lord Kitchener his views on the suggestions we have made to him and on the policy which, now that the war has assumed a different phase, it will be natural for us in the present circumstances to a adopt. Though I can make no definite pronouncement, I would ask the Committee to have confidence. We are not drifting, we are not deceiving ourselves, either as to the magnitude of the demands which we are compelled to make, or as to the necessity, as far as is possible, of bringing them to a close. We are closely watching the future. Our generals in South Africa naturally feel that their honour is concerned in bringing, within the recognised rules of warfare, the war to a speedy conclusion, and I think that this Committee will feel that any Government which is worthy of the name must also feel, as we do, that our credit as Ministers is concerned, not merely in bringing the war to an early conclusion, but in establishing on the foundation of it a peaceful and prosperous South Africa.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £16,000,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending 31st day of March, 1901, for Additional Expenditure, due to the War in South Africa and to Affairs in China, in respect of the following Army Services, viz:—

	£
Vote 6. Transport and Remounts - - -	5,300,000
Vote 7. Provisions, Forage and other Supplies -	4,250,000
Vote 8. Clothing Establishments and Services -	750,000
Vote 9. Warlike and other Stores - - - -	4,700,000
Vote 10. Works, etc.: Cost (including Staff for Engineer Services) - -	1,000,000
Total - -	£16,000,000"

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: My first object in rising is to congratulate the right hon. Gentleman upon the statement he has laid before the Committee. I congratulate him upon the frankness of his statement as to the condition in which we now find ourselves. This is the first time we have really had made to us an admission and a confession not only of the errors of the past but of the prospects of the future. We on this side of the House have sometimes been accused of being pessimists, but a more discouraging statement than that which has just been made I have never heard. I believe it to be a true statement; indeed, a great deal of what I proposed to say to the House has been already said by the Secretary of State for War. If he will allow me, I will endeavour to expand the prospects the right hon. Gentleman has held out. I must also congratulate the right hon.

Gentleman that he at least has seen the propriety of submitting to the House of Commons the Estimates for the expenditure, though they were expunged from their proper place in the Queen's Speech. The First Lord of the Treasury was good enough to ask me to express my opinion upon that subject. He was good enough to say I had a constitutional mind. It sounded like a compliment, but I do not think it was intended as one. I never recriminate, and therefore I should be the last person in the world to suggest that the right hon. Gentleman has a constitutional mind. I have long sat opposite to him, and I have always observed he has what I may call a philosophical disdain for constitutional principles, and, above all, for constitutional formulæ. He regards them as matters of indifference. The other night he said so long as you get the money, what does it signify how you get it? I really believe from what I have seen of the right hon. Gentleman that he would think it perfectly immaterial in which House of Parliament Estimates were presented so long as the Government came in possession of money. For one moment I, with my constitutional mind, may be allowed to say what I think about it. The Constitution of this country is not a written Constitution; it depends upon tradition and practice, and that tradition and practice are declared in certain solemn and well-established formulæ, one of which is that the Crown comes for money to the House of Commons, and the House of Commons alone. The right hon. Gentleman calls that constitutional etiquette. I think our ancestors would have been rather surprised to hear that called "etiquette." He says it is antiquated. Of course it is antiquated. The British Constitution is antiquated. The Crown is antiquated, and many matters connected with the Crown are antiquated. The right hon. Gentleman is Leader of the House of Commons and the guardian of its privileges. He is more than that; he is the head of what is called the Constitutional party. If these are his views, they are not mine. In a Cabinet of twenty, where there are a few old Whigs who have gone astray, I should have thought there might have been one or two to say a word for the Constitution. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will excuse me for having expressed my constitutional mind upon his treatment of this particular matter. At last we have got these Estimates here, and I think it would have been better if, instead of defending the procedure adopted upon this occasion, so that it might be regarded as a precedent in the future, he had admitted that there had been an unfortunate blunder which belonged to the slipshod manner of conducting public affairs with which we have of late been made too familiar, and that it must not be taken as a precedent. Well, now, as to the Estimates which have been placed before us. I have never altered, and I do not alter, the opinion I have expressed in former times of the circumstances which have led to what the Secretary of State for War has most properly called this unhappy war. But I have upon all occasions since the war was declared felt it my duty to support the demands which were made on behalf of the country for the proper carrying on of the war. Whatever may be our opinion of the origin of the war, I think we are all agreed that from every consideration of humanity and policy everything should be done to bring it to the earliest conclusion. Therefore, I do not rise to oppose this Estimate; but there are some things which have to be said, and a good many of them have been already said by the right hon. Gentleman, before the Estimate is voted. I took occasion last July to criticise the practice which has arisen in this case, no doubt, as the right hon. Gentleman said, from the exceptional circumstances of these successive Estimates. We have heard a great deal lately of what are called cumulative poisons, which are very dangerous in their operations. Cumulative Estimates are very injurious to the financial system, and we were told last July, indeed, we knew last July, that there had been four Estimates given during the course of the present war. This is the fifth. The right hon. Gentleman, with great frankness, has admitted what everybody knows to be the fact, that these successive Estimates were due to miscalculation. Yes, what we have charged against the Government and what I charge now is that from the very first they utterly misunderstood and misapprehended the character of the occasion and the spirit of the people against whom they were waging war. Let us look a little at what took place. It has been well said that you conducted your negotiations when you broke off in September as if war was certain, and that you conducted your military operations as if there never would be war at all. It should have been the very reverse. The great authority who inspires and dominates the councils of the Cape—I need not say Mr. Rhodes — assured everybody that President Kruger would never fight. Then you took £10,000,000 to dispose of this war of which we have heard a description given by the Secretary of State for War. You apparently thought you had only to blow your blast and that the walls of Pretoria would fall. Then you found that that was not the case, and you sent out a very able general in Sir Redvers Buller. What Sir Redvers Buller's position was when he arrived at the end of October he has told you in that very remarkable speech he made in Natal on his departure. He said that when he arrived he found that British territory had been invaded, that Mafeking and Kimberley were besieged, that Ladysmith had just been surrounded, and that the passes into the Cape Colony were occupied. He added that he had only at his disposal a handful of men, that an advance was impossible until more troops arrived, and that they were not in a position to advance for twelve weeks after his arrival. Then came the disasters of last winter, on which I will not dwell —they are too sadly burned into our memories; and then you sent out, and not an hour too soon, those distinguished men, Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener. The right hon. Gentleman has rightly described the course of the campaign. You thought at first the war was over with your 10,000 men. It was not over. You thought your war was over when you sent out Sir Redvers Buller and his troops. It was not over—it was very nearly over in another sense. And then you poured into South Africa your reinforcements by thousands, by hundreds of thousands, and by the strategy of your generals and the bravery of your troops you defeated the main forces of the enemy. You relieved Mafeking and Kimberley, and you raised the siege of Ladysmith. And then you thought the war was over. You proceeded on that calculation, and now it is four or five months since you came to this House and told us that practically the war was over. You asked for an Estimate of £11,000,000 sterling, which was to wind up the war and to bring back the troops. The statement of the right hon. Gentleman who is now Chief Secretary for Ireland was that you were to bring back 135,000 men, that you were to leave in the Cape 45,000 men, of whom 30,000 were to be a permanent garrison and 15,000 settlers. I shall have something to say about those settlers presently. That was the expectation held out to us, and we were told that the war was over. You had broken down, no doubt, the main forces of the enemy, you had overthrown the Governments of both Republics, and you had nobody left with whom you could make peace. Then the right hon. Gentleman, with historical recollections, comes and tells us what a terrible thing guerilla warfare is. Have the Government been reading up the history of guerilla warfare since last July? One would suppose that among the twenty members of the Cabinet there was not a copy of Napier's "Peninsular War." What did you expect? The right hon. Gentleman said that because they had overthrown the Governments therefore the war was over. It is because you have never understood that there is no truth in the statement made the other day by Mr Rhodes that this was not a war against the Dutch, but a war against President Kruger. It was never anything of the kind, and you ought to have known it. You were told by people who knew the matter better and had no interest in deluding the public that from the first this has been, and it is now, a racial war. That is the secret of the whole transaction. That is the secret of your miscalculations. You thought that when President Kruger was deprived and left the Cape there was nothing to be met with but this guerilla warfare. Why did this guerilla warefare come on? Because, as I say, it is not a war of Governments, but a conflict of races. That is the history of it, and it is practically confessed by the Secretary of State to-day, and it is a very serious matter indeed. We have come, therefore, to a new departure. At all events, it will be a new revelation to those in this country who have been induced to take a very different view of the matter. Let us see what it is that the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for War holds out to us. The right hon. Gentleman was good enough, at my request, to have a table made out of the troops that are there now, and it is very important, because he tells us that there they are to remain. That is a thing which to-morrow will be learnt with dismay in the country. In July last you were told that they were all to come home, with the exception of a small garrison. In thinking that you can garrison a country which is a big as Cuba and Spain put together with 30,000 men, you are making for yourselves another delusion. You will be greatly mistaken if you think you can garrison the people of that country who are so formidable in guerilla warfare with 30,000 men. You talk of a police force. It is a very good idea, but what is the force? I was astounded at the statement of the right hon. Gentleman that he had taken £1,000,000 for this purpose. Police are an extremely expensive force. They will cost twice, I believe nearly three times, as much as Regular troops. They are to be men of a very high class, as they ought to be; they are to have all sorts of accomplishments; they are to be mounted men, and are to have higher pay than anything like that given to such men in this country. I have seen a very careful and reasonable estimate which puts the cost of 6,000 men at £1,500,000, and I believe that is a low estimate. If you think you are going to police the Transvaal and the Free State with 6,000 men you are greatly mistaken. How many men have you in Ireland in the Royal Constabulary? To talk of 6,000 police in a country like this is to talk of nothing at all. To my mind, 20,000 men would be nearer the mark than 6,000. I should like to have from the Chancellor of the Exchequer a little more accurate estimate as to the cost of the 15,000 men left as settlers in South Africa. I have met a good many men of all classes who have come back from South Africa recently, but I do not happen to have encountered the man who desires to settle in South Africa. We were told that we had the advantage at the General Election of the absence of 200,000 voters who were kept out there. I am not quite sure that they would all have voted against us. There they are, and there they are to remain. Now just let us look at this table. By some accident it only gives the rank and file and non-commissioned officers. It is a very terrible Return, and I think it is worthy of the attention of the men who delight in war, of whom, I am afraid, there are unhappily not a few. I have made a short analysis of the paper. It shows that the garrison at the Cape before the war was 9,600. Reinforcements of 6,300 men were sent out in October last year, and from India 5,600, which, with the former garrison, made up 21,000 in all when the war broke out. Up to August—that is, after the last Estimate for 1900—according to this table 267,000 men had been in arms in South Africa—that is without the officers. Therefore I will call it 270,000 men in round numbers. I think the right hon. Gentleman made a mistake when he said that the colonial troops were more numerous from beyond the seas than they were in the Cape. That is a mistake. This return shows that the men raised in South Africa were 30,000, and, apart from them, the colonials from beyond the seas were 11,000.

MR. BRODRICK: That was a slip of the tongue.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: According to the last Return there were 210,000 men in South Africa. You will observe that there is a balance of some 60,000 or 70,000 men. What has become of those men? You would find from this Return, one would suppose, that a good many of these have returned safe and sound to England. No, Sir; the men who have returned to England according to this paper, not invalids, are 7,500, and to the colonies 3,000 more. That makes 10,000 men, or with the officers about 11,000 men. But since July you have sent out 13,000 men to South Africa, more, in fact, than you have been bringing home, and yet you have only 210,000 men there. Now, Sir, how is this accounted for? First of all you have the heading, "killed or died of wounds," 11,000 men. You have "wounded" 13,000, you have "in hospital in South Africa," 12,000, and you have "returned to England, sick, wounded, or died on passage" 36,000 men. That is the balance. Seventy thousand men have been killed, wounded, or disabled, or have died in this war. And now what is the prospect that is held before us with this force, once 270,000 men, and now 210,000, in South Africa? Lord Roberts has declared that the war is over, yet you hold out to us no prospect of diminishing the force you have in South Africa of 210,000 men. That is the picture presented by the right hon. Gentleman to us to-day. The right hon. Gentleman has said, and honestly said, that he cannot predict when the situation will be altered. No wonder you require an additional Estimate. What prospect is there that even this Estimate will be the last presented to the House of Commons on account of this war? We were told at the commencement by the highest authority that this would be a long, terrible, and costly war, and that it would leave behind it bitter memories, which it would take generations to efface. That is the situation in which, having called this House together before Christmas, you leave us and those we represent to meditate upon the future. No doubt we ought to give you the money. But the House of Commons and the country will think that the time has come when, having to deal not with Governments that you may overthrow with overwhelming forces, but with a race, a brave race living in a country which is their own, they will see that it is not by accumulating forces, not by perpetually increasing expenditure of money and armed men, but by a different policy that this matter will have to be settled. And here I am glad to recognise the speech that was made on Friday night by the Secretary of State for the Colonies—a speech which was couched in a different tone from the *Væ victis* of the Prime Minister in the House of Lords, and from the gentler *Non possumus* of the First Lord of the Treasury. If you address yourself to this question with a view to the reconcilement of the races, then you will have money to put an end to this guerilla warfare. Then you may hope that this expenditure of blood and treasure, this devastation of what only a few months ago was a happy and a prosperous country, will cease, and you will have done something to relieve us from the terrible responsibility which this war brings in its train. As to the expenditure of the money, I may, perhaps, have something more to say on a later occasion, but that is a less important matter. You may depend upon it that on your future dealing with these people whom you have conquered will depend your reputation in the civilised world. As to the money part of the question, do not deceive yourselves upon it. Even when the war, the guerilla war as well as the regular war, has come to an end, you will find, as I believe, that your peace expenditure amidst a hostile race will not be less than the successive Estimates of expenditure which you have already laid before the House of Commons.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE: The Secretary of State for War, of all Job's comforters I ever heard, has proved himself to-night the most absolutely disheartening. The only word of comfort which the right hon. Gentleman vouchsafed to us in his speech was that guerilla warfare, however prolonged and terrible, was never successful without foreign intervention. He, however, omitted from his category the classical case in recent years, and the one which must have been present to the mind of all. That was the case where the army of France was destroyed in Mexico by guerilla warfare, and where no foreign armed intervention took place. The French troops were withdrawn to Vera Cruz and to the ports on the Pacific Coast before the Americans addressed their first Note to France. In that case the army of France was destroyed, and those who know anything of military history are aware of what was the effect on the French Army for years, what was the effect in 1866 and 1870, and they also know what Moltke and the Germans have told us on that subject. The right hon. Gentleman has put a worse face on the military state of the war to-night than has ever been done before; and unless he has overpainted his picture in black—if he has drawn an accurate picture, and given a serious and accurate forecast—then the situation is more deplorable than has been realized by us up to the present time. My right hon. friend the Member for West Monmouthshire has made a weighty and powerful speech on the general question of the miscalculation in these Estimates from first to last. He has, however, not gone into detail, and I would ask the Committee to consider a little in detail these miscalculations of the War Office. To begin with, the belief of the Government that there would be no guerilla warfare, that the war would come suddenly to an end, was not shared by many competent observers. At the very commencement of the war one of the most distinguished foreign Ambassadors in the world said in the presence of a large number of Members of this House—

> "You will reach Bloemfontein and Pretoria; you will succeed in the long run, but you will have three years of guerilla warfare."

This miscalculation of the War Office has run through all the Estimates placed before the House. I see the Chief Secretary for Ireland present. I congratulate him, as the whole House does, on the important position he has won for himself by his eloquence and statesmanship when Under Secretary for War. My right hon. friend on 27th July last, in presenting the former Supplementary Estimates made a very definite statement to the House in regard to China, which shows how lax the Government have now been in their finance. I ask the House to consider what he said to us about China, because if there seemed to be some excuse for the military miscalculations on account of the size of the country and ignorance of its topography and resources when dealing with South Africa, and as to the gigantic and prolonged resistance of the Boers, that could not be said about China. Last year we voted a million and a half for China that was known to be needed; then half a million more, which the then Under Secretary said was reserve, and a million behind that, which he said was a second reserve, and which he explained was most unlikely to be needed. That was to carry us on to April next. But on 27th of July he said it was impossible to give an accurate forecast either in the case of South Africa or China beyond the end of February. He pledged himself up to the end of February. Well now, what has happened in the case of China, which, by the way, has only been brought before us by the accident of the necessity of making the further African provision? What has happened to vitiate the whole calculation as to the cost of the operations in China? We voted then a million and a half which he could account for, then half a million as reserve, and a third million as a second line of reserve which was infinitely more than the War Office seemed to think they would need up to the end of the financial year. Yet here they are already coming to the House and asking for half a million more for China. I give that as a case free from all the disturbing elements which existed in South Africa, for there have been no developments in China that were not foreseen in July last. Now, then, in regard to the South African portion of this Estimate; there has been an enormous amount of money voted which has not been spent; yet we are asked here for sixteen millions more. Eleven millions of money we voted in July last have not been wholly spent, and therefore have gone to swell the items now before us. The Under Secretary for War went into a great deal more detail on that than on this occasion. He told us in regard to sea transport, which is the largest single item on the Estimate, that we were voting money enough for the return of the troops; that we were paying also for the return of the Indian troops, and for the whole charge of returning the various colonial contingents. The Vote also included the cost of returning 135,000 troops to their home stations. Now all these millions of money have not been spent, and no statement has been made to the House as to how they have been wasted, or if not wasted, to what other heads of expenditure they have been tranferred under Treasury powers. The money was voted lavishly enough for sea transport, but I am afraid that great sums of money have been wasted or paid unnecessarily, as I am informed, for demurrage. And so with regard to pay and gratuities not a quarter of the sum voted has been spent up to the present time, and I believe little is likely to be spent on these down to the end of the financial year. Another point of importance is the question of the police. That force is paid for from Army Estimates. Why are the men not voted? In every case hitherto that I know of, where a new force has been raised, to be borne and paid for on the Army Estimates, the men have been voted, or there has been a note to a similar effect showing the number of men who were to be raised. There is no such note in the present case. There is another item on this account to which I wish to call the attention of the Committee for a moment. It is a matter to which we shall have to allude when the Chancellor of the Exchequer submits his proposals to the Committee. Another million is to be spent on South African Railway repairs. I assume that this description includes the Netherlands Railway in the Transvaal. Is that so or not?

MR. BRODRICK: It refers to military repairs undertaken in the course of the campaign.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE: I may point out that the House debated this question once before; but the use of the railways has been peculiar as they affect the colonies. As a general rule in war the military seize the railways and make use of them without payment. That is one of the usages of war; but we have paid for every horse and every man moved by the railways during the war. We have also voted a large sum for supplementing the supply of rolling stock for these railways. We should not run the risk of paying three times over for the same thing. The Committee should not forget that the Netherlands Railway Company have taken part in this war. I have read with care the concessions and the instructions of the Transvaal Government to their representative in Holland, and the company have undoubtedly violated their terms. The concessions will be found in the report of the famous Commission of Inquiry held by the Transvaal Government at the Rand in 1897. Now to whom is this money to be paid; who accounts for it to the Treasury; and who is administering this Transvaal Netherlands Railway at the present time? At a later stage I shall ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer a few questions in regard to the people who are holding office on that line. Now, generally speaking, the Government appear upon this occasion to have, as my right hon. friend said, miscalculated again. They have admitted miscalculations in the past, but the right hon. the Secretary for War has postponed once more till February all that he has to tell us in regard to the reorganisation of the War Office. I should not be in order if, on this occasion, I were to enter on that question; but the right hon. Gentleman has taken credit to the War Office that no British troops were starved during the war. The House cheered ironically when he explained that no British troops had suffered hunger or hardship on account of the action of the War Office. After these ironical cheers the right hon. Gentleman finished his sentence and explained that the War Office took credit for having plumped down at Cape Town and Durban everything that was necessary for provisioning the Army—implying that it was the fault of the generals if their troops were starved.

MR. BRODRICK: The right hon. Gentleman is mistaken. I made no reflection on the generals. What I said was that all that the War Office could do was to transport the stores to places whence they could be forwarded to the front.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE: We take a larger view of the War Office than the right hon. Gentleman. We believe that the War Office is responsible to the country for the whole preparation of the Army for war. And with the exception of a few appointments made by the Cabinet, and on which the Secretary for War was consulted, they are responsible for the whole officers in command of the Army, and therefore for every deficiency that has taken place. The right hon. Gentleman concluded by saying that no one in this country had previously thought the War Office would be able to send out 175,000 troops to South Africa. But does that mean that we failed to know the number of men—Regulars, Militia, Reservists, Volunteers? We know the number of the Regular Army, and that we can send them out if we choose. What we do say is, that they did not form an army supplied with horses, guns, and transport; and when we come to discuss these matters in February, fully and without the reserve imposed upon us in this session, we shall have to protest that the right hon. Gentleman's view of planting down 175,000 troops at Cape Town is not a performance of which the War Office ought to be proud.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central): The Committee must have heard with the greatest regret the pessimistic view taken by the Secretary for War as to the duration of the campaign. It is very doubtful whether a great deal of this guerilla warfare has not arisen from the fact that there was no civil administration to take the place of the military occupation in those districts occupied by our troops. There was not a sufficient police force in the occupied areas, and when the Boer prisoners, released on parole, found themselves in their homes not under necessary surveillance, they discovered that they were able to meet together, and the result was the re-assembling of these guerilla bands. I hope that the ideas of the Secretary of State for War will not be realised, and that Lord Kitchener will soon be able to put an end to this guerilla warfare. I am very much interested in the Volunteers and Yeomanry who are out in South Africa, and I heard with very great regret indeed that the right hon. Gentleman was not able to hold out any hope of their early return to this country. I do hope that if they should find it necessary they will appeal to the Volunteers, and the forces at home who have been added to the Imperial Yeomanry, so that those men serving in South Africa and who wish to be relieved may be sent home. There can be no doubt that owing to the recent return of some Volunteers, and also some Regular troops who came back last week or the week before last, there is considerable unrest among the Volunteer companies attached to the Regular battalions and the Imperial Yeomanry in South Africa at present. I am not anxious to labour this point to any considerable extent, but I am speaking from absolute knowledge of the facts. I have received many letters from members of the Imperial Yeomanry and members of the Volunteer companies giving proof of what I say. I have already had an opportunity of calling the attention of the Secretary of State to that, and I ventured to urge him last session to enable them to return home when the opportunity should offer. I know one company which has three times been ordered home and three times been stopped. It is natural that a considerable amount of dissatisfaction should be the result. Then as regards the Transvaal Police, the hope of everybody was that a considerable body of the Volunteers and members of the Imperial Yeomanry would elect either to settle in the country or accept the conditions offered them in the new South African constabulary. At first I think the pay of 10s. per day was offered to the members of that force. Anybody who knows the great cost of living in South Africa in some of these districts will appreciate that, although it seems a large pay to offer, it is not excessive. But when the amount was suddenly reduced to 5s. a considerable number of the members of the Imperial Yeomanry who had elected to join the South African constabulary at once gave in their resignations, and I believe that some of the men now in the force are not of the character which the commandant, General Baden-Powell, would wish to have under his control. This matter of the pay of the South African constabulary is a very serious one indeed. The pay and allowances are not sufficient to attract the best class of men to that force, and I am sure that any false economy in this respect will be a mistake.

Mr. BRODRICK: The pay is 5s. per day, and all found.

Sir HOWARD VINCENT: You say "all found." Many of these men will be on very detached duty indeed in lonely places—a bridge to watch, or a line of railway to protect. It will be extremely difficult to get supplies of any sort or kind, and it will be extremely hard to live, and the luxuries "found" will not be of an extensive character. I do not want to say that 5s. per day and rations is a considerable rate of pay. It is a question entirely of the expense to which the men are put, and the proof that the men of the Imperial Yeomanry do not consider it sufficient is to be found in the number of resignations sent in. I have received information on this subject from many men who have come back from South Africa, and I myself have been in communication with General Baden-Powell. I have tried to persuade many men to go out, but they say that the pay in their opinion—they may be right or wrong—is not sufficient to attract them to the South African Constabulary. I only hope that the Secretary of State may be right and that he will get us as many men as he wants, but they are not to be found in the ranks of the Volunteers in South Africa. There is one other matter I wish to call attention to. I have no doubt the matter has been before the Secretary of State. I refer to the magnificent services of the 11,000 Volunteers from the colonies. I hope there is no truth in the statements which have been made, but one regrets to see that some of the colonists have had to complain of the treatment they have received in this country, and of the comforts provided for them on their return journey to their respective countries. I am sure the Secretary of State is anxious to do everything he possibly can to recognise the magnificent services of the colonies and the colonial troops, that he will take care that every charge of that kind is carefully gone into, and that he will give an immediate answer to them. The reception given in London last week to the Canadian Volunteers showed that the country is most anxious that nothing should be spared in order to show our gratitude, not only to Canada, but also to the troops from Australia and the other colonies. The Secretary of State is hopeful that a considerable contribution will eventually come from the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal Colony to recoup the expense of the war. I trust this will be so, but I would ask him not to be too sanguine on this matter. A country which has been traversed by 200,000 troops is in a very different condition to what it was before the war. A very serious matter will have to be faced by this country, and that is the repatriation of the 16,000 prisoners. That will entail an enormous addition to the expense of the country. I do not myself see—and I have some knowledge of it—how for a considerable period these prisoners can be otherwise than dependent on British funds for their support. Considerable contributions will have to be made for the re-erection of farms and homesteads. [An HON. MEMBER: They are not all destroyed.] Of course they have not been all destroyed. Who ever said they had been all destroyed? If my hon. friend will only have patience he will see how many have been destroyed, but I am not exceeding my duty in calling the attention of the Secretary of State to the state of affairs which undoubtedly exists, and in saying that a serious burden will be thrown upon the country in this matter of the repatriation of the prisoners. If their condition can be alleviated in any way by a grant of money I think it would be an exceedingly good thing. I can only hope that when the House of Commons meets in February next we may hear of a very different state of affairs, and a very different speech from the Secretary of State from that which we have heard to-night, and that he will be able not only to announce the complete termination of the war, but also that the Volunteers and Yeomanry have fulfilled the full term of their engagements. The Secretary of State certainly has said nothing to-night in that direction, and nothing to give rise to any false hopes, but when the House meets in February I hope he will be able to say that the great mass of the troops are on the way home.

*MR. KEIR HARDIE (Merthyr Tydvil) said he desired to call the attention of the Committee to the way in which our soldiers were treated not merely on the field, where hardships were necessarily to be expected, but on board ship, where surely better provision might be made. He referred to an instance which he had already made public—complaints from some of our men who had been conveyed from Cape Town to Hong Kong in July and August this year. He should preface what he was about to say by stating that a letter which he received, and which was published in *The Times* on the 2nd of November, was signed by three soldiers of the Welsh Fusiliers, for whose *bona fides* he could vouch. He had known two of them for many years, and they were not men who were given to grumbling unnecessarily or making complaints without cause. The troopship on which they were being conveyed from Cape Town to Hong Kong was the "Antillean," and the complaints referred chiefly to matters of food. This was what they wrote—

> "The food given us was bad and insufficient. We had bread and biscuits every alternate day—these were issued in the morning, and were used for breakfast and tea (or supper)—dry bread, and tea without milk, as usual. The bread was black, sour, and heavy, the biscuits bore date 1870; consequently they were thirty years old, and some of them bore even an earlier date. Well, for dinner we had a few changes of meat; nearly twice each week we had fresh meat. Our fare on other days was either salt pork, tinned meat, or salt beef. The latter was simply abominable. It is kept in rough-looking tubs, and was dated 1873. This then was twenty-seven years old. Perhaps three or four times per week we would have a tablespoonful of rice to dinner, or the same quantity of preserved potatoes, and a very few times during the voyage we had only ordinary potatoes."

Such was the statement as it reached him concerning the food supply of these men, and he desired to call the attention of the Secretary of State for War in particular to their statements in connection with the complaints which they made. It was a most difficult matter at any time for a private to make his complaints known in the proper quarter, and when it could be shown that any party whose duty it was to receive complaints and transmit them had failed in that duty, stringent action ought at once to be taken. This was their statement—

> "The officer came round as usual and asked if there were any complaints about food. The messes all made complaints. I took notice of one mess in particular, where the following dialogue took place:—
>
> "Officer: Any complaints?

"N.C.O.: Yes, sir.

"Officer: What's the matter?

"N.C.O.: This meat is in a state of decomposition.

"Officer (sniffing): It's good enough.

"N.C.O.: Why, the smell of it is enough for anyone without ever attempting to eat it.

"Officer (sulkily): It strikes me you know nothing about it.

"The steward, purser, doctor, and captain of the day were then brought down to examine it. The steward sniffed it and pronounced it good, as did also the purser. Then the doctor, after some hesitation, suggested cutting parts of it off, and said it would then be eatable. One gunner, a mess orderly, replies, 'You say it's good. Well, I have been on the march in South Africa on a biscuit a day, and even at the worst if I was starving I would have lain down in a ditch and died rather than attempt to eat it if you had offered it to me.' However, it was thrown overboard, and we did not receive anything in lieu thereof."

After the voyage from Cape Town to Hong Kong one of the regiments at the latter place had arranged a reception for their comrades returning from South Africa and obtained permission to give them a supper. That permission was granted, but when the men on the "Antillean" asked leave to attend it, it was refused. No one would rejoice more than he if all British subjects refused to become soldiers, but pending that time, it was men of spirit and independence that made the best, and such treatment as that was not calculated to attract men of that class to the colours. Another grave complaint was the accommodation provided for soldiers in transports; in the case under notice 500 soldiers were allotted one-third of the space on the ship, whilst fifty officers absorbed the other two-thirds. Passing to another matter, he hoped that the Government, in the negotiations which were now proceeding for a settlement, would not create in the Transvaal any financial prejudice against the Uitlanders who were in a far more dangerous frame of mind than that in which the war found them fourteen or fifteen months ago. In Cape Town and other parts of South Africa where these Uitlander refugees were congregated a very serious agitation was developing itself, not against the Dutch Government at Pretoria, but against the British officials and their methods of administration at Johannesburg. When war was about to be declared the Transvaal Republic passed an ordinance under which no rents or taxes were collectable in any district which was placed under martial law. Almost the first act of our civil administration was to appoint a committee to inquire what acts which the Transvaal Governments had passed could be repealed and which should be upheld. That committee recommended the repeal of the ordinance of law to which he had referred, with the result that thousands of Uitlanders, British subjects, who had partly acquired rights either to a claim or a plot of land or a house would, on their return to the Rand, find themselves face to face with a demand for either twelve months rent or taxes, or interest on the money which they had borrowed to enable them to develop their property or build their house. And it might be that hundreds or even thousands of these people would, on their return, find that they were ruined, and compelled to start life afresh. He trusted the Government would take measures to prevent such a state of things occurring.

*THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is now travelling outside the scope of the Supplementary Estimate, and must confine himself strictly to the item in the Estimate.

*MR. KEIR HARDIE said he bowed to the ruling of the Chair; but at the same time ventured to point out that so far as he had been able to ascertain the speeches previously made on this Estimate had traversed all the ground which he had at present covered. This Estimate was not intended merely to provide funds for the continuance of the war, but also to provide funds for the civil administration of the conquered territories, and that being so hoped he would be allowed to continue his line of argument.

*THE CHAIRMAN: The only money which is asked for under the civil establishment is that which is asked for the purposes of the constabulary of South Africa. The hon. Gentleman would be quite in order in going into that point, but he would not be in order in entering into the question of the whole civil government of South Africa.

*MR. KEIR HARDIE said that a great many of those to whom he had referred would probably become members of the constabulary. They had already been invited to enroll themselves in that body, but he would not pursue that subject further. He would pass to another matter which he admitted also partook rather of the character of civil administration than military operations. He referred to the attempts which were being made by certain interested parties to engage the Government and its agents in South Africa as collectors of coloured labour for mines on the Rand.

*THE CHAIRMAN: There is nothing asked for in this Estimate in respect of that matter.

*MR. KEIR HARDIE submitted to the ruling of the Chair, as he thought he should probably find a better opportunity in the course of the present or ensuing session to call attention to that matter. His next point was the burning of farms. He quite admitted that the war now being waged was in no sense the war which Lord Roberts expected to find, and therefore the Commander-in-Chief had to discover some term by which he might cover the miscalculations which he had made when he marched so rapidly to Pretoria, in the hope that his occupation of the capital would bring the war to an immediate conclusion. His calculations were founded on a false assumption; he had declared the war over and could not go back from his word, and it therefore became necessary for him to find an expression to explain the position in which he found himself, and he hit upon the word "guerilla." The war was very far from being over. Together with other Members of the House he had been pleased with the assurance given that the policy of farm-burning was to be modified; he hoped that that policy except in the most urgent cases would be abolished. Nothing had more embittered the strife in which we were engaged than this policy of burning farms without excuse and without justification, burning the farms of men who were prisoners in our hands, and burning the farms of those who were dead and turning their widows and orphans on to the veldt. He submitted that the proclamation under which property had been destroyed and farms burnt was illegal inasmuch as it was a violation of the laws of war laid down by the Hague Convention. Property of prisoners was specifically protected under that convention, as was also the property of all non-combatants. He referred to that because of the statement made from the Government Bench, and not contradicted from any quarter of the House, that only those farms had been destroyed which military necessity required or from which firing on our troops under a flag of truce had been indulged in. In his hand he held a copy of a letter from a trooper, a Scotch Yeoman, which did not bear out that statement. In that letter he said the work on the march was not of the grandest, that it consisted chiefly of burning down farmhouses; that he did not care very much for it, as it was very hard lines on the women and kids to be shoved out on the veldt, and watch their homes burning; that they were allowed to take out their furniture, and then the place was fired. He had also other letters containing similar statements, but they contained no mention of anyone being fired on from the farms, or of their being destroyed for reasons of military necessity. These troops were evidently sent on farm-burning expeditions. It was one of the stupid blunders of our generals in the conduct of this war. They thought that as they were unable to conquer these Boer farmers in a fair manner, they might compel them to surrender out of pity for their wives and children, and the way they attempted to do that was by burning down their farms and destroying their stores. He did not profess to belong to the ruling classes of England, but he yielded to none in his respect for the honour and traditions of his native land. That being so, if he were the Government, he would seek some way of conquering the land other than by making war upon the women and children. He could only express the hope that the new policy of the Government would not encourage the reckless destruction of property, but would, on the other hand, prevent it except where absolutely necessary. It was not work fit for soldiers or men. Our men protested against it, and felt the degradation and humiliation of it. One reason why General Baden-Powell was finding it so difficult to obtain recruits was because of the fact that they were expected to carry on this work. He trusted we would hear no more from our soldiers of this discreditable and dishonourable work, and that so long as the war lasted it would be carried on in accordance with the traditions of England in the past.

SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT (Sheffield, Ecclesall) congratulated his hon.

friend the Member for Central Sheffield on having introduced a subject of real importance and value to the House—namely, the troubles and difficulties in which many Uitlanders would find themselves; but as that question had been ruled out of order at the present time he would not be able to refer to it now. The statements made by the hon. Member for Merthyr Tydvil with regard to the burning of farms undoubtedly gave a very exaggerated view of what had occurred. He would not venture to say that there had been no cases of unjustifiable burning of farms. War was a very very difficult and a very terrible process, and it was not easy always to draw the line between this farm and that, but the misery and suffering necessarily inflicted on the population had undoubtedly been largely mitigated owing to the great consideration and kindness of our troops. Everyone must have been struck with the consideration shown to women and children. The women and children might congratulate themselves that they had not fallen into the hands of Russians or French. [AN HON. MEMBER: Or Turks.] Or even Turks. The Turk had been very much maligned. He wondered, if the other side of the shield were exposed, what tales some of our gallant troops would tell of the disaster inflicted on them by the treachery of the inhabitants of those parts. It was only two days ago that he read an account of two British soldiers who went to a farm and treated the inmates well. They were paying for what they got, but the women went out and encouraged their male friends to steal up and shoot the men. They practically murdered them. There were cases in which farms had raised white flags, and when the troops went there they were treated treacherously.

*MR. KEIR HARDIE: Can the hon. Gentleman give any official confirmation of the statements he is now making?

SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said he could not foresee the speech of the hon. Member for Merthyr Tydvil, and he had not come down with his pocket stuffed full of quotations, but he would undertake to give a dozen instances or more—fifty instances—of cases in which gross treachery had been shown towards our troops. The hon. Member took another aspect of the burning of farms, which was grossly exaggerated—an aspect in which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouthshire had been guilty of great exaggeration. The right hon Gentleman drew an appalling picture of a devastated country through which 200,000 troops had marched, destroying right and left. He should like to take the right hon Gentleman over the veldt and let him see what there was to destroy. Why, there was absolutely nothing to destroy. There was bare ground, but very little grass and very few crops to be seen anywhere.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I would refer the hon. Member to what the Colonial Secretary said on the subject

SIR. E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: There had been undoubtedly failure to cultivate a certain amount of land in the Transvaal. If the right hon. Gentleman were better acquainted with the subject he would know that an enormous quantity of mealies and corn had to be imported, and it was owing to this fact that our troops very often found themselves in great want of food. This question of the burning of farms had been exaggerated in every way. He very much doubted if the farms which had been burned, taking them on the average, could not be replaced for £50 each. If after the war was over the Government proposed judiciously to expend money in rebuilding or re-roofing these farms, he, for one, would be most glad to support such an expenditure. He did not believe it would be a large expenditure, but he believed it would be a wise one. He was certain that the charges of cruelty and barbarity practised by our troops in connection with the burning of farms were wholly baseless and unwarranted. The question of repatriating the Boer prisoners had been referred to by his hon. friend and colleague the Member for Central Sheffield, from whom he should have expected better things. It would be as easy to repatriate the Boer prisoners in St Helena and Ceylon as to send back to their homes and farms the prisoners who were now in South Africa.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: How does my hon. friend propose to do it?

SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said there had been a question of want of provisions in the Transvaal, and he would tell his hon. friend how it could be met. It would be met by putting down the guerilla warfare, clearing the railway lines, and enabling provisions to be sent into the Transvaal. There would be a certain number of paupers who would have to be fed, but the great body of the population of the Transvaal would undoubtedly be able to buy the mealies and wheat necessary for their food. The difficulty had been greatly exaggerated. He rose for the purpose of relieving the debate from the lugubrious aspect it had assumed. He thought that injustice had been done to his right hon. friend the Secretary of State for War. He did not blame his right hon. friend for the lugubrious aspect of the debate so much as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouthshire, who was a hardened pessimist.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I am an optimist.

Sir E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said the House would judge of the optimism by the speech the right hon. Gentleman had made that night. The right hon. Gentleman beamed with delight during his excursus into the history of guerilla warfare. He saw his opportunity and seized it. He did not derive the same impression from the speech of the Secretary of State for War as that derived by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouthshire, by the hon. Member for Central Sheffield, and others who had spoken. The right hon. Gentleman's rather gloomy excursus into the history of guerilla warfare conduced, as was intended, greatly to the entertainment of the House. He thought the right hon. Gentleman and some other Members of the House had failed to notice a rather significant remark of the Secretary of State for War upon which he placed more importance than on the right hon. Gentleman's guerilla excursus. He believed, with the Secretary of State for War, that that right hon. Gentleman would have a more cheerful state of things to announce when the House met again in February, and that we were not so far from the termination of the serious part of this guerilla warfare as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouthshire appeared to think. It was serious at the moment, but this warfare was now being conducted as it ought to be. It was being conducted with all the resources of the British Army. They had an able and determined Commander-in-Chief who had a thoroughly good working staff under him. The hon. Member did not believe the guerilla warfare was going to be of a very protracted character. When the leaders were captured he believed the majority of the Boers would lay down their arms. It was perfectly true that the Boers were a stubborn race, and, on the defensive, good fighters. It was also true that the majority of the Boer people were a domestic people, and not fond of remaining out in the veldt for a very long time.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: Neither are the English.

Sir E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said that when the Boers had had experience of the English administration they would feel happier and hope that it would always continue. The Member for West Monmouthshire told them that they were mistaken in supposing that this was a war against Kruger and Krugerism. The majority of the Boer population at the present moment were as much opposed to Kruger and Krugerism as we were. It would be absolutely impossible for Kruger to go back to the Transvaal, and retain his life. The majority of the people of the Transvaal, and especially those in the field, were extremely ignorant and uninformed, and there were some who had played with their ignorance. General De Wet was one whom we most admire, as a heroic and skilful leader. The leaders had kept their men going by the most ridiculous stories of the British forces. He did not believe we would find the resistance of the Boers so protracted, or that they would be so irreconcilable as some seemed to think. A good deal of reference had been made to the miscalculation of the cost of the war. No doubt there had been a miscalculation, but he did not think that the War Office was so responsible as it was sometimes supposed to be. He thought this was as much a Cabinet question as a War Office question. Troops were not sent to South Africa before the war began. The advice of those on the spot was not taken, and therefore reverses occurred owing to the insufficiency of the troops in the early stages of the war. That was not a War

Office question. It was thought at the beginning that infantry should be employed rather than cavalry. That was a most serious mistake, and someone at the War Office blundered. We were unfortunate in the choice of generals in the early stages of the campaign. He thought that the defence made by the War Office with respect to mobilisation and transport was very effective.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): We must all of us have discovered how difficult it is to get at the truth with regard to anything in South Africa. But look at the condition we are in now. Two of our most distinguished authorities on this subject thorougly acquainted with the whole matter from personal inspection and experience have in the face of the House of Commons begun to quarrel with each other as to the state of things in South Africa. I do not know whether Central Sheffield or Ecclesall, Sheffield, will obtain the mastery. I should be inclined to put my money upon the Member for Ecclesall.

SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: Hear, hear.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: He is at all events louder and more confident in his assertions than my hon. friend who sits behind him. But whichever of them succeeds in silencing the other, we may be allowed to form our own opinions as to the nature and the quality of the speech made by the Secretary for War. I am disposed to recognise in it a frank and manly statement as to what the right hon. Gentleman believes to be the real state of the case, and a successful attempt to place the real state of the case before the country in a clearer and fuller way than has been done on any other previous occasion. The right hon. Gentleman announced many things which will startle the country when they become known. One of the most significant statements he made—and it is to it I wish particularly to refer—and one which I think will cause the most feeling in the country, is the statement that there would be no considerable relief in the way of being allowed to come home for the large force we have in South Africa.

MR. BRODRICK: I said no immediate relief.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I am in sympathy with my hon. and gallant friend the Member for Sheffield on this subject. I am aware that there is a very strong feeling of uneasiness—I do not say discontent—on the part of the Yeomanry and Volunteers, on finding that they are to be detained in South Africa very much longer than they ever expected to be. Of course they are manly fellows and will do their duty whatever happens. There is no question about that. But the authorities ought to bear in mind the peculiar circumstances under which these men went out to South Africa. They were not under any obligation to go out, not being members of the Regular forces of the Queen, but they obeyed a patriotic impulse and offered themselves for service there at a time when a great emergency existed in the affairs of the Empire. That great emergency at least is surely over, and I should have thought they would be the very first to be relieved, because many of them left appointments, situations, and careers which they ought to have the opportunity of resuming at the earliest possible moment. I would therefore strongly urge on the Government to impress on the War authorities on the spot that as much consideration should be paid to the circumstances of these men as the interests of the situation may admit. I do not put it higher than that. They ought not to be snubbed, and told to do their duty and say nothing about it, because they are in a different category from the other branches of the forces. I need not refer at any length to the picture that the right hon. Gentleman has drawn. I observe in this Return which has been given that the total expenditure of the war seems now to be recognised at £85,000,000. The right hon. Gentleman held out no hope of any immediate diminution of the forces at the front, and we know there remains the heavy responsibility of maintaining order and restoring the former conditions of life after actual warfare, whether regular or irregular, has ceased. All those are heavy charges to look forward to. I feel sure that the country will contemplate them with due courage, but it will be with oppressed minds and sore hearts that they will be informed of the statement of the right hon. Gentleman.

MR. SEELY (Lincoln): I think the Government ought really to take seriously into consideration this question with respect to the men coming home. I am sure there are many people in this country who would be very glad if the Secretary of State for War could add something to what he has said with regard to the arrangements the Government are making to enable the Yeomanry to come home. The hon. Member for Central Sheffield suggested that reinforcements should be sent. I think we must look forward to the possibility of the war continuing for some time. There was a very special appeal made for the Imperial Yeomanry, and that appeal was made not entirely by the War Office. It was made partly independently of the War Office by people in the country. There were meetings held by every lord lieutenant in every county asking men to come forward for this force. In the case of the Volunteers I think it can hardly be said that they included any married men or others to whom it was a great inconvenience to go, but a very considerable number of the men of the Imperial Yeomanry went at the greatest inconvenience entirely from patriotic motives. I think arrangements should be made to enable them to come home. They might have come home within a short time from now without any diminution of the mounted force in South Africa but for the fact that someone out there made a mistake. An offer of ten shillings per day was first made to get men to join the police force, and a large number accepted. It was found that this was too much, and the men were offered seven shillings. If you had offered seven shillings at first you would probably have got as many as you wanted, but when you first offered ten shillings and afterwards seven shillings the men naturally thought that you had changed your mind, and they changed theirs. By taking such a course you naturally stopped the whole of the recruiting. It was a perfectly right and proper thing for the Government in that country to do. There is no reason why they should pay more for their police than is necessary, but they ought not to make use of men who went out as a matter of patriotism at 1s. 2d. per day, in order to be able to discuss and argue and wrangle with a lot of other men as to whether they should receive 7s. or 10s. per day. That seems to be what is happening. There are married men who went out, and there are men who left businesses which are now suffering from their absence, and there are barristers and solicitors who are losing touch with their profession; these men never expected to be away for so long, and I do press upon the Government the desirability of giving some assurance that they thoroughly and fully realise what they are doing, and that they will try to make some arrangement by which these men may be allowed to come home. One simple arrangement is that they should do as they are doing with some of the colonial forces — that they should discharge the men who wish to be discharged, and offer such terms to those who do not wish to come home as would induce them to stay out there. The right hon. Gentleman asks them to make a further sacrifice. Very well; if he asked them to make a further sacrifice, and offered to pay them what he considers reasonable for the class of work which he himself admits they are doing, namely, that of police duty, I have no doubt he would get a very large number of them to stop—quite as many as he requires—and then the married and those that cannot reasonably remain could come home. I ask the right hon. Gentleman to consider that point; to consider also the desirability of pushing on the formation of this police force and of giving some assurance that if the war lasts for three or five years the men to whom I have referred will not be kept out there for anything like that period, but that even if in February next he is unable to give us a more satisfactory account of the war he will be able to say that he is making arrangements to relieve these men of the obligation they took up in so patriotic a manner to the enormous benefit of this country.

MR. BRODRICK: I rise because my hon. friend has put a question to me on a matter which is, no doubt, of great importance, and also because of the speech which was made by the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition a few moments ago. My hon. friend has put one expression into my mouth which I certainly never used and did not intend to use. He has assumed that, because I gave some statistics of the periods of warfare in the past in other parts of the world, therefore I assumed that these men for whom he pleads would be detained for three or five years. I never suggested anything of the kind.

MR. SEELY: I did not mean to suggest that. I only stated that the right hon. Gentleman had mentioned the possible duration of the guerilla war. I did not mean to imply that he intended to keep those men out all that time.

MR. BRODRICK: Nobody had in their mind any period of that kind for the detention of these troops. May I say one word as to one or two misapprehensions which might prevail in regard to the employment of the Yeomanry, and also the employment of the Regular troops engaged? The hon. and gallant Member for Central Sheffield has spoken of the withdrawal of Regular and other troops, and suggested that the Volunteers now serving in the Yeomanry have some cause for complaint. It is perfectly true that the moment Lord Roberts thought it was possible to dispense with them he released the City Imperial Volunteers, who have done an enormous amount of very hard work, and that he has also released the composite regiment of the Household Cavalry, and, I think, one battery of Horse Artillery. But I do not think the case of the composite regiment is quite the same as that of any other regiment out there. In the first place, the composite regiment of Household Cavalry was drawn from three different regiments; secondly, it belonged to Her Majesty's bodyguard, and, unquestionably, so long as this country is to be defended you must have a certain number of mounted troops, and those whom it is least desirable to employ away for a long period are Household troops, whether horse or foot. In the third place, although that particular distinguished regiment itself asked to be sent out, and desired that they might share in the labours of the campaign, and came forward and asked as a privilege that they might do so, it must be recognised that very heavy cavalry regiments are the least fitted to perform the sort of work now being carried on in South Africa. From all points of view, therefore, it was desirable to withdraw them as early as possible, and they have borne their full share in the labours of the campaign. Therefore, there is no question of any general withdrawal, or any withdrawal, of the Regular troops before the claims of those who are less regular have been considered, and I might add that, though it had been intended that the battalion of Grenadier Guards should accompany Lord Roberts on board the ship in which he starts to-day, they are remaining in South Africa.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: The return of the Grenadier Guards has been cancelled?

MR. BRODRICK: That battalion is now to remain in South Africa. My hon. friend said that a mistake has been made as regards the enlistment of the police in South Africa. I believe that some terms that were not dictated by the Government at home were originally named, or were believed to be about to be offered, but 5s. a day and all found were the terms ultimately adopted. It is not, of course, for us here to give an opinion as to the terms on which you can induce men to serve in South Africa; those who are there are, and must be, the best judges on the subject. But if my hon. friend thinks that we have not acted liberally in this matter I will tell him that, considering the enormous cost of provisions, considering that 5s. a day is itself high pay, and considering the provision of horses, the estimate for this force of police is that it will represent a cost of £250 per man a year.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): How much do the Dublin Fusiliers get?

MR. BRODRICK: Let it not be supposed for one moment that it is a light matter. I believe that, on the terms proposed, this force would be paid on a very exceptional scale, considering that the climate in which it is to serve is a good climate and that it will serve side by side with troops who are much less liberally paid. I can only say, in regard to this subject, that it is impossible for me at this moment, or for the Government, to give any pledge about dates. Our first and foremost consideration must be to provide Lord Kitchener with the mounted troops which he requires. Subject to that, I will undertake that we will not sit down and say these men have made an engagement and they shall fulfil it—we will not say that no doubt these men, as Englishmen, will do their duty and will not complain, and therefore we can keep them. I have taken it upon myself during the last few weeks to give the strongest possible consideration to as early a return as we can possibly give to those who have given us voluntary service, and we have not, as I have pointed out, favoured our Regular troops. Let me say one word on another subject in regard to which an appeal was made by my hon. and gallant friend. He spoke on a subject of which mention was made in another place last night—namely, the treatment accorded to some of our colonial troops who have been sent home from this country either as invalids or recovering invalids. An allegation has been made in one or two instances, and the fear has been repeated by my hon. and gallant friend that, after accepting the service of our colonial troops, we have sent them home in a niggardly fashion. This has been the arrangement. All soldiers who have enlisted, whether they belong to the British Regular service, to the Imperial Yeomanry and Volunteers from England, or to the Volunteers from our colonies, have been treated according to the rank in which they undertook to serve. That is, I believe, the absolutely universal military practice among all the countries of the world, and it certainly has been accepted without a murmur both by our own Volunteers and by our Colonial troops. Therefore I think the House will not ask me to make any change in the ordinary treatment of those who have undertaken to serve under those conditions; though I do not believe, apart from invalids, that the accommodation which has been provided for those who have gone back to Australia has been accommodation of which any complaint can be made by a private soldier. There were five grades of accommodation by which a passage could be booked on any boat going to Australia, and the class adopted by the military authorities was the intermediate—there were two above and two below—and, I believe, no complaint whatever was made with regard to the accommodation. As regards dietary, I have received, in the course of the last few hours, serious complaint. But for breakfast there was everything provided that I have ever seen on a first-class table on board ship—porridge, fish, chops, sausages, Irish stew, ham, bread, butter, jam, tea, coffee, etc. For dinner there was soup, fish, roast meat, fresh vegetables, stewed fruits, cheese, and so on. For tea—cold meat, various pickles or salad, cake, jams, etc.

*Mr. T. M. HEALY: Will the right hon. Gentleman say who were the warriors who complained of this?

Mr. BRODRICK: Various complaints have been made, but I do not think it can be said that we treated our Colonial troops illiberally. I have given instructions with regard to the sick and wounded that as many as possible should be returned in troopships and not have to mix with other passengers, and be entirely under the control of an officer who would attend to their comfort, and that in any case of a man who is ill he should be sent second class at a superior rate, and that there should be careful selection of ships in which the troops were sent. I have heard of cases in which some officer has not been careful enough and has sent men recently recovered from enteric fever or from wounds by a lower accommodation, and I have given instructions that all the sick and wounded, whether partially recovered or not, who have to be returned in mail steamers should have a higher rate of accommodation. With reference to several speeches which have been made this evening, if hon. Members will only send me any serious case of grievance I will undertake that it shall be investigated, and if it involve remissness on the part of any individual of whatever rank, it shall be visited upon him. More than that I cannot say. Several hon. Members opposite have said I gave the House a lugubrious picture of the present position of the war. I do not think that was a fair description of my remarks. I do not take, in the slightest degree, a pessimistic view of the prospects of the war, but I thought it my duty to put before the House, clearly and frankly, what the position was, not to hold out false hopes which, in January or February next, would be brought up against me and lose for me, at all events, the confidence of the House of Commons. I certainly tell my hon. friends that there is no ground for any anxiety whatever as to the result, but the result cannot be achieved quite so rapidly as was assumed when the Estimates were brought forward in July. I hope that, when I speak in February, I may be able to give a very different picture, and I shall be astonished if that picture is not much more satisfactory.

*MR. T. M. HEALY: The Committee are indebted to the Secretary of State for War for the frankness and candour with which he has spoken; I think he has commenced his task well by taking the Committee into his confidence, by practically confessing that the war may be indefinitely prolonged. At the same time what a blighting reflection he has made upon his predecessors in office, and how strongly inferentially he has condemned that very potent member of the Administration, the Colonial Secretary. In March last, when the Government asked for a large Vote, I was howled at for feebly suggesting that the money was entirely inadequate and that the war might probably last another year or eighteen months, although Bloemfontein had been occupied and Pretoria was on the point of capture. But the general election was then pending. You can afford to be frank now. Every member of the Government who has spoken since the House met has told a different tale. Lord Salisbury says it may be generations before local self-government is established; the Secretary for War can give no date even for the conclusion of the war; but the Colonial Secretary says, "By February next I shall have established three great municipalities," and he promises the House that we shall yet see the Lord Mayor of Potchefstroom waving his wand of office over a pacified and contented people. No date, however, can be given for the return of the soldiers. The only troops who have been brought home are those belonging to the Household Cavalry or the Guards, who can dance and who would be useful at society functions, and the other heavy military swells that have been mentioned. But the poor men who belong to the Yeomanry, who went out at the call of patriotism—a patriotism which seems to be regulated by the clock, and lasts only about eight months apparently—leaving wife and children, are to be told to uphold the flag of England in the Transvaal, while the Guards and the Household cavalry and other far-famed regiments are to be brought home to enjoy the plaudits of the multitude and the kisses of the duchesses. Look also at the contrast in the scale of pay. The Colonials all along have been receiving five shillings a day. They were told "What magnificent fellows you are, coming from the waving fields of Australia, the pines of Canada, and the icebergs of Labrador"—flocking like a Sanger's circus at the call of the Empire. But the poor men of the Dublin Fusiliers, the Inniskillings, and the English Yeomanry, got only one shilling. My gorge rose to-night when I heard the menu read by the right hon. Gentleman—I will not say my teeth watered. We are asked for £16,000,000, some of which will come out of the pockets of the most wretched people of these kingdoms—from the Irish tenants whose only food is potatoes and salt—in order to provide money to give the Australians on board ship after their picnic in South Africa, quails on toast, aspic jelly, and all the other delightful condiments which the right hon. Gentleman read out with so much virtuous indignation. But the Colonials, he says, turn up their noses even at that. If Ireland had retained her Parliament her soldiers would be getting 5s. a day now like the Colonials, not to speak of salvoes of applause, Queen's messages, and the gratitude of the Empire! It is all very well for the right hon. Gentleman after all these mistakes to say that he, at any rate, as a newcomer in the War Department, will make no mistakes. He is like a doctor who, when he sees a patient with whom there is very little the matter, tells him he is very bad, but that with a long course of treatment he will be cured—and so he gets bigger fees. I should not be surprised if the right hon. Gentleman's speech is taken as the manual for De Wet's horse. What is the meaning of the long dismal tale he has given us? Was it intended to brace your nerves or to unbutton your pockets? What pleasant reading for the poorer and more discontented citizen of this Empire to know that the war which has cost £100,000,000 in twelve months may go on for one, two, or three years more! The Uitlanders have cost you rather much. You went to war to give the franchise to a number of German Jews, and it has cost you 50,000 lives—and this by a Tory Government, which is usually not anxious to extend the franchise, and all for the sake of a set of the most undeserving foreigners that ever cursed any portion of the earth's surface. Future generations will buy the picture of the members of the existing Ministry to put them as curiosities into a sort of political Madame Tussaud's Chamber of Horrors. Take the case of Sir William

Butler; at this time last year, there was no name so execrated. He had to give up his command at the Bristol Volunteer show, to which Her Majesty went down. I hope there will be an inquiry into the whole business, for every advice that Sir William Butler gave you, was trampled upon by Sir Alfred Milner. ["Hear, hear," and "No, no."] This gentleman, who was nothing but a soldier, because he was an Irishman, was practically told by Sir Alfred Milner that he was a traitor to his country. Hence you were involved in the Natal campaign, the "entanglement of Ladysmith," and the siege of Mafeking. Every one of the military dispositions from which you suffered was made with a view to a political design or an electoral manœuvre. The strategists had learned their lessons not from Germany, but from the Birmingham caucus. It was due to that plan that this war was commenced, and the real soldiers, the men who had fought the Boers before, and who knew every inch of the country, were sent almost without their swords home to England to be received with the execrations of the mob if they dared to show themselves; while the ignorant proconsuls engaged in embruing their hands in the blood of those innocent people became the honoured names in your press, on your platforms. After your long series of engagements with the Boers, there is not a single victory to which you can point with pride, because I could not call the pouring in of a quarter of a million of men upon 50,000, and smothering men under a crash of sabres, anything but a battue. The right hon. Gentleman said the Boers were now reduced to mere guerilla warfare, but that he could fix no date for its termination. Whom were you fighting all along? You were fighting men with muskets, without uniforms, and who had never been drilled; a handful of farmers ignorant of the science of war. Yet they won scores of victories. At one moment they were called ignorant, stupid, brutal men, firing on the white flag when they got the chance, and the next moment De Wet is praised—I gather that De Wet must have got through again—and you now spoke of the magnificent way in which the Boers treated the wounded. The right hon. Gentleman says that whatever we may say of the past, and however gallant has been the conduct of these men, at all events now we must only condemn them because they are assisting in the devastation of their country, that their cause is hopeless and they could no longer fight any effective fight. But the spirit of freedom remained within the Boer heart. They have been promised freedom by yourselves, and they prefer to die as freemen than to live as slaves. The jargon about their being responsible instead of you for the misery and destruction of their country is always part of the cant of the conqueror. In every parallel case in history, the deeds of so-called guerillas who held out to the last are enshrined in the hearts of mankind. Englishmen love their Bible, and in Ireland we are particularly fond of the "Book of Machabees," with its tales of death and glory by a people resisting invaders. You naturally place this book amongst the Apocrypha, as befits an Imperial race. When I heard the Secretary for War proclaiming the hopelessness of the Boer cause, and how patriotic Dutchmen ought to come in and surrender, and kiss the hem of the Union Jack, my mind recurred to the story of Judas Machabeus, and how misguided he and his brethren must have been. So, for the information of the Committee, to show the way in which brave men fighting for their lives behave, I went out to the Library and asked for a copy of the Catholic Bible. Of course I found it was not kept in stock in this Imperial Legislature, so I quote from "Wace's Apocrypha," which you keep. It appears when Nicanor threatened to level the Temple, and set up a statue of Bacchus on its ruins, unless the Jews surrendered the arch-rebel Judas Machabeus, the priests told them to hold out, and trust in God. This was very improvident on their part, no doubt, considering how prosperous and civilised Judea might become under foreign rule. So Nicanor sent 500 soldiers to take one Razias, who was called "the Father of the Jews," to break open his tower and set fire to it. He appears to have been the De Wet of that period, and it must be gratifying to the English to note the house-burning precedent of the conquerors. Then the sacred record narrates—

> "When he was ready to be taken, he struck himself with his sword, choosing to die nobly rather than to fall into the hands of the wicked and to suffer abuses unbecoming his noble birth."

How foolish this of Razias, when if he

surrendered he might have got some slavish office or title, a pension or an army contract, or have even become a concessionaire under Nicanor! But worse remains—

> "Whereas, through haste, he missed of giving himself a sure wound, and the crowd was breaking into the doors, he ran boldly to the wall, and manfully threw himself down to the crowd, and as he had yet breath in him, being inflamed in mind, he arose, and standing upon a steep rock, grasping his bowels with both hands, he cast them upon the throng, calling upon the Lord of life and spirit to restore these to him again, and so he died."

Such is the spirit that survives in the Boers, to the admiration of all brave men, and it is idle to try to charm them with any promises short of liberty. Scrutinise your relations with them throughout the century, and what a story of wrong and fraud on the part of England, and of tragic determination on their side! In the present crisis, all through your dealings with the Boers the Government have never even cared to understand the nature of the problem which they had to face. At one moment, before you were ready for the conflict, before Milner was sent out, and before the false and fraudulent despatches were sent home, we were told that any war would be a long and dangerous war, and that we could not interfere with the Boers on any domestic questions or any question concerning the franchise because of the danger of the war, and because it must leave behind it bitter and bloody memories. When deceived by the proconsuls, when you had refused to take the advice of valorous fighting men on the spot who understood the situation, when you had embrued your hands in these men's blood, then the story instantly changes. The Boers have fought long and valorously, and now when the war is over and when the men in Ceylon come back from its spicy breezes and its contracted-for prisons—when they come from the temperate zone of St. Helena their hearts will be embittered with indignation not merely at their captivity, with the war and the horrors of it, but at the sight of their charred homes and ruined dwellings. It is said that under Sir Alfred Milner an arch of peace will extend over the land, and there will be a rainbow from Bloemfontein to Potchefstroom. The Government pretend to believe all this, but men of business will not be content to be hoodwinked for one moment with such a picture. In this morning's paper there is a very significant despatch which says that the women are bitterer than ever. We were told a year ago that the Boers were sick of the war, and that they had to be sjamboked into the trenches, but to-day you admit that it is the women who are keeping the men continuing this bitter fight. What man can return to his home when the women of the household will regard him as a coward if he dares to desert his commando? Another item in this morning's paper tells how an old Boer named Joubert, who had taken the oath of neutrality, has had his farm raided by a troop of English soldiers, and has had all his cattle and horses taken from him without cause assigned. This is the benign result of Lord Roberts's proclamation The man was taken prisoner, and perhaps he will now be sent to St. Helena. Those proclamations which were to drop like the gentle dew from heaven, result in the destruction of the land, the taking away of all the cattle and the destroying of the homes of these wretched men. Yet history shows that when a country is invaded, although people may forgive death and wounds, they will never forgive the destruction and confiscation of their property. If a man is hanged he is dead, and there is no more to be said, but when you take away a man's property, his children, his grandchildren and his great-grandchildren will remember it as long as they live. Yet the English Government have now left this region under the command of a man like Lord Kitchener, whose boast it is that in Northern Africa he excluded after Omdurman every pressman from that region. [Ministerial cries of "Hear, hear."] He is going to exclude them from South Africa as well. You are the great council of the nation, and you boast of establishing peace in South Africa; but there will not be a Boer from St. Helena and Ceylon, from the Free State to the Transvaal, who will not have an account of every farm that has been burnt, and the value of it, for it will be a common story. You hear about the establishment of a municipality at Potchefstroom and in Pretoria, the franchise that will be extended to all white men from the Cape to the Zambesi, and probably that in Pretoria some five gentlemen (four of whom have been contractors to the Army) will be heard singing "God save the Queen." Can you allow yourselves to be deceived by shutting up all genuine channels of information? The first thing essential to the successful ruling of any people is to get hold of their point of view, and the English Government has deliberately refrained from doing that—just as in a theatre, in case of fire, there is let down what you call an iron curtain—so that an opaque medium might be interposed between your eyes and the tragedy in South Africa. Yes, but in spite of Boer disaffection you hope to outpopulate and outnumber them, and thus dominate their territories. Well, if the climate of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State is so good, and the country so rich and fertile and teeming with milk and honey, how is it that the demand is that these poor Yeomanry men should be sent home to their wives instead of desiring to stop in South Africa to settle there? The C.I.V.'s, who were mostly young unmarried men, have returned to this country, and I have not heard that many of these men were anxious to stay in the latitude of Potchefstroom. The men who told you all these tarradiddles before the war you are prepared now, after every promise they made has been falsified and none of their statements have been verified, to give a fresh vote of confidence to. The strength of party ties enmeshes you in this African jungle, but you are only laying up fresh troubles by refusing to face the truth. I would like to state the view of my own country in connection with this Vote. When you were kind enough to join us to John Bull our contribution in 1817, when the Irish National Debt was fraudulently consolidated with yours—the utmost that you could squeeze out of us—was £5,000,000, and our population at that time was about six or seven millions. To-day our population is little more than four millions, and what was our contribution in the last two years?—£9,250,000 per annum. Since this war began the emissaries of the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer are proceeding through the country with a rigidity and exactitude which certainly can leave nothing to be desired, and you ask us, apart altogether from the humanity of the war, to join in voting a sum of money out of our pockets for a war from which except a few horse dealers, not one man, woman, or child in Ireland has anything to gain or benefit. While Irish soldiers have been amongst the bravest of your regiments, many of their wives and children are in the poor-house in Ireland. I should have thought that the policy of England, seeing that the Transvaal and all these other countries are at such a long distance from you, would be to hold out some hope of amity and future contentment by pointing out the splendid manner in which you had managed Ireland. But how are the "guerillos" of the Transvaal to be tempted towards you by any Irish examples of your rule? "Come in," you say to De Wet, "and surrender." Come into what? To a burned home, and I suppose to treble taxes, and the pleasure of having a nigger as a magistrate, and certainly a nigger as a policeman, an English official where there used to be a Dutchman, and a band in Potchefstroom garrison playing "God save the Queen" to remind them of old times. These are tempting prospects to hold out to these men to surrender their liberties. Would it not be reasonable, if Irish soldiers have fought as bravely as you admit, to deal with our country in some other fashion than to load them with extra taxation to enable your army to burn Boer homes and chase childing women across the veldt in mid-winter? By this Vote alone you extract several millions from Ireland. It is a Vote which is odious to us, and I do not believe that there is anywhere a whole-souled feeling in favour of this war. The right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary told us the other night that there must be an *ad interim* period after peace was restored before full rights could be given to the Dutch. I do not know whether any of you have followed the reconstruction period in America. The Americans were all one people, and the Southerns in the Civil War had fought gallantly, as the Boers have done, yet with every desire, as there was, in the minds of men like Grant to re-establish peace in that country, it was not accomplished for ten years, nor until, as the result of a profitable bargain, the Hayes Administration got rid of the carpet-bagger. If that was the action and conduct in that country, what will it be in South Africa? Therefore, I applaud the right hon. the Secretary for War for his candour. He has not deceived the House of Commons. He has told the people of England that they need not expect this surrender and arrangement to which the right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary pointed. But there is one thing which we must lament while welcoming these tardy confessions, namely, that they have reached the House of Commons at a session in December instead of reaching the English people at the polls in October. We were told that it did not matter whether the elections took place in October or January. These were really mere matters of detail, and all the while the right hon. Gentleman is engaged in belying the action of his chiefs because he is engaged in telling the truth to the House of Commons. I have no gift of prophecy, and I know nothing of the war except what I read of it in the newspapers. I do not know whether the Boers are going to be ultimately put down or not. I have no reason to speculate on matters of that kind, but we do know and we do feel assured that this war, begun in braggadocio, begun in hypocrisy, begun in want of preparation, and begun, as I believe, in greed, has now brought the English people before the tribunal of mankind in a position, so far as the judgment of the world is concerned, of more humiliation than at any time in their history. How do you make up to yourselves for loss of prestige? You say you have placed 250,000 men in the field, and sent them long distances over sea. Why, the Spaniards did that in Cuba—poor, feeble, impoverished, bankrupt Spain was able to put 200,000 or 300,000 men in the field in that war. The one consolation of the greatest maritime nation and the greatest Empire the world has ever seen lay in being able to put a quarter of a million men in line of battle in the course of six months. Spain, with a tithe of your marine, did quite as much. Yet I do not think the War Office was deserving of all the blame heaped upon it. I think the true culprits were the Colonial Office. How could Lord Wolseley have known what Lord Chamberlain was thinking about? How could the War Office have supposed that the Gentleman who declared that a war with the Transvaal would be long, costly, and bloody, would fly in the face of Sir William Butler and commence those curious negotiations in the style and manner he did? In any other country in Europe diplomacy would keep in touch with the War Office and the despatches would beat a rhythmic movement in accord with a knowledge of the equipment and strength of the force which the War Office was able to send forth. That is what is vulgarly called statesmanship. It is not the new diplomacy, and therefore, I think that on the whole this much-attacked War Office, if the truth were known, suffered from a want of loyalty towards it of other departments; just as certain members of this Administration have been accused, of course falsely, of treachery to their fellows. We are asked for sixteen millions to-day, and we will meet again in February, when sixteen millions more may be needed. It would not be well to put it at much more because the Budget will be coming on. I suppose there will be an early Budget, and we do not know whether De Wet will be captured then or not. But the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer will once more declare that he had based his Estimates on an unknown quantity, and that he has not been able to calculate the exact amount. The only man able to calculate is the Colonial Secretary. And then when the Budget is over we shall be asked for another sixteen or twenty millions; and so this miserable tale of desolation will proceed, without any one of the three kingdoms gaining either honour or benefit in consequence. I therefore cannot help voicing the universal sentiment of my fellow-countrymen, and protesting anew against a war which has not only lost your honour, your credit, your reputation, but I believe will yet lose you South Africa.

MAJOR RASCH (Essex, Chelmsford) said he was not acquainted with the historical character alluded to by the hon. Gentleman opposite. His education in that respect had been neglected. It seemed to him rather like what was sung of in the celebrated ballad of "Chevy Chase," when—

"The Witherington I needs must wail,
Like one in doleful dumps,
Who, when his legs were smitten off,
He fought upon his stumps."

He had heard the Secretary of State for War make a good many speeches, but he did not think he had ever heard him make such an extraordinary speech as he had done that night. All of his speeches hitherto had been of the most optimistic description. Everything was for the best in the best of all possible War Offices. They had not discovered the loss of stores anywhere; everything was ready for every emergency. When the right hon. Gentleman was Under Secretary of State for War his tone was entirely different. There was nothing to induce him to criticise the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, for whom he had the utmost respect and admiration, but he would like to allude to one matter on which a great fallacy was founded. The Secretary of State for War congratulated himself and the War Office upon the fact that so many ships, of such-and-such a tonnage, had conveyed 175,000 troops 6,000 miles by sea. The hon. Member for the Ecclesall Division of Sheffield had also congratulated the Government on their transport organisation. Well, that was only an echo of the speeches of almost every Cabinet Minister for the last three months. They declared that people might say there were not enough guns or horses or transport, but, after all, they had shipped off 200,000 men across 6,000 miles of sea without accident. But the War Office and the Government were taking credit for what they did not do. Whether 200,000 men were shipped across the Atlantic 6,000 miles or six miles across Southampton Water, that was no credit to them. That was done by the mercantile marine and by the Navy, and they had no right to take credit for it. The hon. Member for the Ecclesall Division said that the War Office was not to blame for any *laches* that had occurred, but the civil side of the organisation was to blame, because they did not send out to the Transvaal the requisite troops in time. The War Office did not send out the troops in time, because of their extraordinary futile organisation. It was because, although the country was paying more than twenty millions for the Army, they had not the troops to send. The only troops they sent were one weak battalion of infantry, and three batteries of artillery which had to be scraped together from other batteries and sent out short of horses and guns. He had often said in the House that he was not astonished at anything the War Office did; but he confessed that he was amazed that the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War should say that he hoped he would have something better to tell the House when it met in February. He hoped he would, for he could not have anything worse to lay before them than the exceedingly lugubrious and Cassandra-like speech that he had made that evening.

MR. DALZIEL (Kirkcaldy Burghs) said that the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down had expressed the view that he never was surprised at anything that the War Office did; but on that side of the House they might say with truth that they could not be surprised at anything the Government did. The extraordinary change of front that had taken place within the last few weeks in regard to their opinion as to the length of the campaign was one of the most curious things in history. The last speech which the Chief Secretary for Ireland made when he was Under Secretary for War was in regard to the Army Estimates in July last. He then said that he thought the war would be over in a few weeks. That was before the General Election. He thought, considering the speech they had heard that night from the Secretary for War, how ill-informed the War Office had been as to what was actually taking place in the Transvaal. He wished to ask one or two questions which he believed worthy of an answer. In the first place, he thought it was to be deeply regretted that two documents which would have been of the utmost service in the debate were not forthcoming. The first was the report of the Intelligence Department, which had been in the pigeon-holes of the War Office for a year past. He meant the report as to the strength of the Transvaal forces, previous to the outbreak of the war, by Sir John Ardagh. Surely it was of some importance, and would have at all events assisted them in arriving at an estimate as to how much the Government were, or ought to have been, prepared for the war.

MR. BRODRICK: The report is a very bulky one, and I propose to lay it on the Library table, because it could not be sent to everybody in time for the debate. As a matter of fact, I believe the late Under Secretary in introducing the Army Estimates in February last gave all the material parts of the Intelligence Department's estimate as to the number of the Boer forces.

MR. DALZIEL: That is a matter of opinion. At any rate, it ought not to be after the debate has commenced that we are told that we could see the report on the table of the Library.

MR. BRODRICK: We are not bound to lay the full report on the Table of the House.

MR. DALZIEL said he was not suggesting that the right hon. Gentleman ought to publish confidential reports. But it was a fact that several very curious extracts from the report had been published, and hon. Members ought to have the whole of the document. However, as they were going to have it on the table of the Library, he had nothing more to say on that point. But there was another report which ought to have been in the possession of hon. Members at the present time—namely, the Report of the Hospitals Commission The evidence was closed some months ago, and why was the Report delayed? It seemed to him that when they were asked to vote some millions more for the war they ought to have had that Report before them.

MR. BRODRICK: The Report has not yet been received. It is entirely in the province of the learned judge who is at the head of the Commission and his colleagues to decide how soon they will be able to make their Report.

MR. DALZIEL said it was very customary for the Department against whom very serious reflection had been made to suggest to the Commission that they would be glad to have their Report as soon as possible, especially in view of the meeting of the House. The evidence had been closed some months ago, and he thought that it was to be regretted that the Report of the Commission was not yet in the hands of hon. Members. He was sure the hon. Member for Westminster would have been interested to hear what the right hon. Gentleman had to say about the delay in presenting the Report. There was another matter to which he wished to refer, and that was as to the rules issued by the American Government in regard to the conduct of troops in the field. The right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House quoted the other night from the rules alleged to have been adopted by the American Government in regard to the war in the Philippines. Since then he saw that the American Government had repudiated that document, and denied that they had issued any such rules in the Philippines. He was anxious to know whether the right hon. Gentleman had seen that semi-official denial that they had issued such rules, and whether any rules had been laid down for our army in South Africa. He thought it would give satisfaction to many Members of the House if there was a definite statement on the point.

MR. BROADHURST (Leicester): I wish to ask the Secretary of State for War a question in regard to a paragraph as to the proposed Army Constabulary in South Africa. It is whether any effort is being made to secure the services of time-expired men in the army from South Africa. There are a considerable number of time-expired men who will be released at an early date as soon as convenient to the military commanders. Many of them are no doubt highly trained and efficient soldiers, and would make most efficient policemen for the work demanded of them in the annexed States. If these men have refused to stay on in South Africa, can the Secretary for War ascribe that refusal to any sufficient and good reason; and, if so, will there be an attempt to remove these reasons? It is notorious that during the last year great numbers of men in South Africa have been offered promotion in the service, and have absolutely refused to accept it. Men, whom I personally know to be as respectable citizens as any in this country, have refused promotion in the Army because they consider that the ordinary soldier is frequently not treated as well as he ought to be; and this attempt to bribe them with promotion is only an after-thought, and made under the stress of necessity. I think that if there is any delusion in that direction it should be remedied, and if there is any misunderstanding as to the fair treatment of the rank and file of our soldiers, better treatment should be provided, and more consideration shown to them. I was exceedingly pained at the tone of the reply made to a question on the subject by the Financial Secretary to the War Office. It was a perfectly legitimate question about a matter on which many men in South Africa have felt deeply and keenly. I asked whether all those poor men who suffered all the pains and agony of hunger and labour during the three months in which they were besieged in Ladysmith, had not yet received the Queen's box of chocolate, and if it would be presented to them before they left South Africa. It may have been unconscious, but the manner and tone of the Financial Secretary to the War Office was wanting, in my judgment, in every consideration for the sentiment and for the minds of the common soldier. I hope I was mistaken, and I should be very willing to believe that the Financial Secretary did not answer in the tone and manner I have described with any intention of indifference as to the welfare of these men. At any rate that impression was made upon my mind, and I have no doubt it was also made on the minds of others. I hope it will not occur again, because when men who suffered as they suffered, and sacrificed as they sacrificed, have their cause mentioned in this House it should be received with the greatest consideration, and any reply necessary should be made in a sympathetic tone. If complete and full satisfaction is prevalent in the Army I cannot but think that you may be able to obtain the services of many troopers for this arduous work of policing in the annexed colonies. If the best class are approached in the right manner and proper terms are offered them, there may be many who would join this police force, and who would prove most valuable because of their training, discipline and capacity. As I understand it a million is to be taken in this Vote to meet the expenses of the proposed constabulary and for railway repairs. A mistake was made in starting by offering a high salary and then reducing it by a hundred per cent., and progress in forming this constabulary force has been seriously interrupted. I can quite understand that the right hon. Gentleman laughs at wages of 10s. a day to each constable in the new force. A million of money is of no good whatever for an efficient police force for the two colonies and for the repairs of the railways. I think it should be known that this is a ridiculous sum—a mere flea-bite —which will have no effect whatever in the establishment of this force. The taxpayers of this country ought to know that this is an infinitely small instalment of the sums that will have to be provided. We have to raise money every week or two, and have had to do this ever since this miserable struggle commenced; and to-day we are voting a sum which, if the truth were known, is totally inadequate for the necessities of the case. And so it will go on until the nation is steeped to the lips in taxation and other liabilities. This is a serious matter for the taxpayers of the country. Already the wages of working men are of far less value to-day than a year ago. A sovereign a year back was worth twenty shillings for purchasing purposes; to-day it is not worth eighteen shillings. [HON. MEMBERS: Oh, oh!] Hon. Members opposite do not know what that means. Let them try and live on a pound a week on the quantities working men have to buy, and they would find I am above the mark and not below it. I have not voted against the Government on a single occasion in matters of Supply. On the contrary, with one or two exceptions, I have given them my vote when they came for money. But there is a limit to human endurance and human patience, and if the Government are going to ask every fortnight or month for five, ten, or fifteen millions of money I shall have to consider another course of action and oppose these drafts on account. If we could have any approximate estimate when there would be an end to these demands, when you were beginning to tax the gold and diamond mines for the cost of this war, then my anxiety would be lessened. The Member for the Ecclesall Division of Sheffield drew a picture to-night of the marvellous anxiety of the Boers to return to the domestic life to which they are so deeply attached. I have heard that tale before. We have heard it all the past year. I heard it last year from a distinguished member of the Conservative party who has spent years of his life in South Africa, and who was regularly accepted as an authority. He said that after the first conflict with a British organised force the Boers would repudiate their leaders and return to their farms. I do not believe anything of the kind. You have been engaged in operations the end of which you could not foresee. The only true prophet in this matter has been the right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary in a reply which he gave to this House in 1896, and as long as this war lasts the opinion he gave in 1896 will count for truth against the statements or prophecies of any other right hon. and hon. Member on that side of the House. He pointed out its probable distress, its immoral nature, the length and bitterness of the conflict, and the wars for generations that must issue before the two races came together again in peace. All that, unhappily, is only too true, and the further we go on in this war the more true and the more alarming this prophecy becomes. I certainly trust when we have another demand from the Government for more money we shall have some better explanation than we have had on this occasion. And I do not think there can be a better so long as the present High Commissioner governs South Africa.

*THE CHAIRMAN: The question of the future civil administration of South Africa does not arise on this Vote.

MR. BROADHURST expressed regret that he should have trespassed on questions which had no connection with the Vote, and resumed his seat.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): I would not detain the House on the general question, but the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy asked me a definite question about the extract which I read on the first night of the session from the United States Regulations. I need not remind the hon. Gentleman that I did not read the extract with a view to criticising its contents or raising any question upon it. The actual volume from which I read was the official publication dated 1898, but the particular rules dated from 1863. If I am right it will be found among the regulations for a very long period, and has no connection with recent events in the United States. While I am on my legs might I ask the Committee to remember that it will certainly be to our advantage, and will not have any effect on the debate, if we take this Vote shortly, as the same question can be raised to-morrow.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: There is one question I forgot to ask the Secretary of State for War. How long does he intend to keep the Indian troops in South Africa? This, of course, raises a most serious question. You cannot maintain an army in India and charge it on the Indian people if it is to be used as a mere reserve for our armies for any purpose, as it has been used in South Africa and in China. If 10,000 men are to be kept away from the Indian Army, the whole financial relations between the Exchequer here and the Indian Exchequer must be altered. It is intolerable at a time when the Indian people are suffering so severely from famine that they should be charged with an army which is merely a reserve for our own purposes. It ought to be known in India as well as here how much longer it is intended to keep these troops away from India.

MR. BRODRICK: I quite recognise the gravity of the question raised by the right hon. Gentleman, and I think that the right hon. Gentleman himself will recognise that the present circumstances are entirely abnormal. Obviously the Indian regiments will only be retained for the briefest possible period of time. The War Office do not look and have never looked upon the Indian Army as simply a reserve; but on this occasion, no doubt, when a larger number of troops have been employed than ever have been employed before, the services of the regiments from India have been retained for a longer time than was contemplated. It is, however, clearly impossible for us at this moment to determine the extent of their service.

MR. SAMUEL SMITH (Flintshire) said he desired to draw attention to the question of burning of farms in South Africa. He had heard from various sources that at least one-third of the farms in South Africa were burned down. He believed that in resorting to such practices we were storing up for ourselves a heritage of hatred which would last for generations. Future historians would look upon our present action as one of the most deplorable blunders that this country had ever made. During his late visit to America he had made a study of the history of the War of Independence as taught in the schools. The history books used in the schools were full of the same thing; they spoke of the burning of farms and the doings of British officers and so on, and there was no doubt that a very great portion of the difficulties that we have had with the United States had come from the histories from which the children were taught in the schools.

Being interested in education he had done his best to show how much fairer the mother country had been in the history of her dealings with the colonies, and he hoped he had done some good. But we were now doing in South Africa precisely the same as we had done in America, and every Boer child would, in the future, be taught how the women and children were turned out upon the veldt, where very often their nearest neighbour was far away, and how some had in consequence died. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War was a man of broad views, and he had a free hand in the matter. That was a fact of immense importance, and he asked him to use his influence and his power to stop such things as soon as possible, and bring the war to an end. The only possible policy which could succeed with the Dutch was to overcome them with kindness. He feared that that policy was not possible, but if it were it ought to be tried. As soon as negotiations could be started with De Wet, as they must be sooner or later, we should attempt to atone for our mistakes, and hold out a promise to rebuild the farmhouses and re-stock the land. It would have to be done eventually, and it would be much better to bring the war to an end by great acts of generosity of this character. The insurrection of Cuba against Spain was carried on for twenty years until the cruelties of General Weyler compelled America to intervene. We also should have our General Weyler if the war was allowed to continue. The House and country were both being misled. We had been pursuing a wrong course in many ways, and it was now our duty to turn back and try and win the affections of these people. It was no doubt a hard matter for us to admit our mistakes and retrace our steps, but it would have to be done, and he appealed, therefore, to the Secretary of State for War, who came to his office with an open mind, to use his influence in this direction. If he did so he would find himself very strongly supported throughout the country, in which there had been a wonderful reaction during the last few weeks. He spoke for a very large section of the people who at the commencement of the war were furious against the Boers, but who now found that they had been deluded and misled from the very beginning.

Mr. BRODRICK: In responding to the appeal made to me by the hon. Gentleman, I may say I yield to no man in the desire to see the war carried on with the utmost humanity, and I believe full expression was given to the views of the Government on this subject by the Secretary for the Colonies on Friday night. I am in communication with Lord Kitchener, whose views entirely coincide with those of the Government. The hon. Gentleman may rest assured that Lord Kitchener is as anxious as the Government that, subject to very exceptional cases causing loss of life, farm-burning should be limited as much as possible, and that every opportunity should be given to the country to settle down.

Mr. COURTENAY WARNER (Staffordshire, Lichfield) said he did not intend to discuss whether the war had been properly conducted or not. All he desired to do was to ask a few questions as to the details which had not been drawn to the attention of the Committee, although a discussion concerning a wide area had taken place. One thing with which the Secretary of State for War had seemed to agree was the statement that the war had gone on so long that the conditions had ceased to be abnormal, and were rapidly becoming normal. The first item he wished to call attention to was the land transport carriage commissariat. There were carts supplied from Woolwich which were quite useless in South Africa. Had anything better been supplied since? Did we still send out the old pattern carts, or had the pattern been improved? The Cape cart, of course, was in use, but something no doubt was still being built at Woolwich, and now that we had had time to consider the matter were we improving the patterns? With regard to the question of remounts, was the same mistake going on? Were we still employing too much infantry and too little cavalry? We had been told that our great want of success arose from the want of mounted troops. We only needed a few horses and a little training to provide them. He therefore desired to know whether the permanent mounted infantry in South Africa was being increased, because the sooner that was done the sooner the Yeomanry could be sent home, and so reduce our expenditure by the amount of their cost. Another Vote which he should not question if it had been a Vote for a matter of three or even six months was the Clothing Vote. There was in that Vote one very important item as to making clothes by contract, and manufactured articles of clothing. In the old days it was discovered that a good deal of sweating had occurred under this system of purchasing ready-made clothing and of giving clothing out to be made, and the condition of things was largely improved, and careful supervision of factories was provided; but in view of the enormous amount of clothing required now he desired an assurance from the Secretary for War that a very rigorous supervision should continue to be exercised in this matter. It was most important while these large contracts were going on that there should be a very much greater supervision to see that sweating was prevented in the making of army clothing. The price given for the clothing was very low of a necessity, and the greatest care should be taken to prevent sweating. These things were not now being done in the dash and hurry of the war, and they ought to be done carefully and deliberately, according to a regular system which would be likely to prevent such a thing. With regard to the warmer clothing which he believed had been supplied to the Indian troops in China, he wished to know whether the white troops also had been supplied with the fur-lined overcoats such as were supplied to the Canadian troops, seeing that, although the white troops would not feel the rigours of the climate of Peking so much as the Indian troops, there could be no doubt whatever they would suffer to a large extent. He would also like to ask whether in the case of the hospitals greater care had been taken to supply better tents and better stores; whether the bell tent had been done away with altogether as a hospital tent, and larger tents were being used. With regard to the £1,000,000 which was to be voted for repairing the destruction caused to the railways, he failed to see how that could be treated as capital, seeing that it was to be used for repairing not the general decay of the railway, or wear and tear, but destruction through acts of war. He was not complaining that the railway companies had been improperly paid for their services. He thought they had probably been paid too much.

MR. BAYLEY (Derbyshire, Chesterfield) said he should like the right hon. Gentleman to explain what the £200,000 set down as colonial allowances was for. What was the bargain that was made by the Colonial Office with the colonies? What colonies were they, and in what proportions were the payments to be made? According to the last Return 23,000 soldiers had come back to this country suffering from fever and dysentery. Did the Government propose to make any allowance to the common soldiers who were disabled from disease? He had not in this debate heard a word as to what the Government were going to do with regard to the wounded soldiers who had come back. They heard a great deal about this matter during the elections. He was hopeful until the last moment that they should have heard of some scheme to which the First Lord of the Treasury referred in his speeches in his division of Manchester. He understood that it was a scheme for giving Her Majesty's servants—soldiers and sailors—some provision similar to that afforded to workmen under the Employers' Liability Act.

MR. BRODRICK: I think almost every Member of the House is aware that any soldier who suffers permanently from wounds or disease is entitled to a pension.

MR. BAYLEY: All I can say is that in a great many cases that have come to my knowledge the War Office has not carried out that principle. I have not for many weeks seen a Return of the killed, wounded, and disabled by disease, but in August last the total was close upon 50,000. I asked for a Return showing the number of soldiers who were in hospital in South Africa, but we have never received it.

*MR. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston): Her Majesty's Government have thought it advisable to ask this House to vote £16,000,000 to enable them to carry on the war in South Africa. As probably not more than a handful of Members will consider it their solemn duty to vote against the grant, I think it is advisable that at least one of them should state his reasons for going into the lobby against the motion before the Committee. I have always regarded this war as not only unjust but unnecessary, a war which might easily have been avoided if there had been a disposition on the part of the Government to avoid it. It is said that Her Majesty's Government are no longer responsible for the war, that the nation, by its verdict, has endorsed the policy and action of the Government, and that it is now a national war. I wish to try and dispel that illusion by quoting figures to show that our countrymen have not by their votes endorsed the war, that, indeed, they had no opportunity of doing so. I take the last census. It is true it is nine years old, but probably my case would be strengthened if we had the figures up to date. According to that census there were 8,141,152 male adults in the United Kingdom. The total on the register of Parliamentary voters on the 1st January, 1900, was 6,600,283. The total number of votes recorded at the recent election was 5,034,010. If we analyse these figures we shall find that the number of those who voted Tory, and by so doing endorsed the war, was 2,578,492. But that leaves 5,562,652 male adults who either had no votes to record, or were practically disfranchised by the election being fought on a stale register, or voted against the Government.

*THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The hon. Member must confine himself to the subject under discussion. We cannot go back on an analysis of the late General Election.

*MR. CREMER: My point has been practically gained. It has been stated over and over again that the recent verdict was a national verdict. I deny that the small minority of the nation to whom I have alluded justifies such a statement, and I am trying to assign that as a reason for my opposition to this Vote. Mention has been made of the feeling of other nations towards Her Majesty's Government in regard to the war they are still waging against the Boers, although we have been told over and over again that the struggle is ended. What are the Boers doing? In the national school in which it was my privilege to receive the little education I got in my youth, we were taught that if a foreign Power invaded our shores it was the duty of every man and, if you like, every woman to take up arms and defend the country against the invader, and that it was our solemn duty as good patriots to defend our land to the last man. That is exactly what the Boers are doing to-day, and I do not think we have any right to complain because they are pursuing the practice which we are daily taught to look upon as our solemn duty. I am in a position to know the feeling of foreign nations in reference to the course we are pursuing in South Africa. At the Inter-Parliamentary Union, which every year holds in the various capitals of Europe a conference, composed exclusively of members of European Parliaments, we are able to gather the opinion entertained in those assemblies. The last conference was held in the Senate Chamber at Paris on the 1st August last, when upwards of 400 representatives were present, and there could only be found in that body one member from any of the eighteen Parliaments represented who endorsed the policy of Her Majesty's Government. I have also received from two speakers representing two of the Scandinavian States——

*THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The topics upon which the hon. Member is now speaking do not seem to be relevant to the Vote before the Committee. The rule of the House is that upon Supplementary Estimates the debate must be confined strictly to the items contained in those Estimates.

*MR. CREMER: I was only going to quote those communications as supporting my statement, but if the Committee are satisfied with my word and the evidence I have already adduced, I do not desire to waste their time by fortifying my statements with further evidence. As far as I can judge, there is no feeling of sympathy on the part——

*THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The hon. Member is now contravening my ruling. I have twice pointed out clearly to him that he must confine himself to the matters now before the Committee, and not indulge in this historical retrospect with regard to the opinions of foreign nations.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS (Carnarvonshire, Eifion): On a point of order, may I ask whether, when £16,000,000 are asked to be voted for a particular purpose, it is not in order to say that that purpose is one strongly disapproved of in foreign countries?

*THE CHAIRMAN: It does not seem to be relevant what the view of foreign countries is upon the matter. The question is, what is the opinion of the British House of Commons. If the hon. Member can bring any argument to persuade the House of Commons not to pass this resolution, of course he will be in order, but the matters with which the hon. Member was dealing when I interrupted him did not seem to be relevant.

*MR. CREMER: I was labouring to prove the very point which you have placed before the Committee. I am certain that I can prove that the sympathy of every Government in Europe has been alienated from the British Government in consequence of the course which is being pursued, and I think that in itself is a conclusive reason why this House should pause before it voted £16,000,000 more for the continuance of the war. If you rule otherwise, of course I submit without hesitation.

*THE CHAIRMAN: We must take it that Parliament has decided in favour of the war being continued up to this point. The only question now to consider is whether Parliament will decide to go on with the war. If the hon. Member can show good reason for breaking the war off at the present point he is entitled to bring that reason forward. But he must assume that Parliament has already decided in favour of the war, and that it considers it right that it should have been undertaken.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS: This Parliament has never decided it. The last Parliament did, but that does not bind us.

*THE CHAIRMAN: We cannot go back on all the decisions of the last Parliament. The hon. Member will see that the discussions of this House would be perfectly interminable.

*MR. CREMER: Of course I bow to your decision. I have only to say in conclusion that I for one shall have no hesitation in voting against this motion; whether there be one or a dozen or twenty with me. I remember what took place during the war in the Crimea. There was then the same difficulty in expressing one's earnest convictions against that war as there has been in reference to the present struggle. But I console myself with the reflection that the verdict of history is always with the friends of peace. There is not a man to be found in this House who will now declare that the Crimean war was a just one, or one that could not have been easily avoided. I am perfectly certain that a rude awakening will come with regard to the South African war, and that before many years have passed we shall have the same kind of feeling expressed by the masses of the people who have been purposely deluded in regard to the objects of the war as was expressed after the war in the Crimea, and that it will be difficult to find a man who will stand up and justify the course which has been pursued in South Africa.

*SIR WALTER FOSTER (Derbyshire, Ilkeston): We must all deplore the somewhat sombre picture we have had placed before us in reference to the military position in South Africa. That picture is a sad one, and I am afraid when one looks at it in reference to the amount of disease among our troops it becomes a still sadder one. The war has been dragging on for month after month, and to-day we have had the grave news that it may last much longer after the manner of other guerilla wars. I only hope that if the war is still further prolonged, at all events energetic, effective, and more complete steps than in the past will be taken to protect the health and lives of our soldiers as regards disease. The Financial Secretary to the War Office has to-day given me some information with reference to the continuance of the pest of this campaign, viz., typhoid fever, up to the end of September. Soon after the last session of Parliament the late Under Secretary of State for War gave me the figures up to the end of June from the beginning of war. At that time there had been 13,057 cases of fever among the troops, and since then there have been 2,600 other cases, making a total of 15,655 cases, with 3,642 deaths. That is an enormous amount of this kind of disease to exist in an army in the field in a climate like that of South Africa. The conditions, as the right hon. Gentleman knows, from before the beginning of the campaign were favourable to this disease if suitable precautions were not taken. Those precautions were not taken, in some cases could not be taken, but in many cases much more might have been done to protect the troops from this pest. The disease still goes on playing havoc with our soldiers, sending many of them back to this country, invalided and unfitted for service for months. Moreover, the amount of mortality from it does not seem to lessen. When this question was brought before the House in the middle of last session, we were told that the mortality was about 21 per cent. That was not a very high mortality considering the bad conditions which prevailed, and it said a good deal for the generally good effect of the climate on such cases. I was sorry to observe, however, from the total figures up to the end of September, that the death-rate had risen to nearly 24 per cent. That is a much higher rate than we had under the terrible conditions which existed at Bloemfontein, so that it appears that even more terrible conditions must have obtained elsewhere. I think this high mortality requires some explanation, and I hope before the House separates the Secretary of State will be able to tell us what has been done in the direction of trying to lessen the prevalence of this pest, and to reduce the rate of mortality among our gallant soldiers. This matter has to be considered from several points of view. It must be considered from the point of view that the disease is endemic in South Africa, and that wherever you settle in a town under conditions of insanitation, bad water supply, and so forth, the disease may be produced, and therefore extra precautions should be taken. I have seen some eminent surgeons who have returned from the front, where they have been giving their services, and they have told me that the one thing wanted is proper sanitation. I want to know whether the Secretary of State is prepared to do anything for improving the sanitation of the places where our soldiers are camped. I have had some horrible descriptions given me of the conditions that existed with our forces when they were trying to relieve Ladysmith, for the camp followers were camped in a donga under the most primitive sanitary arrangements. The excreta from these camp followers found its way into the stream which supplied the troops with water, and that is not a condition of things which ought to be allowed to exist. I hope sufficient money will be devoted to providing appliances to protect the health of our men when they are fighting for their country. The right hon. Gentleman will, I hope, take into his serious consideration the advantage of having attached to our Army, as other great Continental armies have, some kind of sanitary corps which would prevent the repetition of the mistakes that have been made in South Africa with regard to the sanitation in the camps. I have heard of camps being pitched where another camp has been, and of cooking for the troops being done in a most undesirable position where the latrines of a previous camp had existed. You should have attached to each Army corps an efficient sanitary corps of skilled officers whose business it would be to see that the soldiers were camped under the best possible conditions. The conditions I have mentioned in regard to the camp followers would not occur if proper sanitary supervision existed on the field where the camp was placed. I hope that, whatever may be done in the direction of strengthening the Army Medical Corps, some steps will be taken, in the higher interests of humanity, to add to our Army an efficient corps of sanitary officers, who will prevent these things occurring in future campaigns in which we may, unfortunately, be engaged. I should like the right hon. Gentleman to tell us, if he can, the number of Army medical officers who are now engaged in South Africa. As far as I am informed, the Army Medical Corps, even at the present time, is sadly below the numbers which it ought to possess, considering the large force which we have in the field in South Africa. I dare say the right hon. Gentleman has great difficulty in getting good medical officers, but I hope he will take steps to attract a large number of good men into the Army Medical Service.

MR. BRODRICK: How?

*SIR WALTER FOSTER: That is a question of administration which the right hon. Gentleman will have to find out for himself. I have not been called into consultation in the matter, and when I am I shall be happy to write a prescription. With reference to this matter, I hope the right hon. Gentleman will take it into his serious consideration, because I believe it is necessary, not only with regard to the present condition of things, but with regard to the future efficiency of our Army, that we should have a much larger Army Medical Corps than we have. I believe that it is bad policy and bad economy to be relying too much upon civil surgeons either for home or foreign service. By this system you do not always get the most desirable men, and when a war is dragging on many of them are anxious to return to their civil duties. There is another point which I should like to draw the attention of the right hon. Gentleman to, and it is in reference to the men who are sent home. There are thousands of invalids coming home who have had typhoid fever. I think all these men should be looked after very carefully before they are sent home. It is very dangerous to send patients home in whom the disease may lurk, and they should not be sent to this country too soon, because they may start epidemics in this country. I want, therefore, more care taken in seeing that these men have thoroughly recovered before they are sent home. Some very grave cases have come to my knowledge of men who have been very seriously ill after returning home through a continuance of the symptoms of this enteric fever. That is not desirable, and we should do the strength of the Army more justice if we kept these patients a little longer under more suitable conditions in Cape Colony before they are sent home. I believe that many of them, if they had been kept there, would have been able to return to their duties without coming home at all. I want more care taken in this matter. I was very glad to hear the right hon. Gentleman give us his description of the care taken with regard to the treatment of the soldiers and invalids returning home on board ship. I was pleased to hear that all invalids were having second class accommodation, and that an excellent diet was being provided for them. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will take care that there is an officer with all these bodies of men sent home under these conditions, who will see that what is put down on the paper as the list for the diet is actually supplied to the men. You are apt to have all this stated upon a programme, and yet the men may not get it, and sometimes the food is not of the quality which it ought to be. I hope that in all these detachments of discharged soldiers and invalids sent home due care will be taken to see that all the provisions supplied are of the quality put down upon the prospectus in order that we may have none of those complaints which, after all, are bad for the country, bad because they tend to damp the patriotism of the men who have volunteered, and bad as tending to lessen the attachment of our colonial brethren. I was glad to hear that the right hon. Gentleman was willing to consider very seriously the advisability of letting the men who volunteered in the Yeomanry have a chance of returning home at the earliest opportunity. Many of them are very young men who have given up good prospects in business and professions simply for the love of their country and a desire to do their duty in a great national crisis. I think those are the men whom we should think of first of all, not only as a reward for the loyalty which they have displayed, but because we want to foster a similar spirit in other young men, to secure, in case of future need, the same excellent spirit of love of country. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will be able to answer some of these points.

MR. MACNAMARA (Camberwell, N.): There are two statements which have been made in the House to which I desire to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War. The first is the statement made by the hon. Member for North Louth, who stated that at the present time a number of the wives and children of Irish soldiers who have fought in South Africa are in Irish workhouses. I want to know whether it is within the knowledge of the right hon. Gentleman that that statement is true. If it is true, there is not a man in this House who would not hear of it with extreme regret. If it is true, I want to know what is to be done with regard to them, because we cannot allow them to remain in the workhouse, which would be a great discredit to us. I am sure that I shall not appeal to the right hon. Gentleman in vain for some consideration of that kind. Then there is the statement made by the hon. Member for Merthyr Tydvil, that soldiers in the field have had served out to them biscuits thirty years old, and beef which had been in casks for twenty-seven years. Does the right hon. Gentleman know whether these statements are true or not, because I want to hear them denied.

*MR. KEIR HARDIE: My statement referred to the food supplied to soldiers on the transports.

MR. MACNAMARA: Then I will ask the right hon. Gentleman whether soldiers going out on transports have been supplied with biscuits thirty years old, and with beef which has been in casks twenty-seven years. I do not think these things are creditable to us as a nation if they are true.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): My hon. friend who has just sat down has called attention to a statement made by the hon. Member for North Louth, that a considerable number of the wives and children of Irish soldiers are at present in the workhouse, and he has asked the Secretary of State to tell him whether that is true or not. I will somewhat supplement that question. I believe that the State gives a certain allowance to the wives and children of Reservists, but that amount is not sufficient to enable them to live in decent comfort, and the right hon. Gentleman knows that in almost every town and in every county where subscriptions have been collected, sums of money have been given to these women and children not for comforts, but for necessaries. It is perfectly true that in these cases they have some work, but these Reservists often have a house on their hands where they want their family to live, and if you take the amount given by the State it is absolutely impossible for the family to live and keep the home together. I think it is the duty of the Government to place the families of Reservists, while the husbands are away, in the same position of comfort, or as near as possible, as they were in before their husbands went out to the war. And then there is another point. My hon. friend the Member for the Ilkeston Division said that he possessed in his own mind a scheme for inducing men to enter the medical profession in the Army, but he would not state what that scheme was unless he was called in for consultation. I know that my hon. friend is a gentleman connected with the medical profession, but I am sure that my right hon. friend the Secretary for War would find him of so generous a character that he would not exact a fee for the consultation. The Minister for War has stated that there is some difficulty in finding some scheme, and I confess that there seems to me to be a very great difficulty. Therefore, I would suggest to the right hon. Gentleman that he should call in my hon. friend for a consultation some morning, and that he should get out of him what this scheme is. It may be good or it may be bad, but it is worth knowing. My hon. friend appears to possess a sort of patent in this matter, and I think the country should have the benefit of it. I feel a very great deal of gratitude to the right hon. Gentleman for the candour he has shown during his exposition at the commencement of this discussion in regard to the period that he thought the war would last. The Colonial Secretary told us that it would be over in less than three months before the election. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for War now says that it may be finished before we meet in February, when he entertains a hope that the war will be over. The Secretary for War is therefore a little more cautious, and he says that he cannot say that it will last three months longer, but the Colonial Secretary says that other wars have lasted three or five years, and the inference is that this may last the same period. I believe that this war is costing the country £1,500,000 per week. Therefore, putting it at two years more, that will be a sum of £150,000,000 more for the cost of this war. I am not going to complain of the horrors in the Transvaal. If you intend to destroy a nationality, and it resists, and makes a national resistance, you can only crush out that nationality by depopulation, etc. What I complain of is that you are trying to destroy a nationality, and not that you are using the only means which is possible to attain your ends. We do not believe that your present methods will bring this war to an end very quickly, because we believe that these men are conscientiously fighting for what they believe to be the holiest of causes. We throw the responsibility of carrying on the war entirely upon the shoulders of the Government. We are now called upon to vote a sum of money which I believe has already been spent. Of course, we cannot refuse to give them arms, ammunition, and pay for the soldiers, and that is the only reason why I do not vote against this proposal. Another question which I wish to raise is that I do think that pressure ought to be brought to bear upon the Judge at the head of the Hospitals Inquiry Commission to issue his Report as soon as possible, for, having sent a Commission to South Africa to report upon the complaints of the hon. Member for Westminster, we certainly ought to have that Report before us when we vote this money. It is a great pity that we have not, and if the right hon. Gentleman could use his influence with the Judge to give the Report as soon as possible, I think it would be a very desirable thing. The right hon. Gentleman rather surprised me with some remarks he made with regard to the Household Cavalry. I allude to the composite regiment which was sent out at the commencement of the war. They demanded to come home, and they have been brought back, while the Yeomanry are kept there still. The right hon. Gentleman said that the Household Cavalry was a privileged corps, but I object to privileged corps altogether. Privileges in the Army and the system which allows only rich men to become officers has done the greatest harm to the Army. All such privileges in the Army, whether connected with officers or men, should be abolished. There ought to be equality between man and man, and I object to the promotion of certain officers merely because they are the pets of society, and to the sons of rich men being given advantages over the sons of those who, although gentlemen and men of education, are not rich. I have great hopes of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for War as a reformer of the Army, but I do hope that this is not a sample of the reforms which the right hon. Gentleman is going to make. He tells us that his reason for bringing this regiment back was that they were heavy men and the horses were small, and that we want light cavalry in South Africa rather than heavy cavalry. But surely that was a reason for not sending them out at all. He told us that they were sent out because they claimed to go out as a privilege. I suppose that every soldier is anxious, as a privilege, to take part in the war, as he knows it is his only chance of distinction, and if you give these privileges to special corps it will prevent your getting proper officers for the Army. I see there is something down about the colonies. I should like to know what this amount is for. I am one of those who have not been in such a wild state of elation at the noble conduct of the colonies. I want the colonies to pay their share. When they talk about being so Imperialistic, and want us to go to war, it is very easy for them to send men—you can always find men who love adventure—but let them pay their full share, and then I shall respect them in their desire.

MR. BARTLEY (Islington, N.): They have paid in life.

MR. LABOUCHERE: I have just said that you can always find in every country a large number of men of an adventurous spirit. The difficulty is to get the money, and I want us to have an understanding with the colonies that they shall pay their share. I do not know why we should be called upon to pay one shilling towards the cost of this colonial force. I see no earthly reason why the colonies should call upon us to pay this amount. There is just one other question. I wish to know whether due precautions are taken to prevent "sweating" in connection with the articles that are ready-made for the troops and those which are ordered.

MR. BRODRICK: The hon. Member for Northampton has asked me two or three questions, which I will reply to at once. In regard to "sweating," I can assure hon. Members that a careful watch will be kept to see that no "sweating" goes on in connection with the making of clothes for the troops, and to see that they are made under thoroughly sanitary conditions. The hon. Member for Northampton gave me a good many pieces of advice, and I am grateful to him for them. One of them was that I should call in for consultation the hon. Member for Ilkeston, and take his prescription with regard to the inducing of medical men to join the Army Medical Corps. Now I have the greatest respect for the hon. Member for Ilkeston, and I should like to hear his views upon this subject. I may say that upon one occasion I took his prescription, and, politically speaking, I was very unwell the next morning, and that was on this point of how to increase the number of these medical officers. If he has got another prescription I should like to know what it is. The hon. Member has made some extremely valuable observations about the state of the medical service in South Africa. I hope I shall be allowed to say one or two words upon this subject to the House, and I trust that it will not be supposed that I am either temporising or endeavouring to put aside a decision upon an important matter. It is absolutely impossible for me, at this moment, to enter into the question of what requires to be done for the medical service in South Africa. I believe that every Member of the House takes the deepest interest in this subject. We have a Commission sitting, and if anything I can do will induce the Commission to report at an earlier date than it otherwise would I shall do it, and I can only say that I am the first man in the House who desires to see the Report. It is obviously impossible that this question of the medical service can be dealt with now, and it should be put aside until we have got the decision of this body of men who have been out to South Africa in regard to it. When the decision of the Commission reaches the War Office the action of the Department will be prompt, and no preconceived ideas will prevent the taking of measures necessary, however drastic, to put it into operation, and place the service on a proper footing. There is no desire to prejudge the matter. In a campaign over an area of such magnitude there must be occasions when medical service leaves much to be desired, and it would be an ideal state of things by which every body of troops arriving at night should have medical inspection of the camping ground, and over the whole area we should require a sanitary corps, perhaps, as large as half the Army. A variety of questions have been asked, and I ask the Committee to allow me to defer my replies. As to the statement that wives and children of solders have been supported in Irish workhouses, I will be glad to make inquiry into any special case. If such cases have occurred they probably have arisen from the number of soldiers who married off the strength of the regiment, and the families of these were never recognised as having to be supported by the State. It will be impossible in a young army like ours to recognise all these. As to the supplies provided on a troopship, the voyage occurred before I entered office, but I understand that after careful investigation steps were taken to effectually prevent a recurrence of such an incident. The supply of horses and mules to South Africa is being continued at the rate of 6,000 per month, and in the past thirteen months nearly 200,000 horses and mules have been sent out, so that the necessity for mounted troops is fully recognised. I think that may be taken as evidence that we are not neglecting the matter.

Mr. LABOUCHERE: What about the Reservists' wives and families? Can you raise their allowance?

Mr. BRODRICK: As to the provision for the wives and families of Reservists, some of them earn between thirty shillings and forty shillings a week, but I do not think the Government allowance is illiberal, and it is true this has been supplemented from private funds. I am quite ready to approach the question with an open mind, but, looking at the provision made for the men's families and that about to be made for widows, it will be seen the Government are undertaking a very heavy charge indeed. I may say that we have now 80,000 families on pay, and I may say that my sympathies are for liberality in this respect.

Mr. KEARLEY (Devonport): I think we ought to get some more definite assurance from the right hon. Gentleman as to the treatment meted out to those who are serving us in South Africa. This afternoon, by a question to the Leader of the House, I asked whether he was prepared to tell us the details of the scheme which he promised some months ago for making adequate provision for the widows and families of those men who had fallen in the war. He told me to-day, what he said six months ago, that a scheme is maturing; but while the scheme is maturing many of the widows of these men, not merely those married off the strength of the regiment, are in the workhouse. Twelve months ago, when these men were going out to the war, we were told that under no circumstances whatever would their widows suffer. The right hon. Gentleman now lightly dismisses the question by saying that probably those women who are receiving parochial relief were married off the strength of the regiment. That is not the case at all. The widows of men who lost their lives in the campaign are now in receipt of parochial relief, or, what is quite as bad, a pittance of 2s. 6d. per week from the Patriotic Commissioners. I drew attention to this particular subject at the commencement of the year, and I pointed out that the body to whom the administration of the Patriotic Fund is committed is a body in whom no confidence could be reposed, and the Government appointed a committee of inquiry.

*THE CHAIRMAN ruled that the hon. Member was not in order in discussing the administration of the Patriotic Fund.

MR. KEARLEY: I will content myself by asking the Leader of the House if he can give us any assurance of a definite character that the Government grant to the widows of the soldiers who have lost their lives in the war will be paid at once, and that there will be no delay in giving them that to which they are entitled and which the country expects they will receive.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I hope the Committee will take the assurance from me that I am quite as desirous as is the hon. Gentleman of seeing the whole of this business brought to a satisfactory conclusion as soon as possible. May I respectfully appeal to the House to conclude the debate, as there will be other opportunities for discussion on the two following days?

*MR. H. J. WILSON (Yorkshire, W.R., Holmfirth) said he had opposed the war as much as he possibly could, but he did not vote against supplies in the war session of 1899. But things had changed since that day. The House had been misguided and misled several times. They had been told that this country sought no goldfields or territories, but that view had been abandoned, and no adequate explanation of the change had been given. They had been told that the war was inevitable, then that annexation was inevitable, and now that the farm-burning and other cruelties perpetrated were inevitable. He did not believe in this doctrine of inevitability. These horrors were reported in letters from soldiers, and by newspaper correspondents. He did not know why the statements of some correspondents in South Africa were accepted, and those made by a very large number of other correspondents were discredited. There could not be a great conspiracy among the men out there to say what was not true. He, however, rested his case of cruelty in carrying on the war on Lord Roberts's own proclamations, his own despatches, and his own correspondence. In one Lord Methuen was reported as having "denuded" the country in certain localities. Then in a correspondence with General Botha, Lord Roberts told him that he had already given orders that whenever there was an attack on the railway the farm buildings in the vicinity were to be burned, and within a radius of ten miles all the farms were to be depleted of their cattle, stock, and things of that kind. He was not a military authority, but Lord Wolseley was; and the late Commander-in-Chief, in his "Soldiers' Pocket Book," gave minute instructions as to the destruction of railways, and in no way suggested that that was a crime to be punished in the barbarous way laid down by Lord Roberts. It should be remembered that a radius of ten miles meant 314 square miles, or more than two hundred thousand acres. He had objected to the war from the first, that it was needless and unjust. It was now carried on in a specially barbarous manner. He felt now bound to vote against any money wanted for such an evil purpose.

*Mr. WEIR desired to thank the right hon. the Secretary for War for the candid statement he had made that night. He only wished the Colonial Secretary had made a similar statement before the last election. He had gone down to his constituents and told them that the war was over, because he had accepted in good faith the assurance to that effect of the War Office and the Government. But he had been deceived, and his constituents had been deceived. He was going to vote for supplies to bring this war to a satisfactory conclusion, but he wanted the money to be expended wisely and well. The right hon. Gentleman had told them that the Government had annexed the Transvaal; but what about the responsibilities of annexation? Were they aware that numbers of the creditors of the Transvaal were growling for their rights? The right hon. Gentleman had told them that the Volunteers must make a further sacrifice, and that they would be required to stay in South Africa some time longer. He had a letter from a young man who was out fighting in South Africa, dated 4th November, in which he said that he feared the war would not be over for another year, and that some of the Volunteers were almost rebelling against being kept so long, and went on to say that recently some had to be arrested for insubordination, but the Press Censorship prevented that being published. That was a very serious matter, and at any rate it showed that a good many Volunteers would be glad to get home again. He would like to know whether the right hon. Gentleman was having an inquiry made into the disaster to the Highland Brigade at Magersfontein.

*The CHAIRMAN: The hon. Gentleman is out of order in referring to that subject.

*Mr. WEIR said he would like to know how much of this sixteen millions was to be spent in South Africa and how much in China.

Mr. BRODRICK said that the sum for China was £500,000.

*Mr. WEIR was glad to know that, but the right hon. Gentleman should have stated that before, and he would have been saved all anxiety on the subject. They knew that large sums of money had been spent in chartering slow-going boats, and he trusted the authorities would charter in future more satisfactory vessels. There was a sum of three-quarters of a million for the purchase of horses. He hoped the system of paying for tram and omnibus horses double their value had ceased, and that the Government would get their horses henceforth at first hand. Then there was a sum of £650,000 for barracks. He hoped that the barracks would be of such a character that the soldiers would be able to live in them in decency. He had visited the Piers Hill barracks with two medical men recently, and found that the men's sleeping accommodation above the stables was most unsatisfactory.

*The CHAIRMAN said the Vote was not for barrack buildings, but for barrack stores.

*Mr. WEIR said he trusted the stores would be of a satisfactory character, and not consist of meat twenty-seven years old or biscuits made thirty years ago. Then he found there was a sum of a million for the repair of railways in South Africa. He hoped some of this would be used for the repair of the ruined farmhouses of which we had heard so much.

Question put—

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 284; Noes, 8. (Division List No. 8.)

AYES.

Acland-Hood, Capt. Sir A. F.
Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allan, William (Gateshead)
Allen, C.P.(Gloucest'r,Stroud)
Allhusen, Augustus Henry E.
Archdale, Edward Mervyn
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arrol, Sir William
Asher, Alexander
Ashmead-Bartlett, Sir Ellis
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balfour, Rt.Hn.A.J.(Manch'r)
Balfour, Rt. Hn. G.W.(Leeds)
Balfour,MajK.R.(Christch'ch)
Banbury, Frederick George

Barker John
Bartley, George C. T.
Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir M. H. (Bristol
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bigwood, James
Black, Alexander William
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith-
Bowles, T. Gibson (King's Lynn)
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Bullard, Sir Harry
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cawley, Frederick
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. (Birm.)
Chamberlain, J Austen (Worc'r
Charrington, Spencer
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colomb, Sir John Charles Ready
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Colville, John
Cook, Frederick Lucas
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Robert Hunter
Cranborne, Viscount
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan-(Cardigan
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.)
Dewar, T R (T'r H'mlets, S. Geo.
Dickson, Charles Scott
Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-
Dimsdale, Sir Joseph Cockfield
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Edward Henry
Edwards, Frank
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Elibank, Master of
Emmott, Alfred
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn Edward
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, George H.
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Fitzroy, Hon. Edward Algernon
Fletcher, Sir Henry
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Fuller, J. M. F.

Galloway, William Johnson
Garfit, William
Gibbs, Hon. Vicary (St. Albans
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Godson, Sir Augustus Frederick
Gordon, Hn. J. E (Elgin & Nairn
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gordon, Maj. W. (T'er H'ml'ts)
Goschen, George Joachim
Grant, Corrie
Greene, Sir E W (B'ry S Edm'nds
Gretton, John
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Groves, James Grimble
Hain, Edward
Hamilton, Rt Hn Lord G (Mid'x
Hanbury, Rt. Hn. Robert Wm.
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harmsworth, R. Leicester
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'uth
Harwood, George
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Hayne, Rt. Hon. Charles Seale-
Heath, James (Staffords, N. W.
Helder, Augustus
Helme, Norval Watson
Higginbottom, S. W.
Hoare, Edw. Brodie (Hampst'd)
Hoare, Sir Samuel (Norwich)
Holland, William Henry
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield Brightside
Hoult, Joseph
Howard, Capt J (Kent, Faversh.
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Jessel, Capt. Herbert Merton
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, David Brynmor (Swans'a
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennaway, Rt. Hn. Sir John H.
Kenyon, Hon. Geo. T. (Denbigh)
Kenyon, James (Lancs., Bury
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. (Salop)
Keswick, William
Kinloch, Sir John George Smyth
Knowles, Lees

Lambert, George
Langley, Batty
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar
Lawson, John Grant
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Lecky, Rt. Hn. Wm. Edw. H.
Lee, Capt A. H. (Hants, Fareh'm
Legge, Col. Heneage
Leigh, Sir Joseph (Stockport)
Leng, Sir John
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N. S.
Levy, Maurice
Long, Rt. Hn. W. (Bristol, S.)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lough, Thomas
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmo'th)
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maclure, Sir John William
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Crae, George
M'Iver, Sir Lewis (Edinburgh W
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Manners, Lord Cecil
Markham, Arthur Basil
Marshall-Hall, Edward
Maxwell, W. J (Dumfriesshire
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Milward, Colonel Victor
Mitchell, William
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Moore, William (Antrim, N.)
More, R. Jasper (Shropshire)
Morgan, D. J. (Walthamstow
Morrell, George Herbert
Morris, Hn. Martin Henry F.
Morton, A. H. A. (Deptford)
Mount, William Arthur
Murray, Rt. Hn. A. G. (Bute
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Nicol, Donald Ninian
Norman, Henry
Nussey, Thomas Willans
Orr-Ewing, Charles Lindsay
Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
Parker, Gilbert
Parkes, Ebenezer
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pearson, Sir Weetman D.
Pease, Herbert Pike (Darl'ton
Peel, Hn. W. R. Wellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Pilkington, Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edw.
Purvis, Robert
Quilter, Sir Cuthbert
Radcliffe, R. F.
Randles, John S.
Rankin, Sir James
Rasch, Major Frederic Carne
Rea, Russell
Reid, James (Greenock)
Renshaw, Charles Bine
Rentoul, James Alexander
Renwick, George
Richards, Henry Charles
Rickett, J. Compton
Ridley, Matthew W (Stalybr'ge
Rigg, Richard
Ritchie, Rt Hon Chas. Thomson
Robson, William Snowdon
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Ropner, Colonel Robert
Rothschild, Hon. Lionel Walter
Round, James

Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Saunderson, Rt. Hon. Col. Ed. J.
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Seton-Karr, Henry
Shipman, Dr. John
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Sinclair, Capt. John (Forfarsh.
Soares, Ernest J.
Spear, John Ward
Spencer, Rt Hn C R (Northants
Stanley, Edward J. (Somerset)
Stevenson, Francis S.
Stewart, Sir Mark J M'Taggart

Stone, Sir Benjamin
Strachey, Edward
Stroyan, John
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot,Rt.Hn.J.G(Oxf'dUniv.
Thomas, F. F. (Hastings)
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Tomkinson, James
Tomlinson, James
Tomlinson, Wm.Edw. Murray
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Tufnell, Col. Edward
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walker, Col. William Hall
Warde, Lieut.-Col. C. E.
Warner, ThomasCourtenay T.
Wason,Eugene(Clackmannan)
Weir, James Galloway
Welby,SirCharlesG.E.(Notts)
Wentworth, Bruce C. Vernon-
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley,George(York,W.R.)
Whiteley,H.(Ashton-under-L.
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams,RtHnJ.Powell-Birm
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Willox, Sir John Archibald
Wills, Sir Frederick
Wilson, Arthur S. (York,E.R.
Wilson, F. W. (Norfolk, Mid)
Wilson, John (Falkirk)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson,J.W.(Worcestersh.N.)
Wilson-Todd, W. H. (Yorks.)
Wodehouse, Hon. A. (Essex)
Wodehouse, Rt.Hn.E.R.(Bath
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir William Walrond and Mr. Anstruther.

NOES.

Brigg, John
Hardie,J.Keir(MerthyrTydvil
Healy, Timothy Michael
Lloyd-George, David
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Thomas,J.A.(Glm'rg'n,Gower
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Wilson, Henry J.(York,W.R.

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Cremer and Mr. John Burns.

Resolution to be reported To-morrow.

Motion made and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANK FINANCE.

*MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): In accordance with our ancient constitutional practice I rise to move an Amendment whereby we affirm that grievance shall precede Supply. The subject which I shall deal with to-night is important, although I trust to make my remarks upon it as brief as possible. I was attacked on the last occasion I made a motion of this kind, on the ground that it was not the proper or usual thing to do. Yet it is a most necessary thing to do. This motion of an Amendment to your leaving the chair on going into Committee of Ways and Means, is, Sir, one of the few opportunities that private Members have left of bringing forward matters of general interest, and matters with regard to which we are afforded no opportunities upon the Estimates. There are now but four opportunities left to Private Members—the Queen's Speech, the Estimates and Questions, and this. The fourth is the most important opportunity of all. I say this for the benefit of new Members. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has threatened me with the abolition of this rule of the House—a most ancient rule—and I am officially informed that steps will be taken by the Government to that end. I hope when the time comes I shall have the support of both sides of the House in resisting any such alteration if ever it be proposed. Now, Sir, the subject that I am about to deal with undoubtedly is of very great importance. It is the subject of a very great national liability, which by many is not realised, and which by some is even denied. I do not think the Chancellor of the Exchequer will deny it. It is the question of the liability of the Consolidated Fund—that is to say, of the taxpayers of this country—to make good the deficit of the Post Office Savings Bank. The Post Office Savings Bank has had a remarkable career; for twenty years it showed a profit on its transactions of £1,600 a year, but four years ago it took a different turn, and since then has shown a loss which now amounts to something like £34,000. The Post Office Savings Bank is bound by law to pay its depositors a settled rate of two and a half per cent., and the Postmaster General's Report, from which all my figures are taken, shows that the cost of managing the bank is 7s. 3¼d. per cent., which, of course, has to be added to the £2 10s., the settled fixed rate of interest which has to be paid to depositors, so that the total cost to the Bank is £2 17s. 3¼d. per cent. But the Post Office has not recently been able to make £2 17s. 3¼d. upon its investments, and, consequently, it has paid more than it has earned for them. The balance-sheet of the Post Office Savings Bank at the end of last year showed a deficiency in assets, as compared with liabilities, of no less than £504,928. This deficiency of the assets as compared with the liabilities was a deficiency shown at the price at which the assets are taken. A great deal might be said about the reliability of this balance-sheet as to the assets. I notice that by some means or other the value of the building has been increased by £100,000 over the cost price. The assets consist largely of Consols, which have fallen considerably since then. The price of this part of the assets at the date when taken was 99½; they are now about 97½, a fall of 2 per cent., which has to be added to the half-million deficiency as shown. The importance of this fact is to be found in the consideration that every halfpenny of deficiency arising in the Post Office assets has to be made good out of the Consolidated Fund. It is the taxpayers, therefore, who are liable. The increasing gravity of the situation has been recognised again and again, and various remedies have been proposed. One remedy proposed has been the old one of investing in a worse security in order to get a higher rate of interest. I believe it was Mr. Fox who made the discovery that no man need want money who would pay enough for it, and it was on that principle that he obtained the money he squandered in gambling, but I contend that the Chancellor of the Exchequer must be constrained to keep the deposits of the Post Office Savings Bank in proper security. But this is not the worst of it. The 130 millions in the Post Office Savings Bank is a liability to pay deposits which are practically payable at call, or within, I believe, ten days. That liability is practically at call. The Post Office Savings Bank is liable, and every taxpayer in the kingdom is liable if the Post Office is unable to meet its liabilities. That is the serious part of the matter. Suppose a large number of depositors demanded gold, as was once recommended in this country in order to coerce a Ministry, what would you do? Sell your Consols? Do you suppose you could sell £67,000,000 of Consols at the particular price of the day? It would be impossible. Down would go the market price, and your assets, instead of being worth half a million less than your liabilities, would be worth two or three millions less. I do not suppose for a moment that depositors will rush for their money all at once, but you are open to that liability. I have already mentioned one remedy that is proposed, but there are other proposed remedies. The Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed as a remedy that instead of the State paying 2½ per cent. to the depositors it should henceforth pay a rate, to be fixed annually in advance by the Treasury—that is to say, by the very body that borrows the money. The Treasury was yearly to fix this varying rate in relation to the earning power of the money. In other words, by the Bill introduced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Treasury would be called upon to do what no stockbroker or no stock-jobber can do, namely, to predict the price of Consols during the ensuing year in advance. Is it not evident that such a Bill could not be entertained? The Chancellor of the Exchequer seemed to reproach me the other day for not having favoured it, but no man of sound sense could favour it. He himself took the precaution of introducing it under the Ten-minutes rule, and the consequence was that it could not be and was not discussed in the House. It certainly would not have survived ten minutes discussion in a House including such a large number of business men. There are other remedies—but I am not the family physician. He is the right hon. Gentleman, and it is for him to propose a prescription, and then we can see whether we can accept it or not. There is this to be borne in mind with reference to the Post Office Savings Bank. The object of those who put money into it is not primarily to obtain a high rate of interest or any interest at all. The object is to keep the money safe for poor persons, who, as a rule, have no strong boxes or banking accounts of their own. The first thing and almost the only thing depositors look to is security for their money, and I do not believe that in one case out of ten they think of the rate of interest at all; indeed I suppose that not in one case out of twenty do they understand what the rate of interest means. Another abuse suggests itself. Persons for whom it was not intended have used the Savings Bank to make something out of the State, and they have contributed to the loss that has been incurred. Other persons have used the Savings Bank than those for whom it was primarily intended, and for whom I believe it ought to be kept. Merchants, shopkeepers, rich men and millionaires for all I know, use the Savings Bank for the investment of their money. You might meet that by reducing the maximum sum allowed to be deposited. But however that may be, undoubtedly something remains to be done to put the Post Office Savings Bank on a proper and businesslike footing. I am not alone in holding that opinion. Only last Friday the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave me two answers on the subject. One was that it was an important matter which deserved the attention of Parliament, and the other was that he did not intend to pay any attention to it. Under such circumstances I have used my right to direct the attention of the House in a very short and summary manner to a very grave matter. I trust the Chancellor of the Exchequer will treat it as I have treated it, from the point of view of the liability of the State, that he will recognise its importance, and that he will be able to hold out some hope, not this session perhaps, but in a future session, that he will bring forward some measure which will relieve the State of a growing liability, and which will put the Post Office Savings Bank on a proper footing and restrict its use to those for whom it was intended. I beg to move, Sir.

MR. DISRAELI (Cheshire, Altrincham) formally seconded the motion.

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out from the word 'That,' to the end of the Question, in order to add the words 'the yearly loss shown during the four years to the 31st day of December, 1899, on the trading of the Post Office Savings Bank, and the fact that on the 31st day of December, 1899, its balance sheet showed an excess of liabilities over assets of £504,928 1s. 10d., demand the serious attention of Her Majesty's Government, and render it necessary that early steps should be taken to place the Post Office Savings Bank on a more satisfactory footing,' instead thereof."—(*Mr. Gibson Bowles.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

*THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir M. HICKS BEACH, Bristol, W.): The hon. Member began his observations by saying that he attached great importance to the right of moving Amendments to the motion "that the Speaker do leave the Chair," on going into Committee of Ways and Means. Just at the close of last session, the hon. Member, having discovered that this right remained to private Members, took advantage of it at a time which was most inconvenient to the House of Commons. I will venture to say it was proved to be inconvenient because, after the hon. Member had spoken for some half-hour or more, no one attempted to take part in the debate. Now, again, at a moment when we need all our time if we are to meet the general convenience of the House, the hon. Member has thought fit to take advantage of his privileges. I can only say that if those privileges are to be maintained, they ought to be exercised in conformity with the general convenience of the House; and the way to lose them is to act precisely as the hon. Member has done. It must be remembered that for nearly thirty or forty years this right to move Amendments to the motion to go into Committee of Ways and Means had practically lapsed until the hon. Member revived it.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I could give scores of instances. I do not choose the moment. When the right hon. Gentleman puts down his motion, I put down my Amendment.

*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: Now, as to the Amendment of the hon. Member, in the first place it is impossible for me or any one else to do anything with regard to this question in the present session. The hon. Member recognises that himself. In the second place, I think the hon. Member is entirely wrong as to the facts on which he founds himself. He has stated, in the first place, that the position of the Savings Banks is most precarious, because of the deficiency in annual income as compared with the receipts from investment. He takes a period of three or four years during which that has been the case; but he entirely omitted to mention what I told him only the other day —that in the current year it was probable that there would be a profit. His second point is this—that taking the valuation of the assets of the Post Office Savings Bank on 31st December, 1899, there was a deficiency on a total of 129 millions of £504,000. But on the previous December 31st there was a surplus of over £10,000,000, and that proves that it is impossible to deal with this matter in the off-hand manner which the hon. Member suggests. I think I have said enough to show, I hope, that it is not necessary for the House to proceed with this discussion to-night. I can make no promise with regard to any legislation or proposal for next session. The hon. Member is aware that I have expressed my opinion that the position of the Savings Bank is a matter for the consideration of the House of Commons. I attempted only last session to deal with it by a Bill which I was not anxious at all to force on the House, but which I was anxious to have exmined by a Select Committee, and which would have been so examined if the hon. Member and a few others had not opposed the Second Reading. I can only say that I think I have a little more knowledge of the position of savings banks than the hon. Member, that attention is being devoted to the subject, and that I adhere entirely to what I have said—that the subject is one which deserves the attention of Parliament.

MR. BARTLEY: I think the Chancellor of the Exchequer should not be so severe on my hon friend, because we have really very few occasions on which to bring this matter up. I myself have taken immense interest in this subject for many years. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has held out hope year after year, for five or six years, when matters did not press as they are pressing now, that the question would be dealt with, and I think if he had been a little firmer he might have done something in connection with the matter during the last Parliament. Certainly we were given to understand that something would be done. I do not quite agree with my hon. friend with regard to the Bill that was introduced. I think it was a pity that it was not read a second time and sent to a Committee, as we are all agreed that something should be done. We want something done that will put the Post Office Savings Bank on a proper foundation. It is perfectly sound, of course, and I should be sorry if the idea went abroad that it was not absolutely sound. The security is the best in the world, the security of this country. I think the House is indebted to my hon. friend for bringing this matter forward at this moment. But the present is not a favourable opportunity for dividing on the Amendment, and I would therefore ask him to withdraw it.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): It seems to me that the Chancellor of the Exchequer took up a very reasonable position in the earlier part of his speech. He said that this was an inconvenient time to discuss the subject, and if he had contented himself with that remark I should not have troubled the House with any observations. But when this important subject is touched upon, and when the hon. Gentleman opposite tries to urge the Chancellor of the Exchequer to disturb this long-standing security which exists for the savings of the poor, I always make it a point of duty to protest. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, however, was not—I go the length of saying—quite sound in the latter part of his speech, and I am not quite satisfied with his attitude on the question. In the Bill he introduced he suggested that there should be a fluctuating rate of interest, to be settled from time to time by the Treasury, instead of a fixed rate of interest as at present. That was the principle of the Bill brought in by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and what I wish to say is that in my opinion no case whatever has been made out for interfering with the rate of interest paid for many years by the Post Office Savings Bank. It is a convenience greatly appreciated by millions of the poor of this country, and it works admirably. The miserable loss which has been mentioned as having occurred in four years has not been contrasted with the large profits made in other years, and the fictitious nature of the case which the hon. Member sought to make out is shown by the answer of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. When such a gigantic business is done the alleged loss that has been mentioned is surely capable of a great deal of explanation, but no case has been made out for touching this important national institution. My object is to urge the Chancellor of the Exchequer to maintain the rigid attitude he took up in the earlier part of his speech, and not to accept the idea that it is necessary to do anything whatever.

MR. VICARY GIBBS (Hertfordshire, St. Albans): I wish to say that I fully agree with the remarks of my hon. friend the Member for King's Lynn with reference to the Bill introduced in the last Parliament, in which a fluctuating rate of interest was proposed at the will of the Treasury. I do not, however, agree that depositors do not know what rate of interest they get. They know extremely well, they base their calculation on the exact amount they are to receive in any one year, and I think it is most essential that they should know what rate of nterest they are to get. I also think that it is essential that the Post Office should not pay a higher rate of interest than they can afford to pay. It is not right that they should work their business at a loss, and that they should compete with bankers in banking business, and engage in very doubtful investments in order to earn the money. The bulk of the money is earned by the Public Loan Commissioners, who lend money to all sorts of undertakings on security which is sometimes very doubtful indeed. As long as the rate of interest is low borrowers go elsewhere, but the moment the rate of interest goes up they rush to the Commissioners and take loans from them for all sorts of undertakings. I desire to associate myself with my hon. friend the Member for King's Lynn in the criticism he passed on the measure introduced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. I hope the Chancellor of the Exchequer will recognise that something must be done and that when he introduces another measure a feature of it will be a fixed rate of interest.

MR. DALZIEL: My hon. friend the Member for West Islington thought it was his duty to explain that he thought that the first part of the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was very reasonable. I rise to say that in my opinion the first part of the right hon. Gentleman's speech was most unreasonable. He blamed my hon. friend opposite for taking this opportunity to bring forward what everyone admits is a very important question. I think we have got to a point now in the administration of this country when really we have got to ask ourselves whether the Government ought to call Parliament together at all. The hon. Member opposite is told that one of the few remaining privileges of a private Member—and my hon. friend is one of the best champions of them—ought not to be availed of to bring forward a motion of this kind, because it was not convenient to the Government.

*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: And to the House.

MR. DALZIEL: Of course the convenience of the House means the convenience of the Government. We shall be told that if we discuss this matter at any length to-night the House will be asked to meet on Monday next. That is the sort of argument that we are accustomed to. The Government calls Parliament together, arranges the shortest amount of time to enable them to pass their proposals through their different stages, and then we are threatened that the House will have to sit in a new week unless they get everything they want. I protest most emphatically against this way of carrying on the business of the country. What was to prevent the Leader of the House utilising the time that was absolutely wasted on the second day of the session, when the Speaker was in the Chair for the greater part of the day, and when there was practically no swearing-in going on and no business being transacted? That day might have been occupied with the public business of the country. As the business is now arranged it is impossible for us to discuss important motions like that now before the House, because we are told we are interfering with the convenience of the House and of the Government. I hope, Sir, the hon. Gentleman opposite will not be discouraged by the attack made on him by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. I think it is not likely that he will, but I think that also we must form a band of private Members in this House to protect ourselves from the attacks of the Government. We have no opportunities for discussion now; we have merely got to register the decrees of the Government. Nobody desires to interfere with the convenience of the House. But is it fair for the Government to arrange the business in such a way that it cannot be discussed unless Members put themselves in the very undesirable position of being charged with inconveniencing the House?

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: After the statement made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and in deference to the request of my hon friend the Member for North Islington, I should like to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: I feel it is the desire of the House that necessary business should now be proceeded with. I desired to bring forward the question of the surrenders of British troops during the war, all of which were deplorable, and several of which were disgraceful, but I feel that the moment is not propitious, and as I hope to be able to raise it on a later day I will not now proceed with my Amendment.*

Main Question put, and agreed to.

WAYS AND MEANS.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[MR. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

CONSOLIDATED FUND.

Resolved, That, towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1901, the sum of £16,000,000 be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.—(*Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*)

SUPPLEMENTAL WAR LOAN (No. 2).

*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: The resolution I have placed in your hands, Mr. Lowther, is to enable us to obtain a sufficient sum to make good the £16,000,000 which the House has voted to-night. Hon. Members may recollect that at the end of July last when a Supplementary Estimate had been voted, I brought the financial situation before the attention of the House, and I then showed that after the provisions which had been made by the War Loan Act for borrowing towards meeting the war expenditure, when the Supplementary Estimate that had then been voted had been added to that expenditure, I had a sum of £10,182,000 still unprovided for. To meet this I had in reserve borrowing powers under the War Loan Act to the amount of £3,000,000, and I obtained from the House further powers to issue bonds amounting to £13,000,000. Those bonds have since been issued together with Treasury Bills for £3,000,000 with the total result that a sum of £15,744,000 has been raised—£10,000,000 of Exchequer Bonds for three years having been issued at the price of 98, providing £9,800,000; and three millions of Exchequer Bonds for five years having been issued at the price of 98⅛, producing £2,944,000. That, therefore, left me a sum of £5,562,000 more than was necessary to provide for the Supplementary Estimate voted last July. Now the House has voted another Supplementary Estimate of £16,000,000, and also I have to provide for a sum which I will put in round numbers at £500,000 for the interest on the loans which have been issued this current financial year—£16,500,000 in all. Putting the £5,562,000 I have already mentioned against that sum it leaves a balance unprovided for of £10,938,000, and that resolution, therefore, is one to authorise me to borrow, by means of a further War loan or Exchequer Bonds or Treasury bills, a sum of £11,000,000, making good, as I think I have shown to the House, together with the powers already granted, the total supply now voted, and also provision for paying interest on the debt. There will, of course, be Supplementary Estimates when we meet in February of the ordinary character; but it is never considered necessary to make provision for them, as hon. Members are aware that they are met, as a rule, by savings on other heads, or possibly also by increase in the estimated revenue. I would say with regard to the revenue of the year I am sanguine, as I stated in July, that it will produce my estimate of last April. Therefore I think that the powers I now ask for will be sufficient to meet the needs of the country on the Estimates already voted during the remainder of the financial year. I should add that I do not anticipate being obliged to avail myself of the fresh borrowing powers I now ask for until probably the month of February, because I have already provided in the ordinary way for the remainder of the present month, and also for the dividends that will be due in January next. After the January quarter commences I think that hon. Members are aware the Revenue, especially from income tax, comes in very rapidly, so that I shall have plenty to deal with for January and the early part of February. March is a month very trying to the Exchequer; and it is in February or March that the borrowing powers for which I am now asking will, I anticipate, be required. This is only a resolution, as hon. Members are aware, on which a Bill will be framed, which Bill will be introduced after the Report of the resolution; and that Report will be taken to-morrow. I understand it will be convenient to take the discussion on the Second Reading of the Bill on Thursday, and then, of course, I shall be willing to go at length into any questions that may arise or that hon. Members may bring forward. I beg to move the resolution.

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*The Amendment which the hon. Member had placed on the Paper was:—"To move, That, in the opinion of the Committee, Courts of Inquiry should be held into the surrender of British troops during the war, and especially at Nicholson's Nek, Reddersburg, Sanna's Post, Roodeval, Lindley, and Dewetsdorp."

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1901, sums not exceeding eleven million pounds may be raised (in addition to any sums already authorised to be raised for the purpose) by all or any of the following methods:—

(*a*) by means of the issue of further war stock or war bonds under the War Loan Act, 1900; or

(*b*) by means of the issue of Treasury bills; or

(*c*) by means of the issue of Exchequer bonds;

and that the principal of, and interest on, any money so raised be charged on the Consolidated Fund.

That all expenses incurred in connection with raising the said sums, including any additional remuneration to the Banks of England and Ireland, be charged on the Consolidated Fund."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I assume it is the general wish of the Committee to adopt the course which has been suggested by the right hon. Gentleman. It is a course which is usually followed on such occasions, and it is that at this stage there should be no discussion on the resolution. Indeed, we are hardly, perhaps, in a position to realise fully the effect of what the right hon. Gentleman proposes. If the discussion is postponed until Thursday the Second Reading of the Bill following the Resolution will give ample opportunity for discussion.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE: There is a question which the Chancellor of the Exchequer knows the hon. Member for the Mansfield Division and myself are anxious to raise—I refer to the assets of the Transvaal—but perhaps it would be more convenient to raise it to-morrow afternoon.

*SIR M. HICKS BEACH assented.

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolution to be reported To-morrow.

In pursuance of the Order of the House of the 7th day of this instant December, Mr. Speaker adjourned the House without Question put.

House adjourned accordingly at ten minutes before Twelve of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, 12*th December*, 1900.

Several Members took and subscribed the Oath.

NEW MEMBER SWORN.

Victor Christian William Cavendish, esquire, for the County of Derby (Western Division).

PETITIONS.

INHABITED HOUSE DUTY AND INCOME TAX.

Petitions for alterations of law, from Richmond (Surrey); Metropolitan Licensed Victuallers; Norwood; and Kensington; to lie upon the Table.

LICENSED PREMISES (HOURS OF SALE) (SCOTLAND).

Petition from Helensburgh, for alteration of law; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY.

Petition from Redgrave, for prohibition; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

INDIAN EXPENDITURE (ROYAL COMMISSION).

Return presented, relative thereto [Address 11th December, *Lord George Hamilton*]; to lie upon the Table.

SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLICS (MILITARY NOTES).

Copy presented of Military Notes on the Dutch Republics of South Africa [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

POLLING DISTRICTS (WARWICK).

Copy presented, of Order made by the County Council of Warwickshire, altering certain Parliamentary Polling Districts in that County [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

POLLING DISTRICTS (LANCASTER).

Copy presented, of Order made by the County Council of the County Palatine of Lancaster, altering the Polling Districts in the following Parliamentary Divisions of the County, viz.: Accrington, Bootle, Clitheroe, Heywood, Ince, Lancaster, Middleton, Ormskirk, and Prestwich [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

FLEETS (GREAT BRITAIN AND FOREIGN COUNTRIES).

Return ordered, "showing the Fleets of Great Britain, France, Russia, Germany, Italy, United States of America, and Japan, distinguishing Battleships, built and building; Cruisers, built and building; Coast Defence Vessels, built and building; Torpedo Vessels, Torpedo Boat Destroyers, and Torpedo Boats, built and building."

"Return to show date of launch, displacement, and armaments reduced to one common scale (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 313, of Session 1899)."—(*Sir Charles Dilke.*)

SUPPLY (11th DECEMBER).

Resolution reported.

Army (Supplementary), 1900–1901.

"That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £16,000,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1901, for Additional Expenditure, due to the War in South Africa and to Affairs in China, in respect of the following Army Services, namely—

	£
Vote 6. Transport and Remounts - - -	5,300,000
Vote 7. Provisions, Forage, and other Supplies -	4,250,000
Vote 8. Clothing Establishments and Services -	750,000
Vote 9. Warlike and other Stores - - - -	4,700,000

Vote 10. Works, etc.:	£
Cost (including Staff for Engineer Services) -	1,000,000
Total - -	£16,000,000"

*SIR ROBERT REID (Dumfries Burghs): There was in the earlier part of this session a note of satisfaction or at least of acquiescence in the policy which is now being pursued by Her Majesty's Government with which I for one was not able to find myself wholly in agreement. Certainly I think the tone and feeling of the House, especially since the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War, has shown that whatever satisfaction might have been originally felt has very considerably waned in view of the very serious condition of affairs which that right hon. Gentleman disclosed. It would not be in order to do so, and I am not about to enter at all into the question of the policy which has led up to this most unhappy conflict. I think myself that the fatal policy of the Colonial Secretary was the original fountain from which all these waters of bitterness have flowed, but it would be quite irrelevant at the present time to enter upon any considerations of that kind. Nor do I intend to say anything upon the policy of annexation which has been announced some time. Every leading statesman, or nearly every one, on both sides of the House, from each extreme of view, from Lord Salisbury to my right hon. friend the Member for Montrose Burghs, has, however reluctantly, acquiesced in that policy, and from that time it was apparent that the fate of the controversy was sealed. I do not pretend that I have shared in that view, but I feel that it would be foolish and worse than foolish—it would be wrong—to attempt in any way to undermine or to undo it, because such a course might be affording encouragement for a further prolongation of this most embittered contest to the brave men who are fighting in the field, and might expose our own soldiers to a continuance, possibly, of the present horrors of war. The question which really arises on this Vote is, given that annexation is the necessary consequence of what has gone before, the necessary sequel to what has passed, what policy should be adopted for the purpose of ending this war, and is the Government wise in the course they have recommended to the House? Both sides in this conflict, British and Boer, have many great inducements to put an end to the struggle. Their inducements are the actual facts and prospects of the day. We had a revelation of this in the speech of the Secretary of State for War last night. Our loss of men, either killed or disabled or put out of action, according to the summary given by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouthshire, is about 70,000. Our outlay has already been £85,000,000, and I believe it will prove to be a great deal more. The cost of what is now going forward is something like £5,000,000 every month—I believe it will prove to be a great deal more than that; and when we ask how long this condition of affairs is to go on the right hon. Gentleman who is primarily responsible has pointed us to very pertinent examples of warfare of a similar character which have lasted not for months but for years. It was obvious that in the whole course of his speech he was preparing the mind of the people of this country for a continuance of this warfare, expenditure, and horrible devastation, not merely for a few months, but for years, with consequences incalculable, not only in men and money, but in hampering the industry of the people of this country, in postponing all prospect of reform, and in ruining the country with which we went to war to make more prosperous and contented. I do not wish to use the language of exaggeration, and I do not think that any gentleman who reflects in the light of history upon the probable future of such a struggle as this will think I really have been using the language of exaggeration. Let me confine myself to the net results as disclosed in the speeches from the Treasury Bench. After all this outlay and fourteen months fighting, our soldiers hold the ground practically within the range of their guns. The territory coming close up to the suburbs of Pretoria and Bloemfontein is almost in a state of anarchy. The railways are constantly being destroyed by the enemy; there are great camps of women and children whom the Colonial Secretary told us it was necessary to remove to places of safety in order that they might be safeguarded against outrage and violence by natives. There is dacoiting in full play, and we have been told that we are to contemplate a probability of famine. When famine comes it will first attack the natives, the consequence of which may be apprehended in a native rising, the natives numbering four, five, or six times the whites—a rising which must lead to massacres of the whites, accompanied by all the horrors which have been witnessed on similar occasions in all the unprotected regions—that is to say, nearly the whole —of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony. The future is still more ominous. The feeling of the Boers is unquestionably being embittered more and more every day. The feeling among the Dutch in the Cape is rising, I am afraid, very rapidly. I trust and believe there is still among the Dutch population of Cape Colony, arising from a recollection of British justice administered for so many years with so much impartiality, a feeling of loyalty and a desire to assist this country in the great difficulties in which we find ourselves. I remember on one occasion, a friend of mine, one of the most distinguished men in the United States, President Harrison, in the course of the discussions we had last year in the Venezuelan Arbitration, saying one thing that struck my mind. He said that the great position of Great Britain throughout the world was not due to her mighty armaments, or even to her uncontrolled sway over the sea; it was due to the purity of her justice. I believe that the recollection of that, the feeling that British justice is pure justice, will do more than anything else to retain in their loyalty the sorely tried Dutch population of the Cape. But there undoubtedly is danger of great disaffection and discontent to which no man can shut his eyes. We have taken upon ourselves the government of huge territories, new territories, which are said by some to be as large as France and Spain together; I think that is an exaggeration, but at any rate they are much larger than France; territories in which there is no chance of our being able to establish permanent government, except sooner or later by the consent of the white people who are living there; and every day this unhappy business goes forward makes the time more distant at which we can hope to win that consent. There has been danger, as was stated by a Cabinet Minister only two or three months ago, and there may again be danger, of the necessity of depriving the Cape of its present constitution, or in some degree of modifying it. If that be so, unless by some method of conciliation we can succeed in attracting the good will and in encouraging forgetfulness and forgiveness on both sides in regard to what has happened in this terrible fight, we may find ourselves in this position—that the whole territory of Cape Colony, Natal, and the two colonies we have annexed, will have to be governed by force, and by force alone. If that duty ever falls upon this country, I will not say it is an impossible duty to discharge, but I will say it is by far the most onerous business that even this country has ever undertaken, and that, notwithstanding the almost limitless resources of this country in treasure and in the bravery of our men, we shall find it a task which will imperil the very existence of the British Empire. Hitherto, there have been very few efforts to put an end to this war except by the use of force. There has been, I think, somewhat of a change of temper not merely in the Government, but visibly on the bench opposite, and still more visibly in the country at large; there has come a feeling that after all what Mr. Bright once said is true—namely, that force is no remedy; that, at all events, such methods as have been adopted have been failures. In the first place there was an attempt to carry on the military government of these new colonies in a spirit of leniency, for which Lord Roberts cannot be too highly praised. That leniency did not succeed in putting an end to the war. Why? I believe there were two reasons. The first was that unconditional surrender was in all cases insisted upon. Unconditional surrender is very well if you are dealing merely with a military force, but it is not well if you have an eye to forming a government with a possibility of reconciling to the new form of government the people whom you are asking to submit. The second reason seems to have been that while we demanded unconditional surrender we were avowedly unable to extend to those who did unconditionally surrender the protection to which they were absolutely entitled. The position of men was this: They were offered, and most wisely, the right of going back to their farms under an oath of neutrality. If the district to which they returned could have been or was protected by our troops that would have been a merciful course, one worthy of the traditions of this country, and one which would have had a far better chance of success. But every gentleman who studies the facts must know that we were quite unable to extend that protection. After our troops had succeeded in forcing upon these men an unconditional surrender the men found themselves exposed to the visits of their own countrymen who refused to recognise the oaths of neutrality, as in such warfare always occurs, and the men were placed in this position: if they did not join the Boer commandoes they were liable to be shot, while if they did join they were liable to be treated as men who had violated the oath of neutrality and upon whose shoulders and property the consequences of that violation must fall. Then came the usual cry for increased severity. Everyone who looks back at precedents in this matter will acknowledge that this always happens. In the instances quoted by the Secretary of State for War it happened; it happened in Spain, and it has happened in Cuba and elsewhere. When measures of a comparatively conciliatory character fail there is an immediate cry for increased severity. To what extent that increased severity went, and to what extent farmhouses and property have been destroyed I know not; we have not the information entitling us to judge upon that matter. We have newspaper paragraphs, but if there has been one thing more conspicuous than another in the course of this war it has been the entire unreliability of newspaper information. I do not, therefore, for a moment desire to lay undue stress upon the measures of severity that have been taken; I do not know what they are. Of this I am perfectly certain: I for one shall not believe until it is proved by conclusive authority that either our officers or our men have willingly been the instruments of a cruel policy. If there have been proclamations which have entailed cruelty, the gentlemen whom we see opposite are the people responsible for it, and upon them, and not upon the officers must fall the responsibility for anything that has happened—if anything has happened—contrary to the traditions of warfare and the honour of this country. Before Parliament met there appeared in the organs of the press which have inflamed this controversy from beginning to end, and which share in no small degree the responsibility of bringing about the war, a clamour for still further severity. The only result of severity in the past has been to make more enemies and to make those enemies more bitter. If such a course be pursued it will tend only to the prolongation of the war and to the further embitterment of any relations that may subsist after the war is over. I believe that the idea of proceeding by such methods would be as great a miscalculation of human forces as any that has preceded it in the course of this conflict. I say the time has arrived for negotiating. The time has arrived for offering these men terms—["No, no!"]—not terms inconsistent with British dominion, but terms upon the basis that the territories should remain part of the British dominions. I know very well that the people of this country would not listen to any proposal for undoing the annexation, but I say that consistently with the maintenance of the British dominions it is time now to offer terms to these men and to discard the idea of unconditional surrender. Unconditional surrender at all times involves a degree of humiliation, which, after all, is a comparatively small matter considering what we are dealing with. When you are dealing with a number of men who are confessedly very ignorant, and who have been taught no doubt a good deal of the kind of language used in some organs of the British press, you must remember that to ask for unconditional surrender is to give them no assurance whatever of the fate in store for them when peace has been restored. The Government ought to inform the men now in arms against us that they are willing to give an amnesty if the enemy will lay down their arms; in the second place, that they are willing to assist with money to re-stock and rebuild their farms, without which it is impossible to expect any restoration of the industry of that which is our own territory and which none of us desire to see left a desert. In the next place, we should offer them the promise of self-government and free institutions at as early a date as possible—not generations hence, as the Prime Minister suggested—with all the necessary precautions and under the British flag, so that there could not be the least possible chance of any military danger arising again. The difficulties, I do not doubt, are very great indeed. Will hon. Gentlemen opposite try to put aside party feelings and consider what the difficulties and dangers of our present position are if we take any other course? We are really in danger of a continuance of this war for a very long period at an enormous cost, progressively alienating whatever remnant—and I hope it may be a large one—there may be among the Dutch in favour of the maintenance of union with ourselves. Is it not worth while to try and see whether these men now in arms are prepared to accede to terms which do not disturb the annexation? Why should we not at least make an effort in the hope of preventing the ruin which will follow if this war continues much longer? But if we are to have any chance of success we must also recognise the impossibility of carrying out negotiations of this kind through those who have been the instruments of this war, and whose policy has met with so much opposition in South Africa. I am not going to mention any names, or to make any attack, especially upon an absent man. Let us suppose for a moment there has been in South Africa, among those who are charged with the subordinate responsibility of carrying out the duties and the policy imposed upon them from here, as much wisdom and as conciliatory a temper as you can imagine. It still remains that the instruments of the Imperial policy have necessarily provoked a degree of hostility and acrimony on the part of those who are opposed to us which will make the success of any negotiations very difficult. It is the duty of the Government to send out, not as superseding any official at all, but for the purpose of negotiating, if possible, a peace, the ablest man they can find for the purpose in this country. It is a crisis, and, if it is not recognised now, it will be before long—one of the gravest crises in which this country has been for a long time. We ought to use the very ablest talent we possess; we ought to send out a man of great authority and experienced judgment for the purpose of seeing whether by means of negotiation some conclusion of this war may be arrived at. There is only one other thing I have to say. If we are to have any chance of reconciliation at present or in the future we must do justice to our enemies. Throughout the last twelve, fourteen, or eighteen months there has been—I do not say on the part of gentlemen of authority and position, but on the part of a great number of persons who have neither authority nor position—a series of constant attacks upon those who are to be our fellow-subjects in the future. These attacks have now been recognised in public by the Colonial Secretary to be unjust. He has told us that we have brave enemies. No man who is willing to be just can deny that we have brave enemies. He has told us that in the main they have conducted this war honourably according to the rules of warfare, and have shown compassion and kindness towards those who have fallen into their hands.

MR. POWELL-WILLIAMS (Birmingham, S.): So have we.

SIR ROBERT REID: The right hon. Gentleman says "So have we." Of course we have. I do not doubt it for one moment; I take it for granted; but while we claim that we are a humane and merciful people we ought also to recognise the truth in regard to our enemies, as has always been the custom among brave combatants. These men have, on the whole, conducted the war honourably. That there have been instances to the contrary, I do not for a moment doubt; there always are in war. If they have these qualities they are worthy of being treated with all the consideration that you can extend consistently with the maintenance of the policy which the Government have laid down. I believe that, although it is late in the day, if an attempt is made to treat these men as brave and honourable adversaries, offering to negotiate with them on terms which they must have the greatest possible interest in accepting, because they are most injured by the continuance of the war, we may still have a chance of laying the foundation of a peaceable and harmonious empire in South Africa. But if we adhere to the policy of severity, and refuse even now we are victors and have vanquished our enemy in the field to offer them any terms that brave men and honourable men can accept, I say that although you may have won the General Election, you will have lost South Africa

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.): We are asked to vote a large sum of money for the continuance of the war. We are obliged to finish the war, and we are obliged to vote this money, but this opportunity seems to be a proper one for offering a few observations upon the way in which the war has been conducted, and a few suggestions as to the way in which it may be determined. I fear there is a risk, unless a better policy is adopted, that the war may continue for a long time to come. We had last night from the Secretary of State for War, whom I desire to congratulate upon his accession to the high office—never more important than at the present moment—to which he has been appointed by Her Majesty, a statement which I thought not only clear but very creditable to his courage and character. Someone referred to it as a pessimistic speech. It appeared to me to be a perfectly truthful and sincere statement, and it is far better that the House and the country should know the views of the Government with regard to the position at which we have arrived. The right hon. Gentleman gave us some instances in which a scattered and irregular warfare had been long continued. One other was added with great appositeness by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Forest of Dean. I will add two others which are perhaps even more remarkable—namely, the long time it took the French to reduce Algeria, a contest prolonged to fifteen or twenty years, and the equally long time it took the Russians, with all the advantages of an enormous force and superior arms, to reduce the resistance of Schamyl and the mountain tribes of the Caucasus. Therefore I do not think the Secretary of State was pessimistic when he led us to believe that possibly this warfare might last for a considerable time. He also observed with truth that this war had been marked by many miscalaulations. The first was that the Transvaal Government would give way entirely during the negotiations. The second was that the Transvaal Government would wait until we had surrounded their borders with an overwhelming force before they struck at us. The third was that the war would soon be over. The fourth was that the taking of Bloemfontein and Pretoria would put an end to the war. The fifth was that when we had offered terms to those who came in and took the oath we would be able to protect those who accepted the terms and to segregate a large number of the burghers from further resistance. Every one of these calculations has proved to be entirely erroneous. It is not the case that in war the unexpected always happens, and that we could not make provision against what has occurred. In the great war of 1870 between Germany and France from beginning to end there was scarcely an event that happened unforeseen to the German Government, and they marched from victory to victory because they had calculated everything beforehand. Want of foresight has been our bane throughout the whole of this business, during the negotiations preceding the war, and during these fifteen months of war. I do not deny for a moment that the war has been conducted under the greatest difficulty. It is a very difficult thing to fight a nation in arms, and that is what we are doing. Every burgher of the Free State and the Transvaal is as much a soldier as every one of us would be if volunteering were made universal by law, in which case it would cease to be volunteering. But although the armies of the two Republics are citizen armies they are not therefore guerillas; they are entitled to be treated as combatants in every respect, and to the same extent and degree as the armies of France or Germany. I do not think they ought to be prejudiced in any way because they are citizen soldiers; least of all should men be so treated when they are fighting for their independence. There is a certain fallacy underlying the expression "guerilla warfare." That expression began to be used when in the great Peninsular War there were, in addition to the regular armies of Spain operating in conjunction with our forces, a number of irregular bands, holding no commission whatever from the Government, but acting each on its own responsibility, and not wearing any uniform. The same thing happened in the French War of 1870, when the *Franc-tireurs* acted on their own responsibility without any commission from the Government. It is quite true that in that case you were entitled to apply totally different rules to these unlicensed combatants from those which had to be applied to regular forces. But that is not the case here. It may be that there are bands which are not under commission, and that there are plundering bands which are no better than dacoits, but the mere size of the detachments which are operating against you does not make the difference between a regular army and guerillas, and the bands under De Wet or Delarey, or other similar bands, so long as they are under regular officers, commissioned by the Government or the Commander-in-Chief, are entitled to be treated as regular soldiers. It is, therefore, not useless to recall the attention of the House to the fact that if we call these men guerillas we are only describing the scale on which they operate, and we are not denying their title to be treated as regular forces. It is important to dwell upon that, because at the Hague Conference no one contested the view that every possible step might be taken by the population of an invaded territory to defend itself by arms, and those who have read the proceedings will remember that a proposition to that effect was brought forward by Sir John Ardagh, our representative. This leads me to observe upon some serious mistakes which have been made by our commanders in applying the laws of war. The hon. Member for Durham called attention in July last* to a proclamation of Lord Roberts, of which he asked for an explanation, expressing his opinion that it was entirely unjustified by the laws of war. No explanation has ever been given by the Government of how that proclamation came to be issued. The date was 1st June, and the terms were these—

> "I warn all the inhabitants of the Orange River Colony who after fourteen days are found in arms against Her Majesty in the said colony that they will be liable to be dealt with as rebels and to suffer the destruction of personal property accordingly."

I do not believe the slightest justification can be found for that proposition, or that it will be contended seriously by the Government or their law officers that a Power in arms against another Power whose territory is invaded has any right by a stroke of the pen to turn those who are legitimate combatants into rebels. I ask the Government, therefore, whether they will justify that proclamation, and whether they will tell us if Lord Roberts issued it on his own authority, or was it sent to him from home, or had he no competent legal adviser with him who would have prevented him issuing a proclamation so entirely at variance with the recognised authorities on war. As regards farm-burning, I would say nothing, because I am glad to see by the statement in yesterday's newspapers that a proclamation was issued on the 18th November, directing that no more farms should be burned except under a special order from a General. That is a valuable change for the better, and it is also an admission that there was need for greater caution than appears to have been previously exercised. I think, however, that I ought to call attention to the correspondence which passed upon this subject between Lord Roberts and General Botha, because it was said in the debate of Friday last that Lord Roberts' proclamation was never intended to be a general authority to burn farms. Lord Roberts' letter to General Botha was written in September, and I do not think the Government were acting in consonance with usage or propriety in giving us no information of such an important interchange of communications between our Commander-in-Chief and the Commander-in-Chief of the enemy, and allowing us to learn it after a lapse of more than two months from a Dutch newspaper. I presume, of course, that the correspondence is correct. If I am wrong in that assumption, no doubt the right hon. Gentleman will correct me. Lord Roberts' words were these—

> "In order to put these views into practice, I have issued instructions that the Boer farms near the spot where an effort has been made to destroy the railroad or to wreck a train should be burned."

There is nothing in that to indicate that there must be proof that those farmhouses had been used for the purpose of active assistance, and General Botha, in his reply, did not take it in that sense, and I do not think any general would have. It is a general direction issued by Lord Roberts to burn farmhouses near a spot where an effort has been made to wreck a train, whether or not the occupants or owners of the farmhouses have been in any way connected with the attempt. Surely this is going far beyond what either military necessities or usages justify. But I think the greatest of all mistakes made is the demand for unconditional surrender. I associate myself entirely with what my hon. and learned friend said upon this subject. I go back to the 20th March of this year, when proposals for negotiation were made by the Presidents of the two Republics. Her Majesty's Government refused those proposals in the most uncompromising terms. I do not suggest that the proposals could have been accepted, but I say that the opportunity which was given by the offer should have been used to initiate negotiations and to indicate that there were terms which would be offered upon which the war might be brought to an end. At that time Her Majesty's Government were under the impression that the war would be ended by the capture of Bloemfontein and Pretoria. That has been proved to be a mistake. They did not foresee the enormous difficulties which arise when you endeavour to destroy the regular Governments of the States with which you are fighting. It is a great advantage to have a regular Government with which to treat. The Germans found that in 1870; they were obliged to get a regular Government in order to treat with France. It would have been far better for us to have endeavoured to keep the regular Governments as bodies and powers with whom we could treat. If we had treated with them and obtained a surrender from them, we should then have been entitled to turn round and call the inhabitants of the States rebels if they did not accept the terms to which their Governments had acceded. But the Government in a somewhat haughty spirit absolutely refused to consider anything but unconditional surrender. What has been the result? If terms had been offered—I do not for a moment say if the Republics had been offered the restoration of their independence -but if terms had been offered it would have had two results. In the first place, if the terms had been at all reasonable you would have drawn off from the Boer armies a large number of the burghers who are now composing those armies. Reasonable terms would have been more effective in depleting the Boer forces than any of the steps you have taken since. In all probability their armies would have begun to dwindle away, and you would have had far fewer difficulties to confront. In the next place, you would have put yourselves in a much stronger position in the face of the world. You would have had much more to show that you were animated by a reasonable and conciliatory spirit than by insisting upon a demand for unconditional surrender. I believe one of the reasons we are exposed so much to the hostility and dislike of the people of Europe is that we have manifested this uncompromising haughty spirit. This has been an error, and I am sorry to say a very costly error. It is an error for which we are paying every week during the continuance of the war. I do not say for a moment that you would not have been entitled to the annexation. Annexation has been proclaimed, and there can be no doubt the people of this country have made up their minds to it. But I still think there was a great deal of force in the words which were used by the Prime Minister in November of last year, when he said, "We seek no territory; we seek no goldfields." I think also there was a great deal of force in the words of the right hon. Gentleman the present Home Secretary when he said he could not perceive a greater misfortune than that this country should be answerable for the government of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. I am sorry to say that I think there is some danger that our experience in years to come may prove that it would be easier to deal with two States disarmed and made incapable of opposing us than it will be to deal with two disaffected colonies. As to that the future will show, and what we have to consider now is how to make the best of the position in which we stand. I shall not attempt to discuss the arrangements to be made for the future government of these new territories, but I think it would be in order to make some observations as to the terms which may be offered with a view to bringing this war to a close. The question was dealt with on Friday last by the Colonial Secretary, and his speech was certainly an improvement upon any we have previously heard from the Government upon this question. It was much better than the uncompromising tone taken up by the Prime Minister. It showed us that this Government had begun to realise the extraordinary difficulty of the position in which we stand, and I do not desire to minimise the importance of that speech. That speech, however, did not relieve us from the difficulties and the apprehensions we feel, and the Government should go much further. What are the steps which ought to be taken in order to accelerate the termination of the war? In the first place, we ought to stop farm-burning as far as possible, for nothing but absolute military necessity can justify it, and we have much more than military necessity to look to in this matter. We are ruining what is going to be our own; we are exasperating our own future British colonists, and it is doubtful whether any military gain which will compensate for certain political loss will ensue from the policy of farm-burning. We should not be content with merely issuing fresh proclamations, but we ought to address communications to the Governments of these States—so far as they have any Governments. I said before that it was a mistake to destroy those Governments, but I believe that there is still a part of the Transvaal in which they continue to maintain a government, and General Botha continues to obey the orders which he receives from that Government. You ought to open negotiations upon proper terms, and they ought to include a general amnesty. I wish to again call attention to a proclamation, in which it was stated—

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* See *The Parliamentary Debates* [Fourth Series], Vol. lxxxvi., p. 1178.

> "All burghers who have not taken a prominent part in the proceedings which led to the war, or commanded any forces against Her Majesty, will not be made prisoners of war, nor will their property be taken from them.'

Surely it is a great mistake to go back to what happened in the internal affairs of these Republics before the war broke out. I think it is a mistake to except these people from amnesty, and I think it is the greatest folly when offering amnesty to make any exceptions of that kind. I think that it is a great folly also to except the officers and generals from the amnesty. These are all brave men fighting for their country, and if we were there we should do the same thing. Why should these men, because they have shown courage and persistency before the world, be excepted from the terms of surrender which are offered to their comrades? There is one factor in the constitution of the Boer army which makes it particularly important that the generals should not be excepted from amnesty. In the Boer army the generals and officers are elected by their own men. The field-cornets elect the commandants, and they are all the choice of their own men. Therefore it is by the votes of their own men that they are put into these positions of responsibility. The men feel that they ought to stand by their generals. Which of us, after we had put a man into that position of responsibility and danger, in which position he had discharged his duty with courage, would be willing to desert him? I believe it has been an ungenerous act, and an error in policy, to except the Boer generals from the amnesty. I do not mean to deny that circumstances may arise, when peace has been restored, and the States reduced, in which it is possible that the presence of some particular persons may be found to be a menace to tranquillity. I agree that, in a case of that kind, it may be found necessary to exile a person because greater good is to be secured by the pacification of the country, but it does not follow that those persons will be generals in the army. Whatever the future may have in store for us, I believe it was a great mistake to single out these men as exceptions. There is one respect more in which terms must be offered, and that is by making some provision for re-establishing the persons who have been taken prisoners, or who have surrendered, and whose property has been destroyed. We shall have on our hands an impoverished population. Men will come back to farms where there are neither oxen nor horses, and the price of live-stock will be so high that it will practically be impossible for them to replace their stock without some assistance. You will have a large impoverished and discontented population on your hands, and if you are to restore prosperity to the country it will be absolutely necessary to make some provision to assist them.

*MR. SPEAKER: I think the right hon. Gentleman is going beyond the terms of the question before the House. He is now going into the question of establishing a government in the country after the restoration of peace.

MR. BRYCE: I only intended to indicate that some arrangement should be held out to the people who are fighting against us which would give them the prospect of being able to settle in the country as an inducement to them to discontinue hostilities. I intended to confine myself to the terms that should be offered, and I hope I shall be in order in saying that some hopes of this kind should be held out to induce those in arms against us to come in and surrender. If you think, Mr. Speaker, that I am out of order in suggesting the sources from which the funds for that purpose should come, I will not touch further upon that subject.

*MR. SPEAKER: I think that would be going too far. The right hon. Gentleman has made the only suggestion he would be in order in making upon that point.

MR. BRYCE: Then I will reserve that question for some future occasion, for it is very doubtful whether the colonies will be able to find funds for that purpose. What I do suggest is that, in the long run, it may be found cheaper to hold out some hopes of this kind to the burghers than find ourselves burdened at the end of the war with an impoverished population. I will not say anything as regards the future government of the country, because I understand that it would be travelling beyond this Vote. I must, however, say one word with regard to the persons by whom the settlement is to be conducted. What has been said by my hon. and learned friend upon this point is perfectly true. I shall not enter into any criticism of Her Majesty's principal representative in South Africa, whose personal character stands as high as that of any man, and I think that he is animated with good intentions. But I will, however, ask the House whether, after making all allowances for good intentions, it is the best policy to entrust the settlement of these territories and negotiations to one who, whether rightly or wrongly, has become an object of universal distrust—[Ministerial cries of "No, no"]—to one-half at least of Her Majesty's subjects in Cape Colony. I hope I am wrong, but I am sorry to say the information which I receive from South Africa shows that what has been said by my hon. and learned friend does not go beyond the facts. I have dwelt upon these points because I believe the situation to be an exceedingly grave one. I do not believe that there has ever been a graver situation in Cape Colony. There are some eminent persons who tell us that this war is a blessing in disguise after all, and that things were worse before, and that it was necessary to have this war. There are many persistent optimists who believe that everything is happening for the best. No doubt there were people in Ireland in 1798 who said that the rebellion of that year happened for the best, and that it was a good thing that Lord Fitzwilliam was recalled. Those people in Ireland believed that after the English and the Irish had had a fair fight they would shake hands with each other and live in peace ever afterwards. Well, if the Irish Rebellion of 1798 was a blessing in disguise, it was well disguised at the time, and the disguise has been well sustained ever since. I am sorry to say that I think the feeling in Cape Colony is now more intense, more exasperated, than it has ever been at any time since first the British flag was planted in that country. I have not said anything as to the acts attributed to our troops which appear to have raised so much indignation among the Dutch in Cape Colony. Personally I do not believe the British soldiers have been guilty of the outrages which have been attributed to them. I have too much confidence in the humanity and kindliness and good-nature of our soldiers to believe that those stories can be true; but I do not think anyone could read the reports from Cape Colony without admitting that there exists there a state of exasperation and irritation which is without parallel. There is only one thing which has survived, and that is the affection and reverence which is still felt by the Dutch in Cape Colony for the person of the Queen. There is no part where one sees more portraits of the Queen than in that inhabited by the Cape Dutch. Only the other day I read of an old Dutch farmer who, pointing to a portrait of Her Majesty which was hanging in his room, said, "I suppose my son may like it down, but it shall hang there as long as I live." I do not know whether the House realises that this feeling is so intense. The Dutch in South Africa are all related to one another. Hon. Members must have been struck by the fact that a comparatively few proper names are continually recurring. As a matter of fact there is hardly a person in the Transvaal or the Orange Free State who has not some relative in Cape Colony, and therefore when farms are burnt it is felt by people in Cape Colony as a personal injury to themselves. I earnestly hope that the language used by the Colonial Secretary on Friday night, in a speech which we admit to have been an advance upon what had previously been said, may be taken as an indication that the Government recognise now more than they have done hitherto the extreme importance of endeavouring in these dark hours to adopt a policy which will give some hopes of peace and reconciliation, and which will open up an era in which we shall be better able to resume the work which had been going on happily up to the year 1895.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): Until the concluding words of the right hon. Gentleman I think there must have been some doubt in the minds of the House as to the precise object of the two speeches which have just been delivered. Neither the right hon. Gentleman nor the hon. and learned Gentleman have in any way contravened, or attempted to traverse, the statement made by the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for the Colonies on Friday night. So far as I can judge, the intention of both members of the Front Bench opposite has been not only to fortify the Government in their resolution, but also to point out that a different standpoint is now adopted from that which has prevailed during the previous conduct of the negotiations. Well, I believe I am justified in saying that not a word was said on Friday night that was not said last May, and that the difference in the point of view which has taken place is not a difference in the policy of the Government, or in the advantages which they have held out, or been willing to hold out, to the burghers to make submission, but it is a difference in the point of view of the Opposition, who are willing to accept now that against which they loudly declaimed in May last, and I know of no hon. Member in this House who is more justly placed in that category than the hon. and learned Member for Dumfries, who has made more speeches, not intentionally mischievous, but which have been mischievous in the conduct of these negotiations, than any other Member of his calibre on his side of the House. The speech that he made just now was, if not mischievous, unwise and unpractical. He began by telling the House that he would not vote against the sum required for carrying on the war because he saw plainly that any opposition, or any slackening of our operations, would tend to a continuance of the war. But with that feeling how did he assist our generals in the field by the lurid light which he seemed to be pleased to throw over every operation which was likely to take place in South Africa? What was the object of dotting every i, of saying that famine was staring us in the face, that a native rising would follow, and that there was a likelihood of a Dutch rising in Cape Colony?

SIR ROBERT REID: I did not say it would happen, but that there was a danger of it. As to famine, I only said exactly what the Colonial Secretary said on Friday night.

MR. BRODRICK: If the hon. and learned Gentleman, instead of desiring to advance the prospects of peace as he protested, desired, from the point of view of the worst of the Queen's enemies, to point out what were the difficulties in which this country would shortly be placed, he could not possibly have selected language which was more likely to give satisfaction to those who are opposing the British troops. I think I am not going beyond the mark in saying that the line of argument he adopted is an unwise line at the moment when we have to complete the destruction of the Boer forces in the field. I confess I thought his unwisdom was accompanied by a want of practical common-sense when he came to discuss what practically amounted to the deposition of Sir Alfred Milner. The hon. and learned Gentleman said that it was the duty of the Government to send out a commission, or a commissioner, who was not to supersede Sir Alfred Milner but who should have the sole conduct of the negotiations with the Boer authorities. What would be the position of the High Commissioner?—a man to whom, I believe, the country owes a great debt of gratitude. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Aberdeen told us that Sir Alfred Milner has excited universal distrust amongst those he was engaged in governing.

MR. BRYCE: I said amongst the Dutch in Cape Colony.

MR. BRODRICK: Well, I challenge that statement. Sir Alfred Milner may be the cause of distrust amongst some of the Dutch in Cape Colony, but amongst none of the Dutch who are not the enemies of the Queen. I think he is not merely trusted and revered and honoured, but regarded as the greatest standby of the British connection by the loyal Dutch in Cape Colony. If he has excited distrust amongst those who have been guilty of disloyalty during this great crisis, it is because of his firmness, his sagacity, his unflinching and tactful performance of duty. I should like to make it perfectly clear that, whatever course the Government have to take in regard to these negotiations, it will not be a course which can be interpreted by any man, loyal or disloyal, in South Africa, as seeming in any degree or particular to take power or counsel or responsibility out of the hands of Sir Alfred Milner. We heard from the hon. and learned Gentleman his views as to the future settlement which the Government should now endeavour to promote, and he, like the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Aberdeen, said the time had arrived for negotiation. Both hon. Members spoke of the time having ceased to demand unconditional surrender.

Mr. BRYCE: I said you ought never to have asked for unconditional surrender.

Mr. BRODRICK: Does the right hon. Gentleman mean to say that he would have been willing to accept the surrender of the Boer troops without making any proviso as to their surrendering their rifles and cannon and ammunition?

Mr. BRYCE: I do not say anything of the kind; that is conditional surrender.

Mr. BRODRICK: Then the right hon. Gentleman is ready to make conditions in that respect. I think I am right in saying that in war conditional surrender might leave the men in possession of their arms.

Mr. BRYCE: The right hon. Gentleman does not understand me. That depends upon the conditions.

Mr. BRODRICK: Then the right hon. Gentleman objects to unconditional surrender, but he desires that the conditions which accompany unconditional surrender should be imposed. I will venture to read to the House, as proving that Lord Roberts has been specially careful in this respect, two proclamations. These proclamations are now in print, and I think they will be in the hands of hon. Members in a few hours. On 22nd September Lord Roberts issued a proclamation to this effect—

> "All burghers now captured or surrendering are prisoners of war, but burghers are to be informed that if they surrender voluntarily they will not be sent out of South Africa, provided they have been guilty of no acts, other than fighting against us, which, in the opinion of the general officer commanding, debar them from this privilege."

That is a slackening of the demand of unconditional surrender which the right hon. Gentleman wishes to impose. And further provision was made with regard to stock. On the 28th September Lord Roberts issued another proclamation—

> "Burghers are to be informed that as soon as their leaders submit and when every cannon has been surrendered, peace will be declared, and all the prisoners of war will then be sent back to their homes——"

that meets, to a large extent, the point raised by the right hon. Gentleman—

> "Exceptions only will be made in the cases of members of the late Governments of the South African Republic and the Orange Free State who are responsible for the war and its present disastrous prolongation, and of those who may be proved to have been guilty of acts contrary to the customs of war."

I consider that Lord Roberts has gone a long way to meet the point raised on the Front Bench opposite, and I should like at once to say, as I stated at the commencement of my remarks, that the Government have changed in no respect their own policy. We were asked with regard to a change of policy in respect to farm-burning. There has been no change of policy. Lord Roberts laid down at the outset that farm-burning would take place in certain specified cases of treachery and outrage, and he subsequently issued fresh orders recently explaining most clearly to general officers commanding in what limited circumstances farm-burning should be carried out. These orders have the entire approval of the Government. I spoke last night upon this subject, and I need not labour it now. On the general question of the terms to be offered I should like to say that we are anxious, as everybody must be, to bring the guerilla warfare as rapidly as possible to an end. If there are any arrangements in the nature of following on in the spirit of these proclamations which can give more confidence to those who are asked to surrender, we are willing to make such provisions as may be necessary, provided that they are not provisions which are to be interpreted, and will be interpreted, as a proof of weakness and will so cause a prolongation of the struggle, for there is a danger of that. Even the speech made by my right hon. friend the other night has been already distorted in the Dutch papers in Cape Colony as a confession of weakness and of weariness of the war and willingness to make any terms on our part in order to get rid of it. Strong men, Sir, are not afraid to be generous for fear of being termed weak, so long as their generosity may lead to confidence, but if generosity is to be distorted to the disadvantage of our own troops and for the prolongation of the struggle, we, at all events, will not be parties to it. I doubt whether either of the two speeches to which we have listened will have the advantage which those who made them would no doubt claim for them. I think they are both eminently calculated to show that there is a great division of opinion among us as to the methods by which to bring on the conclusion of the war, and as to the terms upon which it is possible to allow the burghers to return to their homes. I believe that in the past such speeches have gone further than those who made them ever intended to fortify the resistance to our troops, and I believe the hon. and learned Gentleman has gone a long step in his gloomy vaticinations this afternoon to increase the spirit of resistance among those who are the Queen's enemies. I make no suggestion that this is intentionally done; but, whatever the intention, the result is the same, and I say further that, whilst the Government adhere to the action they have been forced to take throughout the war, nothing which it is possible on our part to do, consistently with the considerations I have put before the House, will be wanting to show that spirit of consideration which is always valuable when shown to a conquered enemy, and on which we hope to found that spirit of confidence which alone can make for peace and prosperity in South Africa.

MR. PIRIE (Aberdeen, N.): I much regret that the moderate tone of the first two speeches made upon this Vote has not been followed by the speech which the House has just listened to. I can only say that there is a large body of opinion in this country which will regret even in this House the practice of attributing to men who consider it the first duty of patriotic men to speak the truth, however unpalatable it may be, that they are traitors or in collusion with the Queen's enemies. That is the continuation of a policy which has been most disastrous in the past. The policy of attributing the word "traitor" to everybody who differs from the Government was carried out at the General Election. We have had enough of that policy in the country without the right hon. Gentleman introducing it in the House of Commons. The cry of "wolf" has been overdone, and I do not think that the country will stand much more of it. I consider that this is a most grave crisis in the country's history, and it is the duty of everyone recognising that we are in a minority, to make the voice of the minority more and more heard until the voice of the minority will become the voice of the majority. The prospect we have to face is too serious for one not to incur the risk of repetition, and the taking up of the time of the House. I think it is to be regretted that the Leader of the House thought fit to closure a debate or shirk from giving full time to the House for the ventilation of the question.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): What is the meaning of that?

MR. PIRIE: I refer to the closuring of the debate on the Address. We have had three speeches on this subject—one from the Prime Minister, one from the Leader of the House, and one from the Colonial Secretary, and if we could only reconcile these three speeches we might have some hope. If we could reconcile the speech of the Colonial Secretary with the action which he proposes then we might also have some hope, but I find a great difficulty in doing so. The Colonial Secretary emphasises the necessity of consulting local opinion in South Africa. He emphasises particularly the necessity for doing this, and yet I regret that he proposes to appoint Sir Alfred Milner as Governor of the new colonies. In this respect I agree with what the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Aberdeen said in criticising this appointment. I do not desire to make any attack upon Sir Alfred Milner, but I do not shirk from stating what I believe to be the truth when there is any necessity for it. In a policy of reconciliation, whose are the feelings which ought to be the most consulted—the feelings of those who are already with us, or the feelings of those who are estranged? There is no doubt about it that the most important thing is to consult the feelings of those whom we have estranged, and who are not with us. Rightly or wrongly—and I do not say which, but I will leave the House to judge—Sir Alfred Milner is distrusted by an enormous number, and the vast majority of those whose feelings have to be won over. I do say that this is a policy which will be looked upon in South Africa as a continuation of the policy of appointing advocates of, and men thoroughly identified with, the faction of which Mr. Rhodes is the head. That policy will still further estrange the feelings which we are anxious to draw to our side. It is a continuation of the same policy which was so marked when we occupied Johannesburg and Pretoria. Then it was found necessary to appoint local commissions to investigate certain things which had taken place in those towns during the war, and what was the great charge which was then made? It was that the appointments upon those commissions were given to men who were already on one side—namely, the side of the great capitalists. The same thing is seen in the appointment of the District Commissioners. Men entirely out of sympathy with the feelings of the people in the district have been selected—so much so that the Uitlanders themselves had to petition against some of the appointments. They also petitioned that the interests of the small holders should be represented on the commissions, and in many cases appointments were altered on account of the representation so made. [AN HON. MEMBER: No.] Well, I can mention instances in which men were replaced by others. I would ask whether the House and the country are going to ignore the significance of the Afrikander Congress recently held at Worcester, in Cape Colony. I venture to say that it is without precedent in the history of our colonies up to now that a congress of our colonists has had to assemble with quick-firing guns planted on the hills around the meeting-place. It is the first time in the history of our great Empire that such a thing has taken place, and I trust it will be the last. I would not have the House ignorant of these facts, or shirk the discussion of them and applying remedies. I say that as long as Sir A. Milner remains in South Africa the hope of peace and tranquillity in that country is but an idle dream. I would try and glean a ray of hope from the prospect of his leaving Cape Colony; and possibly his appointment to the newly-occupied territories may simply be a way for the Government to escape from the position in which they found themselves. I trust that his stay in these two colonies may be of the briefest duration. Why should not the Government boldly face the situation, and make a new appointment? Why not follow the precedent of Canada?

*MR. SPEAKER: I must remind the hon. Member that the question of the appointment of Sir A. Milner to the Governor-Generalship of South Africa does not come under the motion before the House. The general question of South Africa is not material to the Vote.

MR. PIRIE: I merely wished to bring the point into view that Sir A. Milner is scarcely the man to carry on the negotiations for peace. But meantime I have made my point sufficiently clear, and will pass on now to the regrettable loss of opportunities of arresting the progress of the war. Until we change our methods we shall run the risk of needless and endless prolongation of the war. I hold that the situation has vastly changed since last supplies were asked for. I exceedingly regret that when we occupied Bloemfontein, and again when we occupied Pretoria, we did not make greater efforts to secure peace. We might have seized these opportunities to secure terms of peace without the least loss of the respect or dignity of this country. The courage and humanity of our enemies are now generally recognised. At last the country has come to realise the truth; and I should like to see practical effect given to these considerations by even more generous terms being offered them than have already been made. I should like to see their bravery recognised by the Boers being told that when a settlement comes they at least will be allowed to retain their flag. Others of our colonies retain their flag, and why not the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony? Then we should endeavour to secure better intermediaries than those mentioned in the speech of the Secretary for the Colonies. Madame Joubert and Madame Botha, however estimable ladies they may be, are scarcely the intermediaries which a great nation like ours ought to choose as the bearers of terms and conditions of peace. Why not appoint, for instance, Sir H. De Villiers, or men of his stamp, who would deservedly have the confidence of both parties? Or why should not military men be sent with a flag of truce to inquire of the leaders of the Boer armies what terms they would accept? The sooner the discussion of peace is started the better. The question of compensation is of vital importance to the Boers. It has already been stated in the House that no compensation will be given, and I will not dwell on that point. But I would propose that we should advance loans to these men, when they return to their farms, at a moderate rate of interest, in order to free them from the danger of their farms falling into the hands of the mortgagees. The ignorance in this country about the state of affairs in South Africa has been and is colossal. We are more indifferent to South Africa at the present day than we were eighteen months ago. If our arms had been as invincible as our ignorance we would have conquered the world long ago. I think that the worst factor in the situation has been the influence of the press during the last eighteen months, more especially the press in South Africa, which is completely under the control of one man.

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The question of the action of the press does not arise upon this Vote.

MR. PIRIE: Before concluding I would just refer to an example of the ignorance which prevails in this country. A distinguished gentleman, whose words naturally carry a great deal of weight in this country, classified the Boer armies in the field at the present moment as mercenaries and bandits. Not many weeks ago we were told that President Kruger had come to Europe leaving millions in their hands; but if they were mercenaries and bandits how could these moneys be safe? I regret much that such a statement should have been made. We must face the situation. I agree with the hon. and learned Member for Dumfries that we are in great danger, if we do not change our policy, of losing completely South Africa, not perhaps in the immediate future, but in the course of history. Our proud boast has been, and is, that we never know when we are beaten. We at least can give credit to, and ought to make allowances for our enemies, that, like we ourselves, they do not know and will not recognise that they are conquered.

MR. BROADHURST (Leicester): I only rise for the purpose of calling attention to the extraordinary statement made a few minutes ago by the Secretary of State for War. There are a number of hon. Members in this House, as well as many people outside, who have no personal animus whatever to the present High Commissioner in South Africa; but we believe he has become so entangled with the authors and the causes of the war that his name is not as efficient as it otherwise would be for peace purposes in South Africa. And I cannot imagine a more unfortunate person to send to the two conquered colonies for the purpose of making peace arrangements than the present representative of the Crown in South Africa. Now what did the right hon. the Secretary of State for War say, if I heard him correctly? He said that Sir A. Milner was only mistrusted by those who were enemies of the Queen. These were his words. [MR. BRODRICK: Hear, hear.] Well, then, a more disastrous, a more ludicrous expression to come from a Secretary of State for War and a Cabinet Minister I cannot conceive. All the speeches made by hon. Members in this House and outside it put together could not possibly be calculated to cause more injury to our future in these colonies than the declaration of the Secretary of State for War.

MR. BRODRICK: What I said was that those in South Africa who mistrusted Sir A. Milner were enemies of the Queen.

MR. BROADHURST: As I understand the right hon. Gentleman, he now limits his expression. I accept that limitation, and I suppose that was his original intention. But suppose he limits it, he limits it to the place where it will do the greatest amount of harm. Then after making that remarkable statement—a statement calculated to cause greater mischief than existed before the pacific speech of the Colonial Secretary on Friday night—he went on to severely lecture the Secretary for the Colonies for his pacific speech. Next he lectured the right hon. Member for South Aberdeen and the hon. and learned Member for Dumfries, two of the most distinguished men in the country, as though he had only schoolboys to deal with. [Laughter.] This is not a laughing matter. The Secretary for the Colonies made a speech which caused hope to revive in the breast of many in this House and outside it who were despairing, but now the Secretary for War destroys that by getting up in his place and in a torrent of passionate words, which we seldom listen to in this House, and in his most severe manner—and that is saying a good deal for the Secretary for War—he told the Secretary for the Colonies that the speech made by that right hon. Gentleman on Friday night—a speech which was cheered from every part of House and to which the papers the next day almost unanimously gave their approval as an olive-branch held out to the colonies—had really done injury in South Africa, inasmuch as it had been interpreted as a sign of weakness and as a sign of surrender. If you are going to pursue this deadly and disastrous conflict on these lines no one can fortell the end. This present Parliament will not live to see the end of the Votes and Supplementary Estimates. I am sure the whole country and all well-wishers of peace, and all who desire to see the end of this war, will be alarmed to-morrow when they read that extraordinary statement of the Secretary of State for War. I do not suppose that there are many men in this country who can claim greater authority to speak on international usages and law, and not one man who harbours in his breast less passion and less excitement, who is more generous to a degree to friend and foe alike, ever since I have known him, and that is now thirty years, than the right hon. Member for South Aberdeen; and I say that his speech should have been welcomed by the Secretary for War and not severely lectured in the manner it was. My right hon. friend and the hon. and learned Member for Dumfries were engaged this morning in warning the country they love that it is pursuing a blind policy of passion which may lead to disaster after disaster, and even to the overthrow of the Empire which they admire, and which they have done as much to build up as the Secretary of State for War. They have been warning the nation of the approach of a great Imperial danger, that we are strong enough to be generous to a pastoral people, a portion of whom are still in arms against us, and yet the Secretary for War thinks it would be unbecoming, undignified, and a sign of weakness for one of the most powerful Empires that has existed ever since the world began, to show mercy and conciliation to an army of farmers, backed up as they are by the passionate patriotism and the devotion of the womankind of their country. What we are saying is that when the women of a nation take up the cause of that nation that cause will never die as long as the women live, and as long as they give birth to men children in the future. It is all very well to smile and to laugh; but we who have to pay the piper, we who have to bear the heat and burden of the day in these fights, we and our friends and our relatives who have spent their blood, and we the workers at home who have to suffer in consequence of this wild policy of Her Majesty's Government, do not laugh. Some of us are old enough to remember the disasters following on other wars. I am old enough to remember the tremendous depression that followed on the Crimean War, when we, the workers, were in a state of semi-starvation for a year or two, when employment was impossible. That war, it is now admitted, even by the Prime Minister of the present Government, was a crime, but in comparison with it the present war is a greater crime. It is a war of unholy lust gain.

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The policy of the war is not the question before the House.

MR. BROADHURST: I thank you, Mr. Speaker. You have been most lenient with me, and I am sensible that I have done a great wrong; but my feelings and my experience of the time I am referring to led me to commit this breach of order. I want to appeal to the right hon. the Secretary of State for War to undo, if he can, the enormous injury that he has done. Better a thousand times that we should have paid him £50,000 to remain out of office than that he should have come here to-day and said that everyone who differs from the High Commissioner in South Africa is an enemy of the Queen.

MR. BRODRICK: I wish to correct the hon. Gentleman, who misrepresents me on a material point. The statement was that there was universal distrust of Sir A. Milner in South Africa. [AN HON. MEMBER: One half the population.] Well, one half the population. I said that those who distrusted Sir A. Milner in South Africa were enemies of the Queen.

MR. BROADHURST: That is a statement more disastrous than the former. We might have excused the other as a slip of the tongue in the course of an impassioned address against the Colonial Secretary and my two hon. friends. That might have been overlooked in a young Minister of the Cabinet, but now, in cold blood, he gets up and reiterates it in a much worse form. I do hope that before this discussion is closed someone will send for the Leader of the House. Let him come to take charge of this important difficulty into which we have been landed by the Secretary for War. I solemnly believe that we are in a position in South Africa into which we have been led by causes it would be clearly out of order to refer to in this debate—I solemnly and sincerely believe that this Empire has not been in such a position of danger during this century as it has been led into at this moment through the events in South Africa; and if those of us who honestly and conscientiously believe this and raise our voices to warn our countrymen of the abyss towards which they are drifting—if we do that in a spirit of friendship and as a warning of a danger to come, surely we should not be charged with being traitors and enemies of our Queen. We should not be railed at by the Secretary of State for War. We should be welcomed at any rate as men who are desirous of befriending our country. They who warn of danger are not the creators of danger. They see the danger and warn their friends against approaching nearer to it. I certainly would not have interposed in the debate to-day had I not felt keenly the enormous injury that has been done to the country and to the prospects of a peaceful settlement in South Africa, and desired the avoidance of a revolution in that country by the unwise, and as I thought at the time, hasty, perhaps ill-considered and unintentional remarks of the Secretary of State for War, which have now been repeated in even a worse form in his cooler moments at the Table of the House. I think the House will have cause to regret the evil day on which these words were uttered and the manner and form in which they were persisted in when an opportunity came to withdraw them by the Secretary of State for War.

*SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT (Sheffield, Ecclesall): It will be a consolation to those on the other side of the House to know that the terrible crime which the hon. Member has so denounced, namely, the Crimean war, was a crime committed by their own party. The point of the discussion is against Sir A. Milner as Governor of the two new colonies, and that is based upon the statement that he is regarded with special aversion by a certain section of the Dutch population. What does this charge against Sir A. Milner, put by the hon. Member who has just sat down in such aggravated form, amount to? What I say is that those who are opposed to Sir A. Milner at this moment are not a minority of the whole population, but a minority even of the Dutch population. I venture to say that there is not a British subject, not a man of British blood in the whole of South Africa, who has not the most absolute confidence in Sir A. Milner, with the exception of a very few gentlemen in a certain small coterie of ardent and extreme politicians, and who could be counted on the fingers of both hands. The whole of the British element in South Africa believe in Sir A. Milner to a degree which no other representative of the Crown has ever succeeded in winning for himself in that country. And they have good reason for believing in him, for no High Commissioner has ever appeared in South Africa more moderate, more statesmanlike, and more truly devoted to the interests of the whole country—Boers as well as British. Everyone who knows Sir A. Milner is aware of his moderation and his anxiety to be just to the Boers, and that he will strain a point in favour of the Boers and not in favour of the British. Who are those Dutch who are opposed to Sir A. Milner? They have a right to their views; that I do not dispute; but I say they are a minority, even a small minority, of the Dutch people. Does the hon. Gentleman think that the Afrikander Bond represent the Dutch population in South Africa? He might exactly as well tell us that this new United Irish League, which has just expelled the hon. Member for North Louth, represents the opinion of the people of the United Kingdom. The thing is absurd. The Afrikander Bond is an anti-British conspiracy, which has been working for years to drive the British people from South Africa. They have just been foiled, and foiled for ever; and naturally its members are bitter and meet to pass bitter resolutions. One of these resolutions asks that this country should give up the whole results of the war, and abandon all that our troops have been fighting for, and our taxpayers have been paying dearly for, and hand back the independence of these Republics. I think the Secretary for War is perfectly right in describing these gentlemen as enemies of the British Government. They undoubtedly are; it is their pride, and they boast of it; therefore my right hon. friend merely made a statement of fact. Who are the Boers opposed to Sir A. Milner? A comparatively small minority in the Cape Colony of the more ardent spirits of the Afrikander Bond—numbering at the most 8,000 to 10,000. We hear much of the number of Dutch women opposed to us. More ludicrous statements I never heard than those in connection with these Dutch women. There are a few, no doubt, in both the colonies who advise their male relatives to continue the war, and who in newspapers, placards, and telegrams are described as more bitter against us than the men. But at most there are only a few hundred of such women. Is the hon. Gentleman aware of the large number of Dutch women in the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal who long for the end of this war, and who advise their fathers and brothers, their husbands and sons, to give up the struggle? I firmly believe that if you could get the whole Dutch women of the two colonies together, where they could be polled, you would find the fighting Dutch women outnumbered by the peace-loving by ten to one. The whole thing was a gross exaggeration. I say that not only is Sir A. Milner a good man for the post to which he has been appointed, he is the only man. He alone thoroughly knows South Africa, both the races and their wants. He has the confidence of the whole of the British element, which is a good deal more that half the population of South Africa; he has the confidence of quite one half of the Dutch population. A quarter of the whole are neutral and would come in at once on peace being declared, leaving only a quarter of the Dutch population as opposed to Sir A. Milner. The extreme bitterness of which opposite Gentlemen make so much exists largely in their own imagination. Of course there is bitterness and ill-feeling after the struggle which has been going on; but the remarkable thing is that when these two fighting armies, these two bands of opposed soldiery are brought into close contact they immediately fraternise. Our people treat the Boers excellently well. I have seen hundreds of Boers under our control, and all spoke well of their treatment. On the other hand a large number of our soldiers have been treated well by the Boers. There is nothing of that furious and eternal animosity which hon. Gentlemen seem to think exists in South Africa. What feeling there is will disappear sooner than is imagined. Once let the guerilla warfare end and the guerilla bands be scattered, and it will be found that under the just rule Sir A. Milner will establish in South Africa the two races will very soon harmonise.

Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett.

I am confident of that from what I have myself seen.

*MR. BLACK (Banffshire): Mr. Speaker, it seems to be generally recognised that one of the mistakes committed in the policy of the present war has been what might be termed premature annexation by proclamation. The Government seems to have forgotten that annexation involves not only rights but also responsibilities and duties. It involves the responsibility of affording protection to the inhabitants of the annexed territories, and this is the origin of not a few of the difficulties that have been experienced by this country owing to the impossibility of fulfilling its responsibilities adequately in this respect. The matter which is now before the House is, how we can shorten the present war? One method suggested is that the Government should, instead of confining themselves to hunting down what they themselves term guerilla bands, erect a system of government over certain areas sufficient to give protection to Boers willing to surrender, so that they may know when they come within those areas they will receive that protection which they are entitled to under the British flag, and that they can there begin life again with the full assurance that they will not be harassed by their fellow-countrymen who manage to evade our arms. That is one suggestion, but there is a second matter to which I should like to direct the attention of the Government which seems likely to militate against a peaceful solution in South Africa. I refer to the placing of arms in the hands of the ordinary inhabitants of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colonies who are of British origin and descent as against those who are of Dutch descent. Is that a policy which is calculated to bring the war to an end? The only method according to which one can form a judgment in such matters is to ask oneself what he would do under similar circumstances. This war has been described, and rightly described, as a racial war. Let right hon. Gentlemen and hon. Gentlemen on the Government side of the House suppose that a foreign army had landed on these shores; that the foreign nation had amongst ourselves a large number of residents; that our arms in the field had been vanquished; and that the foreign nation before the final cessation of hostilities placed arms in the hands of those of our residents who were of that nation in origin and descent, and asked us to lay down our arms. Should we do so? In the language of an orator of the last century, we who are members of this British nation "never would lay down our arms—never, never, never." According to the statement of members of the Government, the policy enunciated by the right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary the other day is the same policy that he has always enunciated. The Colonial Secretary in his place on the 7th of August last enunciated the policy of the Government, and it was this: that after the cessation of hostilities, after the war had been brought to a conclusion, there should be established a government by military force. That is how the right hon. Gentleman defined Crown colony government. If that is a correct definition, is that a method which is calculated to lead to an early, permanent and prosperous settlement of South Africa? We in Scotland, Sir, have had some experience of the attempt to govern by military force; not in this century, nor the last, but the century before, and we still remember it. The iron has entered into the soul of the Scots. The reason why Graham of Claverhouse and Grierson of Tay have always been held in such detestation in every Scottish household is not because they were beyond other men of a bloodthirsty character, but because in the exercise of their duty, in imposing a government by military force upon a high-spirited and unwilling people, they were compelled to do acts which rankle in the mind of the Scottish people to this day. Yet this is the policy which both the Colonial Secretary and the Secretary for War have ventured to propound for the settlement of the present war. The Prime Minister the other day in another place said it might be two or three generations before peace came to South Africa. I venture to say if this policy is adopted it will be not two or three but twenty or thirty generations before we shall wipe out the heritage of hate which we shall have thus incurred.

*SIR ALBERT ROLLIT (Islington, S.) said that, as one who had always given a silent support to the South African policy of the Government, he now desired to make a few observations. He would always be content to support the policy of the Government unless some very grave reason occurred for his differing from it. But he hoped it was not inconsistent with that support to say—as he felt bound to say—that there were expressions in the speech of the Secretary for War which he regretted, and also that exception might be taken to its tone, which was hardly a reciprocation of the spirit of the speech made by the hon. Member for Dumfries. To him the speech of the hon. Member for Dumfries seemed couched in a temperate tone, and he thought he observed in it a degree of restraint in not dwelling on the continuance or otherwise of the appointment of Sir Alfred Milner, for the Government must both determine its own policy and choose its own instruments for carrying it out, and he should have thought that the Government, in the interest of peace, would have received with welcome instead of with reproach this change of attitude in the Opposition, in dealing with these and other controversial matters. In his opinion the speech of the hon. Member for Dumfries was in some measure helpful to the Government; it contained what some hon. Members were pleased to hear, a candid acceptance of the results of the war, so far as annexation was concerned. Upon that question there was no real difference in the House and very little in the country; the sacrifice of life and treasure had been too great to ever allow even the possibility of a repetition of what had taken place, and it was the almost universal opinion of the country that these two Republics must in future be part of Her Majesty's dominions, in the interest not only of our South African colonies, but also in the interest of the Empire and of our own trade. United feeling in the House and united feeling in the country were the best security against the continuance of the war. Owing to the war, capital was not being used, and labour had ceased to exist. After the war ceased there, no doubt, would have to be an interval of military rule, but he hoped, and the Colonial Secretary had, he was glad to observe, recently expressed similar views, that that interval would be of short duration. He thought we were entitled now to hold out some hopes of this and of local self-government to the Boers in order that they might lay down their arms. The alternative to hope in an enemy was that despair which gave him strength to die fighting. It was foolish to repress hopeful anticipations of an honourable and reasonable settlement which might end the war and bring a desirable and lasting peace; and the promise of municipal institutions would not only tend to this, as in so many other colonies, but facilitate that taxation of the Transvaal and Free State for the war and for future police purposes which was so just and necessary in relief of the burdens of British taxation.

*MR. CHANNING (Northamptonshire, E.) said the wise and weighty and conciliatory words of the hon. Member for South Islington might well be accepted by every unbiassed man in the House. The speech which had been delivered by the Colonial Secretary in the House on Friday last had been interpreted by many Members as deliberately conceived in language calculated to conciliate the Boers, and give them some hope that a change of policy might be initiated, in short, as an effort to allay the passions that were raging in South Africa. He had carefully considered the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, and he did not attach that meaning to it. That speech had added not one jot or tittle to what the Government had repeatedly said in regard to their policy. The only novelty in it was its conciliatory tone—a tone welcome to the House as it opened out a chance of peace for the two conflicting races in South Africa. But the speech of the Secretary for War delivered that day, talking of the complete destruction of the Boer forces, and amounting to a virtual incitement to civil war, showed a lamentable change in tone and spirit. If the temper of that speech was to be accepted as the temper of the Ministry—if the Ministry had adopted a policy of brute force and extermination—the attitude of many members of the Opposition who had hitherto been reluctant to refuse supplies to the War Office would be changed. The right hon. Gentleman had spoken of the debt due to Sir Alfred Milner. He (Mr. Channing) believed that they owed the change of tone that day to the sudden pressure of Sir Alfred Milner. He believed that from the first Sir Alfred Milner had been a curse to South Africa. [Ministerial cries of "Oh!"] In his speech to the deputation from the congress of Dutchmen, Sir Alfred Milner had exhibited that exasperating spirit which again and again had shown itself, last year, in sudden despatches just when the terms of settlement were within reach, and this prevented the negotiations from coming to a peaceful issue. He had been elected by a largely increased majority as an avowed opponent of the whole policy of annexation, and his personal conviction was that we should never have peace in South Africa until the independence of the Republics was restored. That might be challenged, but he would put it thus: If the Government were sincere in their professions that they were going at any near date to give these colonies self-government — self-government in the same sense as Australia and Canada—independence would then be the inevitable result, after such a war as this, so that it would have to be given ultimately under the Government's own scheme, if they did not have independence now in some form or other as the result of a wise and generous recognition of the forces at work in South Africa. They would never be able to end the war in settled peace by the policy now being pursued. The evidence of cruelty, of the burning of farms, and of women and children being driven out and exposed to terrible danger largely rested on letters from the front from soldiers and officers, who stated these facts clearly and unmistakably by the dozen. Those who had read the letters between Lord Roberts and General Botha knew that the sufferings of women and children were being used to coerce men to unconditional surrender. But the effect was exactly the opposite. Every farm burnt meant a recruit for De Wet. The policy of annexation by proclamation had resulted in changing the legal status of those who were in arms against us, who were now placed in the position of rebels in a country governed by military law; and if it was intended to apply anything like the American rules quoted by the First Lord of the Treasury to those against us in this war, he should protest against it in the most energetic manner, and he should continue to do so as long as he remained a Member of the House. They should remember the noble protest of Lord Chatham against the infamous doctrine of another noble Lord that in the American War they had a right "to use all the means God and Nature put into our hands." Such a doctrine was unconstitutional, it was inhuman, it was unchristian. The First Lord of the Treasury had denied the right of the Boers to participate in the benefit of the rules of war laid down by the Hague Conference, on the ground that they were not signatories to the Conference; but Despatch No. 75 showed that Lord Salisbury had on behalf of England assented to the application of all the rules laid down by the Geneva Convention as revised at the Hague to non-signatory Powers, and that the only reservation made by England had reference to the arbitration procedure. Therefore the people of this country had a right to demand that the rules of war as laid down at those Conferences should be extended to those poor wretched struggling people. He was weary of mealy-mouthed apologists who talked as if afraid of laying responsibility on the soldiers. The responsibility rested with Her Majesty's Government. The soldiers were but the instruments. He had talked to soldiers who had been engaged in previous wars on behalf of this country, and they had expressed their detestation and disgust at the cruelties and horrors in which they had had to take their part. It was part of their duty, but it was a duty they discharged reluctantly. They did not blame the soldiers for any of the atrocious or cruel results arising in the course of these proceedings. There was no doubt that the proclamations in the first place were violations of the rules of war, and that in their application, whether from the recklessness of the soldiers or the expansion of the instructions from Lord Roberts, the wrecking and looting, and the hardships imposed on women and children constituted an atrocious crime which would stain the history of this country for many a year. He had many friends who had spent some time among the Boers, who had lived in their houses and enjoyed their hospitality. They were very much like the men who were to be found in the Highlands of Scotland. He remembered years ago going to a Highland cottage to make some inquiry, and being politely told that the family were at their devotions. As he went away he heard the simple psalm which was being sung inside the cottage. That was the life of the Boer as well as the

Highlander. Mr. Selous, who knew them, had told the country again and again of the simple, generous, and kindly life of the people. It was that sort of home life that we were stamping out by these atrocious proceedings in South Africa. He ventured to say that no more ill-advised course could be taken towards a simple pastoral people like that. Yes, and it was in direct contradiction to the most recent statement of English policy in just this event. What was the course the English representative took at the Hague Conference last year? Sir John Ardagh demanded in the most explicit form that every legitimate and rightful means should be left for the defence of their liberties and independence to a weak people in a country overrun and in the occupation of military forces from outside. Suppose this country were invaded, and a desperate remnant of our own men were driven to defend themselves on the tors of Dartmoor and Exmoor in Devonshire, or among the hills of Derbyshire and Cumberland, who would say that we should not encourage them to fight to the last? Should we speak then of men fighting for liberty as brigands and murderers? Yes, they had more problems to solve than the mere success of Ministers in enforcing what they called unconditional submission. The destruction of the freedom of a man, or of a nation, was a terrible crime. It was an act which went to the very root of human nature, and stirred the very inmost fibres of the heart of any human being who had true manhood in him. They adopted a policy like that instead of a policy of conciliation, and they expected to build upon that in future in South Africa a system of self-government and of willing acquiescence in British rule and willing participation in the duties of the Empire. He hoped that hon. Members had read the striking book of Dr. Conan Doyle on the war. He said, of the friendship of these people in the work of the British Empire, "Could we have such men as willing fellow-citizens, they would be worth more to us than all the gold mines in the country." We were adopting a policy by which we were stamping out the very instincts and the very life-blood of these men. It was an accursed policy, and a policy which every right-minded man in that House should condemn and reject with indignation. Very likely, in spite of all the efforts of those who wished to see peace in South Africa, this war would be prolonged for a further period. He hoped at any rate that these considerations of broad statesmanship—considerations which searched out the real motives of human action, and tried to make out a future for men based on human nature—would have their share, and that before the sittings of the House closed they would have a more enlightened and generous statement of policy than the statement they had had that day.

*Sir JOHN LENG (Dundee): I desire to make a few observations from the point of view of one who from the outbreak of this unhappy conflict in South Africa has endeavoured to preserve a fair, calm, and cool temper. I have to deplore the extreme one-sidedness and the extreme heat of extreme men on both sides of this question. Happily we have, during the past few months, seen out of doors a considerable abatement of the temper of the people on both sides of this question, and that has been reflected in the discussions in this House during this short session. Until an hour or two ago we have had the gratification of hearing men on both sides speak in a judicious and judicial temper. The debate this morning was opened by what was really a remarkable speech by the hon. Member for Dumfries. It was characterised, as all his speeches are, by a thoughtful and temperate spirit. He presented to the House the great and admitted difficulties in which the country now stands with regard to the Transvaal and the Free State. He enumerated, and he was justified in enumerating, the very grave and numerous miscalculations which had been made by the Government since the beginning of the war. That speech was followed by another by the Member for South Aberdeen, which was also characterised by admirable restraint and moderation. Therefore I cannot understand how any provocation was given to the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War for importing into this discussion a gust of passion and a sudden rise of temperature. It appears to me that there was not the slightest provocation. He expressed himself with a fire and indignation which seemed to me altogether unnecessary and uncalled for. We were told at the recent election that every seat lost to the Government was a seat gained to the Boers, and it might have been inferred from the continual reiteration and sending out of telegrams in all directions wherever a contest was going on to that effect that Boers in South Africa were at the end of one of those tape machines reporting the results of the elections, that they had the morning papers, and the successive editions of our evening papers all over the veldt, that what occurred here was instantly telegraphed to every farm steading, every hut, and every cottage, and that nothing was done in this country but it was at once known in every part of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. If that had been so, how was it that the Government, as they thought, swept the country, carried their elections in so many places, defeated so many Liberal candidates, aye, and many Imperialist Liberal candidates? One would have thought that they would have had some regard for Imperialist Liberals.

*MR. SPEAKER: These observations would have been more in order upon the debate on the Address.

*SIR JOHN LENG: I had no intention of speaking when I entered the House to-day, but I will leave that line of remark and pass on to the observations made by the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State with regard to the suggestion made by the hon. Member for Dumfries that, without in any way superseding the very able and distinguished men, and especially Sir Alfred Milner, who represent the Colonial Office, men of great ability, great authority, and great moderation of judgment should be sent to South Africa as peacemakers. This will cause no degradation to Sir Alfred Milner. I am one of those who admire Sir Alfred Milner. His book on Egypt is one of the finest books of the kind that ever was written or published. I was out in Egypt some years ago, and am prepared to testify to the excellence of his administration there. I have great respect for Sir Alfred Milner, but along with that respect I have the feeling, as many must have the feeling, that a man cannot have been connected so long as he has been with this disastrous conflict without exciting in the minds of those with whom unfortunately we are at war feelings adverse to an easy settlement. They must be prejudiced by things that have occurred, and for which he may be in no way responsible. What happens every day in commercial affairs? Two merchants are led into a dispute about some commercial transaction, on which much may be said on both sides. If they could meet for five minutes they could settle it easily, but their tempers rise and they become excited in the matter, and each thinks that his personal honour is involved and will not give way. Litigation is proposed, and then someone comes in and suggests that both should refer the matter to a judicious mutual friend. That is the way to get themselves relieved of the temper introduced. Every day in transactions of that kind, formal or informal, arrangements are made satisfactory to both parties. In my humble opinion there is no man, however high his position may be, however great his ability, and however great his authority, too high to be sent out on this mission of peace. "Blessed are the peacemakers," and it will be far better for the Government to suppress for the moment any feelings they may have in the matter. I say it would be a noble thing for Sir Alfred Milner, and a still nobler thing for the Colonial Secretary, if they would for a time stand aside and permit some men of the character I have described to intervene, to hear in South Africa what is said there, and to give confidentially their suggestions to the Government as to how peace may be most speedily and effectually accomplished. I have no wish that this country should appear in the face of our opponents, or in the face of the world, to climb down, but it is not climbing down to act with a peace-loving feeling, with a desire for justice, and with a desire to terminate those disasters which have occurred, and which may still continue to occur in South Africa. I would implore the Government to adopt this peace-loving attitude.

MR. HARWOOD (Bolton) said they were asked to vote this money for the continuance of the war. He thought that they might ask themselves as a natural corollary why the war was continued. The war was continued because large numbers in these territories would not accept the terms offered. The House of

Commons and the country should ask themselves whether they were asking such terms as could fairly be accepted. In this matter a large proportion of the people of this country did not belong to either of the two parties. A large proportion were neither pro-Boer nor anti-Boer. He believed that the majority of the people of the country regarded with a feeling of infinite pity the continuance of the war, and were disposed to consider whether we were offering terms such as our foes could accept. The war was inevitable from the first; it was the clashing of two noble ideals, and history presented many such struggles. He thought the people of this country could not help sympathising with the ideal of the Boers. Those who knew and sympathised with the great services done by the Dutch nation in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and who remembered that the Dutch nation stood alone alongside the English nation fighting for the freedom of the world and for the great causes which we all thought so noble now, felt that it was a sort of historical tragedy that these two brothers should now find themselves in such bitter conflict. He asked what could be done to stop this fratricidal war. The first thing we could do was to put ourselves in a right temper of mind towards our opponents, and that right temper of mind required us to understand their ideal. Was it not a noble dream of those Dutchmen to revive in that part of the world the glories of the past? Think of the Dutch nation now and what it was. Was it not natural that men of that race finding themselves in that country should dream of the recrudescence of the mighty history which made them so proud as a nation? Was it not natural that they should have the Afrikander ideal? He believed the Secretary for the Colonies was perfectly right in saying that there was a desire on the part of the Afrikanders to establish Afrikander rule through the whole of that part of Africa.

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is not in order in this discussion in discussing the origin of the war.

MR. HARWOOD said he only wanted the House to feel what was in the minds of their opponents, so that they might save themselves from spending more money and the blood of their fellows, and stirring up all sorts of ill-feeling. We said that we could not allow that ideal, and he was as strong as anyone on that point, but when we came to offer terms of peace we must remember the nature of our foes and the nature of the contest we had waged with them. These were noble foes, deserving of noble terms of peace. They must not be treated as ordinary combatants. They must be treated as brothers, and as the noblest foes we had ever seen in the whole of our political history. He was not advocating this or that particular kind of settlement, but what he believed to be much more important — the whole temper in which these two nations were to come together. Let us remember that we had to live together as brothers, and therefore we must find a settlement that would make it possible. The Colonial Secretary had scouted the idea of giving compensation for the burned farms, and stated that we were not compensating the loyalists for their farms. We should treat all the farms on the same footing except where there was distinct evidence in certain cases of treachery. What that footing might be it was not for him to discuss. What were we to do to bring about a condition of self-government? The Colonial Secretary said the other night that we must finish one stage before we passed to another. The hon. Member ventured to say that the stages were not divided into compartments in that way. One stage grew out of another. The stage of satisfactory self-government must grow out of the other. Why were these men fighting as they were now? It was because they had no hope. We must give them hope and make them feel definitely that self-government would come, and not in some vague way that it might be possible in some distant generation. We must make them feel that the time was coming soon. It was ridiculous to say that you could not offer people independence until they had shown themselves fit for it. After they had self-government in Canada they had a rebellion. He begged the Government, with all the emphasis possible, to make it quite clear that we would give to these two new colonies the same self-government that we had given to the other South African colonies as soon as possible. There was one other reason why we should be definite. We had heard of our "splendid isolation," and we ought to dispel the feeling which prevailed in foreign countries, and make it clear to the world that we were going to be honest in giving these colonies self-government. Let us treat with generosity and frankness the foes whom we had beaten. He asked the Government to look at this matter in a broad spirit.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON (Dundee): I rise not for the purpose of continuing this debate, but for a distinctly limited and definite purpose. It would be unfortunate, and possibly even disastrous, if this debate were to close without further reference to words used by the Secretary for War, which perhaps did not bear the meaning which has been attached to them. The right hon. Gentleman said those who distrusted Sir A. Milner were enemies of the Queen.

MR. BRODRICK: The whole question was limited simply to those who distrusted Sir Alfred Milner in South Africa.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: That is an utterance which I venture to call unfortunate, and, if it really expresses the meaning of the Government, disastrous. He now says that those in South Africa who expressed distrust of Sir Alfred Milner were enemies of the Queen. That is an observation which I venture to call unfortunate, and which, if it were intended to express the meaning of the Government, I would venture to term exasperating. I hope that, as a result of this debate, we may have some modification of it. The statement is perfectly true as regards certain people. They are enemies of the Queen whom we have been fighting for the last fourteen months, and they certainly do distrust Sir Alfred Milner. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will tell us that he meant to confine his statements to them. If that is not what it meant, what did the statement mean? In such a case it would appear to my mind to mean that a large proportion of our fellow-subjects in the Cape Colony who, in the exercise of what I hold to be a constitutional right, have, in a constitutional manner, only yesterday, expressed distrust of Sir Alfred Milner, are to be outlawed by the Government, and are to be declared enemies of the Queen. If that be so, then I say the situation is serious indeed. I will not enter on the question whether or not the description is correct, if that be the meaning of it. Four years ago the men of whom this statement is now made were, I venture to say, the most loyal of all the colonists of the British Empire—they were the most Imperially minded of all. I will not touch upon the personal bond of Empire, which I believe to be stronger than any other, I prefer rather to refer to the physical bond. All the other self-governing colonies of this Empire have been content to accept, without offering any compensation, the free naval defence provided by the Government, even for the wealthiest of them. But there was one exception, and that was the case of the Dutch majority of the Cape Colony, who, of their own mind, and without solicitation or suggestion, came forward and offered to bear some share of the burden from which they, in common with the other colonies, benefit. If Her Majesty's Government, as represented by the Secretary for War, mean to tell us that these men, who again and again have expressed distrust of Sir Alfred Milner, if the Government mean to tell us that they as well as the Boers are enemies of the Queen, then, I say, this is a paltry, miserable Vote, utterly inadequate to the situation. In such a case you want, not sixteen millions for the continuation of the war, but double the amount. I should have been glad if some other member of the Government who had heard the statement and had witnessed the excitement which it not unnaturally produced on this side of the House has been here to modify it. Unfortunately there is no one, and I therefore hope that the right hon. Gentleman himself, before the debate closes, will take the opportunity of saying that the serious meaning which most of us attach to his words is not the meaning which he intended them to convey.

Resolution agreed to.

WAYS AND MEANS [DECEMBER 11TH.]

Resolutions reported:—

CONSOLIDATED FUND.

1. "That, towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the

service of the year ending on the 31st day of March 1901, the sum of £16,000,000 be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom."

SUPPLEMENTAL WAR LOAN (NO. 2).

2. "That towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the service of the year ending the thirty-first day of March nineteen hundred and one, sums not exceeding eleven million pounds may be raised (in addition to any sums already authorised to be raised for the purpose) by all or any of the following methods :—

(*a*) By means of the issue of further war stock or war bonds under the War Loan Act, 1900 ; or

(*b*) by means of the issue of Treasury Bills ; or

(*c*) by means of the issue of Exchequer bonds ;

and that the principal of, and interest on, any money so raised be charged on the Consolidated Fund.

3. "That all expenses incurred in connection with raising the said sums, including any additional remuneration to the Banks of England and Ireland, be charged on the Consolidated Fund."

Resolutions read a second time.

First Resolution agreed to.

Bill ordered to be brought in by the Chairman of Ways and Means, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Austen Chamberlain.

On the second Resolution,

Motion made and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution."

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean) said that on the three occasions when the Chancellor of the Exchequer had had to refer to the cost of the war he had announced to the House his intention of finding a considerable portion of that cost in the assets of the Transvaal Republic. He understood that the purposes named on the previous night, such as the new police, would somewhat mortgage future taxation in the Transvaal. But in addition to taxation there were large existing assets of the Transvaal Government, the condition of which was in a position of some urgency at the present time, because they were exposed to great risk of disappearing. Unless immediate steps were taken, and representations made at Pretoria and Johannesburg, those assets were in grave danger of being very greatly diminished. The South African financial papers had discussed these assets, had challenged the Chancellor of the Exchequer to find money in them, and had said that if there was any it did not belong to the British taxpayer, but ought to be handed over to the people to be locally administered. It was, as he hoped to show the House, most important that they should not look upon these funds as being the property of the local taxpayer in the Transvaal. If we considered we had an interest in them, steps should at once be taken to safeguard them. The Chancellor of the Exchequer could prevent these assets from being lost ; he feared local custodians would not be able to do so, and many of them had an interest in wasting them. It was most important that some representation of the Treasury should be made in the Transvaal by a competent Treasury staff. The power of the financial interest in the Transvaal was enormous, and had been so even at the time when it was supposed to be oppressed. In 1897 the Industrial Commission of Inquiry, presided over by Executive Councillor Schalk-Burger, sat at Johannesburg, and the evidence then taken and the Report ought really to be before this House. It was not a complete document, but was of enormous value. The evidence showed, quite apart from new sources of taxation, that as regarded the existing assets of the Government, the gold tax had never been levied under the Transvaal gold law. It was not the case, as many Members supposed, that these matters were referred to the Commission which had been sitting under the presidency of a learned Member of Parliament in Pretoria, and was now sitting here ; it was the concessions granted by the Government of the Trans vaal that were referred to that Commission. The evidence which had been taken before that Concessions Commission showed the difficulties with which in this matter the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have to deal. It was obvious that the interests had put their heads together; that there had been log-rolling before the Commission in order to avoid producing certain evidence. There were concessions which had never been the subject of detailed examination before the Commission, because it had been agreed to drop all opposition to them. In the endeavour to organise a civil Administration at Johannesburg Lord Roberts had had to avail himself of the services of persons who had been in the service of the great companies on the Rand. The employment of these gentlemen would not tend to a full collection of the revenue or a full finding of permanent assets, and that was why he was anxious that there should be at Pretoria a competent staff of persons whom the Treasury could trust. Some of the sources of assets were already represented in the income of the late Government. These included the ordinary licences under the mines laws, and the enormous interests in the Netherlands Railway. That railway had, he believed, violated the terms of its concession, and what might be the legal position of the Government towards it he did not know, but that it was a most embarrassing position there could be no doubt, because the Republic, by the terms of the railway concession, was represented in Europe by a Commissioner appointed by the late Government of the Transvaal, who resided in Holland and had great powers. Eighty-five per cent. of the profits, after certain writings-off, went to the Transvaal Government, a percentage which in the year 1898 amounted to three-quarters of a million sterling. That was an enormous asset. It had been alleged that not this 85 per cent. of profits, but the shares in the possession of the Transvaal Government, had been the subject of some recent transactions, in spite of the Government's proclamation—or perhaps they did not come within the exact terms of the proclamation. Those shares, he believed, had been alienated; the Transvaal had probably raised money for the war by a secret sale of them. As to the minerals under surface sites, they had been the subject of acrimonious discussion for some years between capitalists and the Transvaal Government. There was the greatest possible difference as to what the value of the mineral rights was, but everyone put it very high. Under the Transvaal Government the capitalists had endeavoured to get permission to mine for minerals in virtue of their surface rights, and then they had tried to get the right of preemption, but the Volksraad decided that when the proper time came they should be sold to the highest bidder. It seemed to him that we ought to adhere to the position that whatever the mineral rights were worth they were worth by sale in the open market. These mineral rights for the Rand alone had been valued at various sums. It was almost impossible not to laugh at the variation. They had been put as high as £75,000,000 sterling, and other estimates were £44,000,000 and £40,000,000 (this last having been accepted by the late Minister of Mines); another authority put it at seven and a half millions, and still another authority at a million, and on the strength of the last estimate it was suggested that the right was not worth while troubling about, and that the value being so small the asset might well be handed over to the people. There was undoubtedly danger of the disappearance of this asset, as well as in the case of the Netherlands Railway, and he would ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether it was possible, with a view to the ultimate redemption of his promise to the House, to take steps to at once establish proper Treasury control.

*THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir M. HICKS BEACH, Bristol, W.): I am very far from complaining of the action of the right hon. Baronet in bringing this matter before the House of Commons. On the contrary, I know that he does so with precisely the same object that Her Majesty's Government, and, I can assure him, my right hon. friend the Colonial Secretary and myself, especially, have—namely, that we should redeem the expectations which I have held out to the House and to the country, that a considerable contribution towards the cost of this war should be obtained from the wealth of the Transvaal. The right hon. Baronet has gone into detail into which I hope he will pardon me if I do not follow him. The facts are not sufficiently before me, and it is obvious that in dealing with a matter which, as he has stated, is full of difficulty and delicacy it would be dangerous in me to attempt anything of the kind. But, as he stated, we have already appointed a Commission, under the presidency of my hon. and learned friend the Member for Warwick, which is inquiring into the concessions given by the late Transvaal Government, and that part of the question, I have no doubt, has been thoroughly examined, and will be the subject of an able and exhaustive Report. Then, with regard to the other points which the right hon. Baronet referred to—the assets of the late Transvaal Government—namely, the interest in the Netherlands Railway and the mining rights which they have not disposed of, I am well aware of the probable great value of those rights and of the disputes which the right hon. Baronet has referred to as to ownership and the amount of their value. Of course, up to this time, there has been nothing but a military administration in the Transvaal, and it has been absolutely impossible for Lord Roberts and those who have been associated with him to enter into questions of this kind, or to do anything except to devote their energies to the prosecution of the war. But before long, as my right hon. friend the Colonial Secretary said the other day, Sir Alfred Milner will be in the Transvaal as Governor of that country, and I am sure that, whatever hon. Members opposite may think of Sir Alfred Milner, anyone who knows him will admit that there are perhaps few men possessed of greater financial ability or more competence to deal with a matter of this kind. That is not all. He must have assistance, for he will have a good deal to do, and as a preliminary we have arranged that a gentleman who is well known in this country and has on several occasions given his valuable services to Her Majesty's Government, a gentleman of very high experience in matters of finance—Sir David Barbour—should go out as Commissioner to the Transvaal, practically in the course of the next fortnight or three weeks, and give us a full report on the very matters to which the right hon. Baronet has drawn attention. I hope by the time of the next Budget to have some material in this way to present to the House, but I do not think it would be right that I should attempt to say more than this today. I assure the right hon. Baronet I am personally obliged to him for having called public attention to what, in my judgment, is a subject of the greatest importance.

Question put, and agreed to.

Third Resolution agreed to.

Bill ordered to be brought in by the Chairman of Ways and Means, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Austen Chamberlain.

CONSOLIDATED FUND (APPROPRIATION) BILL.

"To apply a sum out of the Consolidated Fund to the service of the year ending on the thirty-first day of March one thousand nine hundred and one, and to appropriate the Supplies granted in this Session of Parliament," presented accordingly, and read the first time; to be read a second time To-morrow.

SUPPLEMENTAL WAR LOAN (No. 2) BILL.

"To provide for raising a further Supplemental Loan for the service of the year ending the 31st day of March nineteen hundred and one," presented accordingly, and read the first time; to be read a second time to-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 1.]

In pursuance of the Order of the House of the 7th day of this instant December, Mr. Speaker adjourned the House without Question put.

Adjourned accordingly at twenty-five minutes before Five of the clock.

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, 13*th December*, 1900.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

CHINA (No. 5) 1900.

Correspondence respecting the Anglo-German Agreement of 16th October 1900, relating to China.

TRADE REPORTS.

I. Annual Series: No. 2541. Trade of Nagasaki, for the year 1899.

II. Miscellaneous Series: No. 544. Education in Chicago.

Presented [by Command], and ordered to lie on the Table.

POLLING DISTRICTS.

1. (County Palatine of Lancaster). Orders made by the County Council of the County Palatine of Lancaster, altering the polling districts in the following Parliamentary Divisions of the county, viz., Accrington, Bootle, Clitheroe, Heywood, Ince, Lancaster, Middleton, Ormskirk and Prestwick;

2. (County of Warwick). Order made by the County Council of Warwickshire altering certain Parliamentary polling districts in that county.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

House adjourned at Four of the clock, till to-morrow half-past Ten of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, 13*th December*, 1900.

Two Members took and subscribed the Oath.

PETITIONS.

INHABITED HOUSE DUTY AND INCOME TAX.

Petition from Kensington, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY BILL.

Petition from Harwich, for prohibition; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

INDIAN EXPENDITURE (ROYAL COMMISSION).

Return [presented 12th December] to be printed. [No. 387.]

CHINA (No. 5, 1900).

Copy presented, of Correspondence respecting the Anglo-German Agreement of 16th October, 1900, relating to China [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

FISHERY BOARD (SCOTLAND).

Copy presented, of Manual of the Sea Fisheries (Scotland) Acts and Statutory Bye-laws in force at 31st December, 1900 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

SEA FISHERIES (RESTRICTIVE LEGISLATION IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES).

Address for "Return of the precise position of Foreign Law in regard to Restrictive Legislation affecting Sea Fisheries."—(*Mr. Maconochie.*)

QUESTIONS.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—RHODESIAN FIELD FORCE.

COLONEL PILKINGTON (Lancashire, Newton): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he will state what is the position of the Rhodesian Field Force supposed to be in South Africa under the command of Sir Frederick Carrington; and whether the 5,000 mounted men constituting this force are still under the command of Sir Frederick Carrington, and are acting together as a concentrated force or are in scattered units each under its own commanding officer.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): It has not been hitherto considered expedient to make public the locality of the various forces in South Africa, and I fear that a reply to this inquiry would expose me to a great number of others.

TRANSPORT FOR RETURNING VOLUNTEERS.

SIR BARRINGTON SIMEON (Southampton): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the Government will bring home in troopships free of cost such British or Irish Volunteers as have served in colonial regiments during the war, and who have obtained their discharge in South Africa, such Volunteers having gone out from England at their own expense in order to join some colonial regiment.

*MR. BRODRICK: Yes, Sir. Instructions have been given to this effect.

CROWN APPOINTMENTS AT BLOEMFONTEIN.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS (Carnarvonshire, Eifion): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether Mr. John Barclay Lloyd, late of the City Imperial Volunteers, has been recently appointed Crown Prosecutor, or to some other, and what, legal office at Bloemfontein; and whether he can state what the legal qualifications of this gentleman are to the post to which he has been appointed.

MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS (Birmingham, S.): The War Office has received no official information of such an appointment.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS: Will the right hon. Gentleman endeavour to obtain it?

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: No, Sir.

IMPERIAL YEOMANRY—BEIRA RAILWAY TRANSPORT.

*MR. SETON-KARR (St. Helens): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War, in view of the sickness and loss of life suffered by the 17th and 18th Battalions of Imperial Yeomanry in May last, owing to their prolonged detention in a fever district through the breakdown of the Beira Railway Transport, whether he can now state the results of the inquiry that has been made into the said breakdown and consequent delay; and whether he can give the number of men from the two battalions who have died or have been invalided home in consequence of malarial fever and sickness contracted during such delay; also if he will state whether the Beira Railway was under the control of the military authorities during the time of the breakdown and delay; how such control was exercised; and to what extent and to whom he attributes the responsibility for the said breakdown.

*MR. BRODRICK: I am afraid that I cannot, in a reply to a question, explain in full detail the causes of the delay which undoubtedly caused much sickness and a certain loss of life, which I need not tell my hon. friend is deeply deplored, and which can only be justified by the urgent military necessity of the expedition. I have already written my hon. friend in considerable detail on this question and will lay Sir Frederick Carrington's despatch regarding it among the other despatches, so that the House may have the fullest information.

*MR. SETON-KARR: I shall take the earliest opportunity of laying a statement before the House on this subject.

BURNING OF BOER FARMS.

MR. TREVELYAN (Yorkshire, W.R., Elland): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he has yet got any information from Lord Kitchener as to the burning of farmhouses in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony by our Armies; and whether he will undertake to publish as soon as possible, whether Parliament is still sitting or not, a Return stating as far as available the number of farms so burnt and the character of the instructions or rules under which it was done.

*MR. BRODRICK: No reply can be expected from Lord Kitchener for some little time. I will give the House whatever information I can when it arrives.

MR. TREVELYAN: If the House is not sitting will the right hon. Gentleman publish the information?

*MR. BRODRICK: I will give whatever I can in the way of information.

MR. HUMPHREYS-OWEN (Montgomeryshire): Did the right hon. Gentleman ask for the information by cable?

*Mr. BRODRICK: Yes, but it has to be collected from all parts of South Africa.

SERVICE HORSES AND MULES.

Mr. THOMAS BAYLEY (Derbyshire, Chesterfield): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can inform the House as to the number of horses efficient for service that have been landed in South Africa, the number that have been captured from the enemy, and the number that are now in sound condition for active service.

Mr. TREVELYAN: I beg also to ask the Secretary of State for War if he can state how many horses and mules have been sent to South Africa in connection with the military operations, and how many have perished during the war.

*Mr. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: The numbers of horses landed in South Africa amounted, according to last returns, to 117,730, and of mules 64,730; 5,689 horses were lost on the voyage, and 1,997 mules. No reports have been received showing the numbers captured from the enemy or lost in the war, or the numbers now in sound condition for active service.

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): Will the right hon. Gentleman state how many asses were sent to South Africa?

LORD ROBERTS'S RETURN—THANKSGIVING SERVICE AT ST. PAUL'S.

Mr. GOULDING (Wiltshire, Devizes): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether seats will be reserved and admission tickets issued for Members of Parliament who desire to attend the Thanksgiving Service in St. Paul's Cathedral on 3rd January.

*Mr. BRODRICK: I have asked the Dean of St. Paul's to provide us with sufficient accommodation to enable us to offer a seat to each Member of the two Houses of Parliament, and I will ask Mr. Speaker's secretary to receive applications.†

RETURN OF THE VOLUNTEERS AND YEOMANRY—DATE OF DISCHARGE.

Mr. SEELY (Lincoln): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether as the Commander-in-Chief is returning home and is reported to have said that the war is now practically over, he can state to the House what arrangements the Government are making to enable those of the Yeomanry and Volunteers who wish to do so to obtain their discharge, as promised in the terms of enlistment published on 26th December last.

*Mr. BRODRICK: I regret that I cannot add anything to the statement I made in the House on Tuesday last.†

Mr. SEELY: Is it not correctly stated in the question that these men were promised in their terms of enlistment that they should have option of discharge when the war was over?

*Mr. BRODRICK: Yes, the time was a year, or until the conclusion of the war. The war cannot be said to be over in the sense of allowing the troops to be sent home. We have acted on the advice of Lord Roberts in withdrawing troops.

Mr. SEELY: Were they not given the option of return if the war concluded before the end of the year?

*Mr. BRODRICK: I cannot hold out any hope that the war will be over before the end of the year. The conditions were perfectly clear—the engagements were for a year or until the conclusion of the war. Had the war lasted less than a year then the men would have had option of return, but to many the engagements will prove to be for more than a year.

Mr. SEELY: What will the right hon. Gentleman consider the end of the war?

Mr. THOMAS BAYLEY: Did not Lord Roberts state that the war was practically over?

Mr. T. M. HEALY: Was the war only "over" for the purposes of the election?

*Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order!

IMPERIAL YEOMANRY—PAY.

*Sir JOHN ROLLESTON (Leicester): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War will he explain why the troopers of the 7th Company Imperial Yeomanry (Leicestershire) receive 1s. 5d. per day, and those of the 65th Company Imperial Yeomanry (Leicestershire) 5s. per day; and is this difference wholly paid out of Imperial funds.

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† The Service referred to in this question and answer was not held.

† See page 492.

*Mr. BRODRICK: The 7th Company Imperial Yeomanry draw pay as Cavalry like the Imperial Yeomanry generally. The 65th Company formed part of the Rhodesian Field Force which was raised under special conditions and for an exceptional service, and was paid at the higher rate which obtained in Rhodesia. The whole charge falls on Imperial Funds.

AGE OF SOLDIERS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Mr. YERBURGH (Chester): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he can say how many men of the Regular Army in South Africa are under twenty-one years of age, and whether drafts have been sent there containing men under twenty years of age, and men who have not been through a musketry course.

Mr. BRODRICK: I am afraid that I cannot undertake to supply my hon. and gallant friend with the figures, as their compilation would entail considerable labour and time. Until August the age qualification for cavalry and infantry drafts was maintained, except in one or two cases, at twenty years. About the middle of that month, when it was considered that the hardest part of the campaign was over, it was reduced to nineteen and a half years. The orders given were that every one of the men sent out should have gone through the necessary instruction. Some men, however, who had not completed the course were sent out to be attached to Militia battalions on the lines of communication, with distinct instructions that they were not to be sent to the front until they had completed the course. I have given instructions that no further drafts shall be sent under these conditions.

LADYSMITH DESPATCHES.

Mr. CHANNING (Northamptonshire, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he can state when further despatches of Sir George White and others relative to the siege and relief of Ladysmith will be issued.

Mr. BRODRICK: I am well aware of the anxiety to see these despatches, and I will lay them with as little delay as possible.

DEPORTATION OF FOREIGNERS FROM THE TRANSVAAL.

Mr. CHANNING: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he can give the numbers of Germans, Hollanders, Frenchmen, Danes, and Italians respectively removed from the Transvaal by order of the British authorities; whether complaints and claims for compensation have been made either by the individuals so removed, or by their respective Governments; and, if so, what reply has been made; and, whether, on the settlement of the country, permission will be given to those who have been thus compelled to abandon business connections or property to resume their rights and avocations.

Mr. BRODRICK: The total numbers of aliens deported from South Africa amount to 4,386; it is not possible at so short notice to give the nationalities in detail. A Commission formed of British military officers and civilians will be appointed to consider and report on claims for compensation. The question of allowing the return of any individual who has been expelled will be considered on its merits when the refugees who were compelled to leave the Transvaal on the outbreak of the war have been able to return.

TREATMENT OF BRITISH PRISONERS AT PRETORIA.

General LAURIE (Pembroke and Haverfordwest): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether Dr. H. P. Veale, M.B. Cambridge, and the Rev. J. Godfrey, stated to be a clergyman of the Church of England at Pretoria, whose conduct in regard to the treatment of the British prisoners at Pretoria is reported on by Field Marshal Lord Roberts in his despatch of 27th June last, are respectively British subjects; and, if so, whether their position in the Transvaal was consistent with their nationality; and if any notice can be taken of their behaviour.

Mr. BRODRICK: We are not aware whether Dr. Veale and the Rev. J. Godfrey were British subjects at the time when they were concerned with the treatment of the British prisoners at Pretoria. I am advised that Mr. Godfrey is in colonial orders, and that we can take no notice of his behaviour. The question of Dr. Veale's position as a member of the Red Cross Society is under consideration.

MR. MERRIMAN'S LETTER.

MR. PIRIE (Aberdeen, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, with regard to the treatment of Mr. Merriman by the Colonial Secretary and Sir Alfred Milner, in withholding from him any opportunity of passing observations on his letter published in August by Her Majesty's Government, it is now proposed to make any reparation to Mr. Merriman in the way of expression of regret, or otherwise, for such want of consideration towards one of the Ministers of the Cape Colony, and against which a protest has been made in the Cape House of Assembly.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN, Birmingham, W.): No, Sir.

NEW SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Monmouthshire, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he will state the number of (1) officers, (2) men enlisted at home and in South Africa for the new police for service in South Africa.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I am not aware how many officers have been appointed. Their appointment is in the hands of Sir A. Milner and General Baden-Powell. The number of officers proposed for a force of 6,000 men was 200. It has subsequently been decided to recruit up to 10,000. I am informed that the number of recruits actually passed in South Africa is 589, but I do not know how many applications have been sent in, and it is quite premature to form any idea of the number ultimately available. In this country there have already been over 10,000 applications, but not more than 300 are likely to be ready to leave this month.

CONSTITUTIONS OF THE NEW COLONIES.

MR. HERBERT LEWIS (Flint Boroughs): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, in constituting the proposed Crown colony government of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony, the legislative council will contain, as in other Crown colonies, persons representing different races (whether white or coloured) and classes in the community.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: The draft documents in which the constitutions are embodied have been forwarded to Sir A. Milner, whose observations I am awaiting. Meanwhile, I am not in a position to give a definite answer to the hon. Member's question.

LIQUOR TRAFFIC IN THE NEW COLONIES.

*MR. TAYLOR (Lancashire, Radcliffe): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government that, during the time before the granting of self-government to the Orange River and Transvaal Colonies, the sale of intoxicating liquors shall be prohibited to coloured South African natives.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: The sale of liquor is already restrained by legislation in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, which was, I believe, properly enforced in the latter, but not in the former colony. It is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to see that it is effectively administered in both.

TRANSVAAL CONCESSIONS COMMISSION.

*MR. HOLLAND (Yorkshire, W.R., Rotherham): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the powers of the Transvaal Concessions Commission, now sitting, are limited to the consideration of concessions already granted by the late Transvaal Government; and, in the event of their being so limited, will he consider the propriety of extending their powers so as to include the consideration of such industrial concessions as were on the point of being granted by the Volksraad at the time of the outbreak of the war.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: The answer to the first part of this question is in the affirmative. As regards the second part I do not consider that it is desirable to extend the scope of the Commission's inquiry beyond those concessions in respect of which the late Republic had incurred definite legal obligations.

MILITIA OFFICERS' PAY.

COL. BLUNDELL (Lancashire, Ince): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the gratuity of £100 given to all officers of the Militia on their ceasing to draw full pay on the disembodiment of their regiments has been refused to certain officers who responded to the call for volunteers for active service abroad, on the ground that they have not ceased to draw full pay in consequence of their so volunteering, notwithstanding that the expenses originally incurred by both classes of officers on joining the Militia were the same, and require equally to be defrayed within the same period of time.

*MR. BRODRICK: The gratuity was not intended to cover equipment, but to provide an officer with a sum on going back in civil life on cessation of duty, and was therefore to be paid when he ceased to perform duty. Any officers who have volunteered for service abroad, and who thus serve beyond a year will receive a larger gratuity. If my hon. friend has any case in which this has caused hardship, perhaps he will communicate with me privately.

AMMUNITION RESERVES.

MAJOR RASCH (Essex, Chelmsford): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he can say what was the reserve of ammunition for rifle and field gun in September, 1899; what is now laid down as the necessary reserve; and what steps have been taken to secure that this reserve shall not be reduced.

*MR. BRODRICK: It is not desirable to state definitely the number of rounds of ammunition which are held in reserve in this country, but I will take care that an ample reserve is maintained.

MR. BARTLEY (Islington, N.): Is the statement correct that in January or February last the reserve was practically exhausted?

*MR. BRODRICK: No, Sir. If it had been I should not have answered this question.

THE RE-ARMING OF THE VOLUNTEERS.

MR. HOLLAND: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can state, without detriment to the public interest, what progress is being made with the better arming of our Volunteers.

*MR. BRODRICK: Large orders have been placed with various firms with a view to the prompt re-armament of the Volunteer Artillery. I will ask the hon. Gentleman to excuse my giving details till I can explain the general situation in February next.

UNDER-AGE ENLISTMENTS.

MR. M'KENNA (Monmouthshire, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether in the case of a youth under eighteen years of age who, having enlisted, immediately seeks his discharge, and whose enlistment is unknown to and contrary to the wishes of his parents, he can offer any hope that the discharge will be allowed, notwithstanding the refusal of the general officer commanding the district in which the recruit is stationed.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: These questions have hitherto been left to the discretion of the general officer commanding the district, and there is no intention of interfering with him.

WAR OFFICE CONTRACTS IN BELFAST.

*MR. KEIR HARDIE (Merthyr Tydvil): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether his attention has been called by the Belfast Trades Council to a violation of the Fair Wages Resolution by Messrs. Musgrave and Co., Limited, St. Ann's Ironworks, Belfast, in connection with a War Office contract; whether parts of the contract were given to the Cleonard Foundry, the Union Foundry, and to Messrs. Ritchie, Hart, and Co., all of them sweating firms, paying less than trade union wages; and, what steps he proposes taking to prevent a recurrence of such sub-letting to firms which do not comply with the regulations under which contracts are granted.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: A communication has been received from the Belfast Trades Council. Messrs. Musgrave sublet the preparation of some materials for a War Office contract to the three firms named, but on the distinct condition that the current rate of wages should be paid. The three firms on enquiry all assert that they are paying the current rate. The sub-letting in question was not contrary to the terms of the contract. Any complaints relative to reported infringements of the conditions of contract are carefully investigated.

*MR. KEIR HARDIE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether his attention has been called by the Belfast Trade Council to a violation of the Fair Wages Clause by Messrs. Wilson, of Belfast, in connection with a contract for the manufacture of tents for the War Office; whether workmen were dismissed for refusing to accept less than the trade union rates of pay whilst engaged on the contract; what is the penalty incurred for such violation, and whether he proposes to enforce it; and, as a warning to others, will he cause the name of Messrs. Wilson to be removed from the list of contractors to the War Office.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: A communication from the Belfast Trades Council has been received. It is considered that the Council have not made out their case that tent-making is exclusively sail-makers' work. So long as the persons employed by Messrs. Wilson are not receiving less than the current rate of wages there is no ground for the interference of the War Department.

*MR. KEIR HARDIE: Was not the complaint made that the rate of wages paid was not the rate current in the district?

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: The result of inquiries was that the current rate of wages in the district for this class of work was being paid.

*MR. KEIR HARDIE: If I can prove that the information supplied to the Governmena is incorrect will the right hon. Gentleman impose the usual penalty in these cases?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

ROYAL MILITARY ACADEMY—CONCESSIONS TO VOLUNTEER OFFICERS' SONS.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the sons of officers of the Regular Army are admitted to the Royal Military Academy as gentlemen cadets at a reduced rate; and whether similar privileges are conceded to Volunteer officers with regard to their sons; and, if not, whether, in view of the valuable services given by the Volunteers in the war and the expenses entailed upon Volunteer officers in keeping up their corps, they will be put on the same footing as officers of the Line with respect to the admission of their sons to the Royal Military Academy.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: The House has been informed on previous occasions that this cannot be done. The State, by diminution of fees, contributes towards the education of the sons of officers, and more especially of those in the lower ranks who have made the Army their profession. There are not the same grounds for making the concession in the case of Volunteer officers.

ENLISTMENT STANDARDS.

MR. YERBURGH: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he will state what number of recruits have been obtained since 1st April for the Army and Militia respectively, and what proportion of them are special enlistments; and whether the standard of height and chest measurement has been modified.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: The number of recruits raised for the Army since 1st April is 26,979, and for the Militia 23,701. The number of men specially enlisted for the Regular forces in that period is 8,003. The special enlistments for the Militia are left entirely to the local authorities. The standards in force on the 1st April have not been altered, except that the minimum height of artillery drivers was raised from 5 feet 2 inches to 5 feet 4 inches.

CABINET COMMITTEE OF DEFENCE.

MAJOR RASCH: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the Cabinet Committee of Defence decides upon the measures necessary for a campaign; whether it has direct access to naval or military opinion; and whether it keeps records or minutes.

*MR. BRODRICK: I would refer the hon. and gallant Member to the reply of the First Lord of the Treasury to a similar question in February last, which for the convenience of the House I will read—

> "The Committee of Defence is a Committee of the Cabinet and does not differ essentially from other Committees of the Cabinet. It neither removes responsibility from the Cabinet as a whole, nor from any of the Ministers responsible for the Departments either of the Army or of the Navy. Of course the Committee obtains the best information it can from experts and from others. Like other Cabinet Committees it keeps no records."

DEPARTMENTAL DECENTRALISATION COMMITTEE.

MAJOR RASCH: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether any steps have been taken to carry out the recommendations of the Departmental Decentralisation Committee.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: The recommendations of the Decentralisation Committee, which reported in 1898, were with few exceptions accepted by the Secretary of State, and have been included in regulations. I hope, however, to be able to carry the principle in question considerably further, and am taking steps to this end.

MILITIA OFFICERS' EXAMINATIONS.

MR. STRACHEY (Somersetshire, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can state when the next examination for Militia candidates for commissions in the Army will take place; and whether, in the next examination, they will be credited with marks for their embodied service; and, if so, to what extent.

*MR. BRODRICK: The next examination will probably be about March 20th. I cannot at present make any statement on the second paragraph of the question.

MR. STRACHEY: When will the right hon. Gentleman be prepared to make a statement?

*MR. BRODRICK: Not this session, but within a reasonable time of the next examination.

ROYAL ARTILLERY LIEUTENANTS.

MR. NEWDIGATE (Warwickshire, Nuneaton): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is aware that there are at present in the Royal Artillery only 130 first lieutenants serving as against 435 second lieutenants; whether the second lieutenants in question often have to perform the duty of first lieutenants, but only receive second lieutenant's pay; and whether the military authorities will now be willing to alter the rule which precludes second lieutenants in the Royal Artillery and Engineers from receiving promotion till they have served for three years in the Army, whereas no such rule is in force as regards cavalry and infantry.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: In the horse, field, and garrison artillery, there are 221 first lieutenants and 808 second lieutenants. The first and second lieutenants perform the same duties. It is, however, manifestly of importance that the senior subalterns, who frequently perform captain's duties, should have higher rank. The question of the promotion of second lieutenants referred to in the third paragraph is under consideration.

SEPARATION ALLOWANCES.

MR. COURTENAY WARNER (Staffordshire, Lichfield): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if married men in the Royal Reserves and Militia who are on furlough get separation allowance except when they are on furlough on account of sickness or convalescence through no fault of their own, and generally contracted while doing their duty.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: Separation allowance is not granted ordinarily on furlough, nor are sick men allowed as a rule to go on furlough. Men, however, invalided home from South Africa have been allowed to go on sick furlough and their wives have been granted separation allowance. In the event of Militiamen or Royal Reservists falling sick on furlough the allowance will be granted in special cases of proved hardship.

ROYAL RESERVISTS—BOUNTIES, ETC.

MR. COURTENAY WARNER: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if old soldiers who had bought their discharge and have joined the Royal Reserves are to be given back two-thirds of the money they paid for their discharge besides the £22 bounty, whereas old soldiers who after leaving the Army joined the Militia are only to get £5 bounty altogether.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: The old soldiers who purchased their discharge and joined the Royal Reserve will have the usual proportion of their purchase money refunded to them, as in the case of ordinary re-enlistments. Old soldiers who have purchased their discharge and have joined the Militia are similarly entitled to a refund of purchase-money if their corps is embodied. On disembodiment they will receive a gratuity varying according to the period of embodiment, but amounting in no case to less than £5 3s. 6d.

VOLUNTEERS—DISTRICT SCHOOLS OF INSTRUCTION.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if, having regard to the difficulty officers of Metropolitan Volunteer Corps have in obtaining admission to the Home District School of Instruction owing to the number of applications to join it from provincial districts, he will arrange for the formation of similar schools, both day and night, in the principal garrison towns and camps, so that all Volunteer officers throughout Great Britain may have opportunity of attending.

*MR. BRODRICK: I cannot give my hon. friend an answer to this question, but it is being carefully considered.

NAVAL CONSTRUCTION.

SIR JOHN COLOMB (Great Yarmouth): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury, as representing the First Lord of the Admiralty, whether, during the current financial year, the output of armour, hulls, and machinery has been entirely satisfactory as regards quantity, quality, and delivery; and whether it may be anticipated that the ship-building programme for the year will be accomplished in its entirety within the specified time.

THE CIVIL LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Captain PRETYMAN, Suffolk, Woodbridge): It is believed that the money voted for armour, hulls, and machinery for the current financial year will be wholly or almost wholly earned by 31st March. The character of the work finally received has been uniformly satisfactory. It is expected that the aggregate of work accomplished in the shipbuilding of the year will not be less than was expected when the Estimates were laid before the House at the commencement of last session, although in some directions less and in others more progress will have been made than was then anticipated.

SIR JOHN COLOMB: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury, as representing the First Lord of the Admiralty, whether arrangements have been made so to develop our means of output of armour, hulls, and machinery, as to enable shipbuilding programmes of the immediate future to be determined by reference to our national requirements unrestricted by insufficiency of our power of production.

CAPTAIN PRETYMAN: Ever since the engineers' strike of 1897 the arrears in shipbuilding have been a constant source of anxiety to the Board, and they have regarded the position as most unsatisfactory. How to prevent a recurrence of these delays and how to secure that the national resources of production can be most fully utilised and developed to meet Imperial requirements is occupying the serious attention of the Admiralty.

MR. J. F. HOPE (Sheffield, Brightside): Have inquiries been made as to the willingness of contractors already contracting with the Admiralty to increase their means of production?

CAPTAIN PRETYMAN: That is part of the question under consideration.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): Is the hon. Gentleman aware that the English naval contractors have produced two battleships for the Japanese Government?

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

H.M.S. "HIGHFLYER."

MR. WILLIAM ALLAN (Gateshead): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he will state when H.M.S. "Highflyer" left Portsmouth for the East Indies; how long she took over the run to Malta, and from Malta to Bombay; and whether she is now having her machinery and boilers overhauled and repaired there.

CAPTAIN PRETYMAN: The "Highflyer" left Devonport on 28th June, and arrived at Malta on 5th July. She left Malta on 9th July, and arrived at Mauritius on 1st August. She has not been to Bombay since her arrival on the station.

CANADA AND GERMAN TARIFFS.

SIR **HOWARD VINCENT**: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether in consequence of Canada's admission of British goods into the markets of the Dominion at a reduction of one-third the duty charged upon foreign goods, under the powers accorded by the denunciation in 1897 of the treaties with Germany and Belgium, Canada is excluded from most-favoured-nation treatment in German markets, notwithstanding that the Dominion treats Germany upon the same footing as all foreign nations; and, if so, will he explain why Her Majesty's Government has acquiesced in such treatment of a portion of the British Empire, while goods passing between the several States of Germany are as in the United States of America treated preferentially compared to foreign nations.

*THE **UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS** (Viscount CRANBORNE, Rochester): It is the case that Canada is at present excluded from most-favoured-nation treatment in German markets. We regret that this should be so, but in the absence of a Commercial Treaty between this country and Germany that Power is, of course, able to regulate her tariffs in accordance with her own views. The matter is one to which we attach much importance, and we shall constantly bear it in mind.

LIEUT.-GENERAL **LAURIE** (Pembroke and Haverfordwest): When the commercial treaty with Germany is negotiated will the matter be borne in mind, so that Canada may have fair consideration?

*VISCOUNT **CRANBORNE**: Yes, Sir.

PRESERVATION OF BIG GAME IN AFRICA.

MR. **SETON-KARR**: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he can state what steps have been taken in British East and Central Africa, in Uganda, and other game districts in Africa, for the preservation of big game on the lines recommended and agreed to by the recent International Conference held in London on this subject, and, in particular, what game reserves now exist in British South Africa, and what steps are being taken to guard and enforce the sanctity of these reserves, and also to maintain and enforce the other regulations for game preservation; whether he has any information showing that public officers such as railway officials and others are allowed to kill game in the Kenia Reserve in British East Africa, and have in fact killed game there in considerable quantity; whether the Kenia Reserve contains sufficient grazing lands and area for the purpose of an adequate game reserve; and, whether he is aware that an Englishman recently sold in Mombasa as the produce of his hunting trip ivory to the amount of £8,000; and whether an inquiry can be made into the circumstances of the sale of this ivory, and how and where it was obtained.

*VISCOUNT **CRANBORNE**: Carefully drawn regulations for the preservation of wild animals have been in force for some time in the several African Protectorates administered by the Foreign Office as well as in the Soudan. The obligations imposed by the recent London Convention upon the signatory Powers will not become operative until after the exchange of ratifications, which has not yet taken place. In anticipation, however, steps have been taken to revise the existing regulations in the British Protectorates so as to bring them into strict harmony with the terms of the Convention. The game reserves now existing in the several Protectorates are—In (*a*) British Central Africa—the elephant marsh reserve and the Shirwa reserve; in (*b*) the East Africa Pretectorate—the Kenia district; in (*c*) Uganda—the Sugota game reserve in the north-east of the Protectorate; in (*d*) Somaliland—a large district defined by an elaborate boundary line described in the regulations. The regulations have the force of law in the Protectorates. Protectorates and offenders are dealt with in the Protectorate courts. It is in contemplation to charge special officers of the Administrations with the duty of watching over the proper observance of the regulations. Under the East African Game Regulations only the officers permanently stationed at or near the Kenia Reserve may be specially authorised to kill game in the reserve. There is no reason to believe that this privilege has been abused. The question of extending the Kenia Reserve will be considered. The circumstances connected with the alleged sale at Mombasa have not been reported to the Foreign Office.

UGANDA RAILWAY—BRITISH AND AMERICAN BRIDGE TENDERS.

MR. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he will state the names of the British and American firms who tendered for the erection of bridges for the Uganda Railway; the amounts of the various tenders; and if the British firms, whose quotations were higher than the American, were invited to or afforded an opportunity of revising their tenders.

*VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: I shall be glad to give the information to the hon. Gentleman privately, or to grant it as an unopposed Return if he will move for it, but it would hardly be comprehensible in an answer to a question. It has not been considered fair to the party making the lowest tender to invite other tenderers to revise their offers.

MR. CREMER: May I ask the noble Lord whether there is any rule in his Department which precludes the possibility of inviting contractors to revise their tenders?

*VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: The hon. Gentleman will perhaps give notice.

MR. THOMAS BAYLEY: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether an American company has contracted with the Foreign Office to erect thirty-four bridges on the Uganda Railway, requiring something like 8,000 tons of structural steel, and if so, whether he will state the amount of the contract, and whether any tenders for those bridges were invited from well-known British firms.

*VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: Yes. The American Bridge Company have contracted for the erection in situ of thirty bridges on the Uganda Railway containing approximately 7,000 tons of structural steel. The amount of the contract is for £135,000. As the hon. Member will have learnt from an answer given on the subject on the 11th inst. to the hon. Member for West Wolverhampton, tenders were invited for the contract in the United Kingdom. They were invited by means of advertisement.

*SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT (Sheffield, Ecclesall): Were the British tenderers given an opportunity of revising their tenders so as to tender at the lowest price?

[No answer was given.]

CHINA—REPORTED MASSACRES BY RUSSIANS.

SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether any protest has been addressed by Her Majesty's Government or by other European Governments to the Government of Russia regarding the massacre of many thousands of the Chinese non-combatant inhabitants of towns and villages along the river Amur.

*VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: No, Sir.

THE NEW HEBRIDES—LAND DISPUTES BETWEEN BRITISH AND FRENCH SUBJECTS.

MR. PARKER SMITH (Lanarkshire, Partick): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he is aware that claims to land in the occupation of natives and of British subjects are being made by French subjects in the islands of Epi and Efate, in the New Hebrides, and that disturbance has resulted; and, in particular, that the Rev. R. M. Fraser, a British subject, has been dispossessed from land bought by him in the Island of Epi, and his schoolhouse burned by M. Beaulieu, a French subject; whether the dispute was investigated by a French warship without the presence of an English officer; whether the proper tribunal for investigating such a question is the Joint Naval Commission; and whether he will take steps to secure the impartial investigation of the matter.

*VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: Complaints of the nature indicated in the first and second paragraphs of the hon. Member's question have been brought to the notice of Her Majesty's Government, and steps have already been taken for their due investigation by one of Her Majesty's ships on the Australian station. I should, however, state in reply to Paragraph 3 that the Joint Naval Commission has no power to interfere in disputes concerning the title to land.

EAST AFRICA—ANGLO-GERMAN BOUNDARY COMMISSION.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he will say when the Report of the Anglo-German Boundary Commission, appointed for the purpose of defining the International boundary in the districts lying between Lakes Tanganyika and Nyassa, will be issued.

*VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: The terms of the Convention confirming the work of the Commission are now under discussion between the British and the German Governments. The Report cannot be issued until the Convention has been concluded.

MR. WEIR: Can the noble Lord say precisely when the Report will be issued? I got the same answer a year ago.

[No answer was given.]

TURKISH ARMENIA—CONSULAR REPORTS.

MR. CHANNING: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the reports of the British Consuls or Vice-Consuls, or other agents in the districts of Turkish Armenia during the past year, or such portions of them as relate to massacres, expropriations, or other outrages upon the Armenian population, can be presented to Parliament.

*VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: With the exception of the reports of a massacre at Spaghank, which were, on inquiry, found to be exaggerated, there have been no reports lately of serious outrages upon the Armenians. The more recent despatches from Consular officers indicate some improvement in the administration of the country, at any rate in the Vilayets of Trebizond and Van. It is not considered desirable in the interests of the Armenians themselves to publish the reports.

INDIA—COLLECTION OF REVENUE IN THE HIMALAYAS.

MR. CAINE (Cornwall, Camborne): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India if his attention has been called to the conduct of the Deputy Commissioner of Dharmsala, who, with his revenue officer, interviewed the head men of Spiti and Bara Bangahal districts, and urged them to loyally support and increase the revenue in every possible way, but particularly in the excise department; and whether, seeing that this action on the part of a revenue officer is in distinct contradiction of the declared policy of the Government of India as formulated in their despatch to the Secretary of State, No. 29, 4th February, 1890, the Government of India propose to take any action in the matter.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Lord G. HAMILTON, Middlesex, Ealing): I have received no report concerning the circumstances described in the hon. Member's question. But I can quite conceive that the Deputy Commissioner of Kangra may have urged the headmen of those remote Himalayan tracts to support the Government in putting down illicit stills and illicit drinking. If he did this the Deputy Commissioner would not, in my judgment, be contravening the principles and policy of the Government of India, as declared in the despatch quoted in the question.

INDIAN AGRICULTURAL BANKS.

MR. CAINE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether he can say when the Conference on Agricultural Banks, promised by Sir Edward Law, will meet in Calcutta; whether independent Indian gentlemen will be invited to join the conference; and whether the views in favour of an experimental bank set forth in the Government of India despatch of May, 1884, will be taken into careful consideration.

LORD G. HAMILTON: I cannot state the time when the Committee which the Government of India have appointed to consider the question of agricultural banks will meet; but I know that the Government are most desirous to bring the question to a practical issue; and I am satisfied that, in the matter of selecting members and advisers of the Committee, and in the matter of furnishing the Committee with all available information, the Government will take all possible means to secure the end in view.

SOMALI EXPEDITION.—EMPLOYMENT OF INDIAN TROOPS.

Mr. CAINE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India if he can state what number of Indian troops are to be employed on the Somali Expedition; and if their expenses will be borne by the British Exchequer?

Lord G. HAMILTON: The Foreign Office has asked for the services of half a battalion native infantry, fifty camel sowars, two mountain guns, and four maxims, with the necessary equipment, transport, and supplies. The expenses will be borne by the British Exchequer.

COST OF INDIAN WARS.

Mr. CLAUDE LOWTHER (Cumberland, Eskdale): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he will agree to a Return showing the cost of each one of the different wars undertaken in India or on behalf of our Indian possessions from the year 1800 to the date of the abolition of the East India Company, and showing also the proportion of expenditure borne respectively by the United Kingdom and the East India Company in each case.

Lord G. HAMILTON: An ancient Return, No. 261 of 1808, shows that it was impossible even then to give the information now asked for as to the earlier years of the century. And it will be seen from Return 13 of 1900, which shows the wars on or beyond the borders of British India since 1849, that it is not till the last thirty years that the cost of the several military operations has been shown separately in the accounts of the Government of India. This latter Return took more than two years to compile, and caused great pressure on the departments concerned in India. I do not think I would be justified in ordering further investigations to be made in the accounts of the years from 1808 to 1849 for the purposes of the Return now asked for.

ASHANTI—ORIGIN OF THE RISING—CASUALTIES, COST, ETC.

Mr. LOUGH (Islington, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether there has been any cause for the recent rising in Ashanti except the attempt of the Governor to seize the golden stool, and why it was necessary to take that step; and whether he can state what has been the total loss of life to our forces in and the cost of the expedition up to the present, and whether any estimate has been formed of the numbers of natives killed.

Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN: (1) It is impossible to ascribe the war with certainty to any definite act, but I am convinced that the cause lay far deeper than the trivial incident to which the hon. Member refers. (2) The total loss of life in our forces is nine Europeans and 103 natives killed, and five Europeans and thirty-one natives died of disease. The cost of the operations has not yet been ascertained, but, so far, £132,300 has been expended out of the £200,000 voted by Parliament as a loan to the Gold Coast. It has not been possible to form an estimate of the number of Ashantis killed.

Mr. LOUGH: Has the golden stool been obtained, and is there any reason to insist on the natives giving it up?

Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN: It has not been obtained, and I am not aware of any insistence of the kind.

DEFENDERS OF COOMASSIE—GRATUITIES.

Sir JOHN COLOMB: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether gratuities granted to the Army, Navy, and Marines for war service in South Africa will also be granted to the officers and men of the Army who served in West Africa, and who took part in the defence of Coomassie, and in the operations for its relief.

Mr. BRODRICK: I cannot at present answer this question. The conditions of the two campaigns are not identical, and the majority of the soldiers concerned in the defence and relief of Coomassie were natives, who would not in any case be remunerated on the same scale as British soldiers.

Sir JOHN COLOMB: My question related to the officers and men of British regiments.

SIERRA LEONE—TRADE, FINANCES, ETC.

Mr. LOUGH: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether his attention has been called to the Report on Sierra Leone for the year 1899, which shows a reduction in the exports of palm oil, rice, and rubber, and to the fact that Sir Frederick Cardew sums up the position of the country by stating that since 1895 a gradual decrease in the export trade is apparent; and whether, seeing that the cost of the frontier police for 1899 amounted to £25,672, whereas the total revenue obtained from the hut tax was only £19,364, and that an additional expenditure was required to recoup the Imperial Government for the cost of military expeditions, he would consider the desirability of abolishing the hut tax and adopting a more conciliatory attitude towards the native population.

Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN: (1) I have examined the Report in question. It shows a reduction in the exports mentioned, but in the total of exports it shows a marked increase in 1899 over 1898, and if the words cited by the hon. Member be read with the rest of the paragraph in which they stand it will be seen that they are not intended to summarise the result of the tables as a gradual decrease since 1895. (2) The figures given as to the cost of frontier police and the revenue from the house tax for 1899 are correct; but the Governor has recently reported that the tax for 1900 has already realised more than the estimate of £25,000, and that it has been collected without trouble or any feeling of soreness. I have no reason to think that anything but a conciliatory attitude has been adopted towards the native population.

METROPOLITAN POLICE.

Major EVANS-GORDON (Tower Hamlets, Stepney): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether the Metropolitan Police Force is at present considerably under strength; whether the standard height and chest measurement for admission to the force have been reduced; and whether the present rates of pay and terms of service are such as to attract the best men in sufficient numbers.

*The SECRETARY of STATE for the HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. Ritchie, Croydon): The force is at present below its establishment, chiefly owing to the Reservists being called out for service with the colours. A sufficient number of properly qualified recruits is forthcoming to rather more than meet the normal needs of the force, but not sufficient to replace the absent Reservists or to make good augmentations. The answer to the second paragraph is in the negative. I must refer the hon. and gallant Member to an answer which I gave on Friday to the effect that the subject of the emoluments of the police has been and is under consideration.

TREATMENT OF INEBRIATES.

Mr. HENRY HOBHOUSE (Somersetshire, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he intends to establish any State inebriate reformatories, as contemplated by Section 3 of the Inebriates Act, 1898.

*Mr. RITCHIE: The question is now under my consideration.

FREEDOM OF PUBLIC MEETING—LIVERPOOL ALBERT HALL AND THE CELTIC LITERARY SOCIETY.

Mr. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to a letter addressed by the head constable of Liverpool to the licensees of the Albert Hall to the effect that if they allowed their hall to be used for a meeting under the auspices of the Celtic Literary Society on Monday last, they would incur serious responsibility, and advising them to cancel the letting of the hall for that purpose; and whether there was any illegality in the proposed meeting.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: I beg also to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he will state on what grounds and under what authority the police broke up the Irish meeting at Liverpool held in reference to the Boer war.

*Mr. RITCHIE: The answer is that the police took action in order to prevent serious disturbance, and that the steps which were taken appear to have been absolutely necessary and entirely justifiable.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: Why was a portion of the meeting allowed to proceed? Why was a reverend clergyman allowed to speak, whereas, when a lady rose to do so, the police interfered?

*MR. RITCHIE: I am not aware of that. The police considered that if the meeting were allowed to go on there might be serious disturbances, and I think they acted quite properly.

LEAD POISONING—SPECIAL RULES.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he can state when the Home Office proposals with regard to lead poisoning in the manufacture of china and earthenware, which were contained in a circular to manufacturers issued on 14th December, 1899, and again submitted to them as proposed special rules in August, 1900, are to be formally issued as special rules.

*MR. RITCHIE: Much progress has been made towards a settlement of the special rules for the china and earthenware trade, but there are certain points still outstanding, and one of them involves a chemical question on which I am now waiting for a report from Dr. Thorpe, principal chemist to the Government. I hope to be able formally to issue the new rules early next year.

CRICCIETH DOG LICENCES.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he is aware that the excise officer at Criccieth attends once a year at Garn Dolbenmaen for the purpose of issuing dog licences, and uses a public-house in the village for the purpose, although there are plenty of rooms available unconnected with public-houses; and whether he will give instructions to the officer in question to use a room in a private house, so as to obviate the necessity of requiring the public to attend at a public-house.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (SIR M. HICKS BEACH, Bristol, W.): For the convenience of the farmers and shepherds in the neighbourhood, the officer at Criccieth attends at Garn on an appointed day in January to receive and examine into declarations of exemption from dog licence duty. For this purpose he engages a room at the "Cross Pipes Inn," which is the most convenient place in the village, both for him and for the public. I am not prepared to prohibit the use of the local hotel or inn for such purposes.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the Inspector of Weights and Measures attends at a private house, and no inconvenience is experienced?

SIR M. HICKS BEACH: I am not aware of it.

EDINBURGH SORTING OFFICE REVISION.

SIR LEWIS MACIVER (Edinburgh, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, if he is now in a position to say when the scheme of revision for the sorting branch of the Edinburgh Post Office, which has been under consideration for more than two years, is likely to be sanctioned.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.): A portion of the scheme for the revision of the Edinburgh Sorting Office was sanctioned by the Treasury and carried into effect in August last. The remainder is held in suspense pending the settlement of certain questions of principle, with regard to higher appointments, which affect the service generally, but which it is hoped will be disposed of before long.

CUSTOMS OFFICERS' GRIEVANCES.

MR. M'CRAE (Edinburgh, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, if he will state when the result of the inquiry conducted by the late Secretary to the Treasury into the grievances of the Second Class Examining Officers of Customs will be made known to the officers concerned.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: My predecessor did not recommend any alteration regarding these men as a result of the inquiry held last summer. Certain proposals affecting them are now before the Treasury, but I have not yet had time to examine them.

POSTAGE RATES TO THE UNITED STATES.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL LEE (Hampshire, Fareham): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, whether he is aware that letters can now be sent to all parts of Canada, via New York, at the rate of 1d. per half-ounce, whereas letters addressed to New York or other parts of the United States are charged at the rate of 2½d. per half-ounce; and whether, in the interests of closer relations between England and the United States and for the convenience of the general public, negotiations might be entered into with the Government of the United States for the mutual establishment of a rate of 1d. per half-ounce for all letters passing between the two countries.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The Postmaster General is aware that the rates of postage are as stated by the hon. Member. The question of establishing a lower rate than 2½d. per half-ounce for letters exchanged between this country and the United States has already formed the subject of proposals on the part of Her Majesty's Government. The Government of the United States, however, was not prepared to entertain the suggestion.

ROYAL COMMISSION ON LOCAL TAXATION—DISTRIBUTION OF EVIDENCE, ETC., IN IRELAND.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, would he direct that the reports and evidence of the Commission on Local Taxation should be forwarded to the county councils of Ireland.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The course proposed by the hon. Member would be unusual, and I am not aware of any special reasons for it in this case. The volumes in question (which are not principally concerned with Ireland) can be purchased at a low price through any bookseller.

ROYAL COMMISSION ON LOCAL TAXATION—DATE OF REPORT.

MR. DOUGLAS (Lanarkshire, N.W.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he can inform the House when the Report of the Royal Commission on Local Taxation will be presented.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): I cannot state any date on which the Report will be published. It is being considered.

DELETERIOUS MATTERS IN BEER.

MR. FREDERICK WILSON (Norfolk, Mid): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether, seeing that it is stated in the Report of the Committee on Beer Materials, 1899, that the Treasury is empowered to prohibit the use in the manufacture of beer of any substance or liquor of a noxious or detrimental nature, he will state upon how many occasions within the last five years has the Treasury exercised such power, and how many specimens of cheap sulphuric acid such as is apparently used in the manufacture of sugar for brewing purposes have been examined during the current year.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The power referred to was conferred on the Treasury by Section 5 of the Customs and Inland Revenue Act, 1888, but the duty of providing proper securities for the wholesomeness of beer like other articles of food is placed by law on the local authorities subject, if necessary, to the Local Government Board or Board of Agriculture. The Treasury, therefore, has not exercised this power. Sulphuric acid would only come under the cognisance of the Government Laboratory in the event of samples being submitted for analysis under a magistrate's order, and no instances of such submission have occurred. It ought not to exist in any sugar found in a brewery.

COLONEL KENYON-SLANEY (Shropshire, Newport): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether the Official Analysts to the Department, Doctors Stevenson and Luff, who are members of the Expert Committee appointed by the Manchester Brewers' Association, are acting on behalf of the Department, or are being remunerated by the Brewers' Association; and if the latter is the case whether, in view of the great public interests involved, he would consider the advisability of causing a Report to be made by some expert analysts entirely unconnected with the trades concerned.

*MR. RITCHIE: Doctors Stevenson and Luff are not acting on behalf of the Home Department. I think that the suggestion in the last paragraph of the question is scarcely within my jurisdiction, but I have consulted my right hon. friend the President of the Local Government Board, and understand that that Department has the whole matter under their active consideration.

SCHOOL BOARD QUESTION IN WIMBLEDON.

MR. TREVELYAN: I beg to ask the Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education whether it has been brought to his notice that the ratepayers of Wimbledon, at a statutory meeting on 9th July last, passed a resolution that a School Board should be formed; and why no action has been taken by the Board of Education.

THE VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION (Sir JOHN GORST, Cambridge University): The Board of Education was not satisfied of the validity of the alleged resolution, and has therefore refrained from using it.

MR. TREVELYAN: What does the right hon. Gentleman mean by validity?

SIR JOHN GORST: It was contended by some of the ratepayers that proper notice was not given of the resolution, and the Board concur in that view.

INTER-DEPARTMENTAL EDUCATION COMMITTEE.

MR. MACNAMARA (Camberwell, N.): I beg to ask the Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education whether the Inter-Departmental Committee, consisting of representatives of the Home Office and of the Education Department, the calling together of which was suggested by the late Home Secretary and supported by the Vice-President of the Council in the Standing Committee on Law on 20th July, 1900, has been convened to consider the question of the out-of-school labour of school children; and, if so, when that Committee is likely to be in a position to report.

SIR JOHN GORST: The appointment of the Committee was delayed by changes in the Government, but the Home Secretary is now making arrangements with the Board of Education for its immediate appointment, and it is hoped that its Report will be made before next session.

GOVERNMENT DESPATCHES—DISTRIBUTION TO LOCAL AUTHORITIES.

MR. HERBERT LEWIS: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether copies of despatches relating to foreign and colonial affairs were sent to the county councils in England and Wales on the eve of the last General Election; and, if so, whether there is any precedent for sending such papers to county councils.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have made inquiries, and can learn nothing about this from either the Foreign Office or the Local Government Board. The hon. Member must, I think, be labouring under a misapprehension.

MR. HERBERT LEWIS: Will the right hon. Gentleman further inquire?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have inquired, and have given the hon. Member the result.

MR. HERBERT LEWIS: I shall put a further question.

IRISH LUNACY REGULATIONS.

COLONEL NOLAN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if his attention has been called to the fact that admission to Irish lunatic asylums is regulated wholly by magistrates; also, seeing that regulations for the administration of these asylums are framed by the Local Government Board to such an extent as to transfer the real control of administration and expenses to the Irish Government, would the Irish Government simplify the existing rules as to the care of lunatics by taking over in name as well as in fact the whole administration and undertaking to maintain the asylums from the Exchequer.

*THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover): It is true that the majority of committals to Irish District lunatic asylums are made by magistrates, but provision is also made in the statutory rules for admission under other forms, and in some districts these forms are largely used. The regulations for the administration of the asylums are not framed by the Local Government Board, but by the local committees of management, subject to the approval of the Lord Lieutenant. Where such regulations have not been framed by local committees the older regulations issued by the Lord Lieutenant in Council continue in force. The suggestion as to State control of the asylums raises an issue of such magnitude as to require more time for its consideration than I have been able to give to it in the brief interval of a few hours since this question was placed on the Paper.

DUTIES ON SPIRITS AND BEER.

COLONEL NOLAN: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he will state the duty paid upon Irish and Scotch spirits, and the duty upon the same amount of alcohol in English beer contributed to the revenue; and whether, seeing that it has lately been proved that some of the compounds sold under the name of beer are of a poisonous character, would he therefore allow the consumers of intoxicants to have some choice in the nature of their beverages by somewhat reducing the duty now levied on an article of Irish and Scotch manufacture.

SIR M. HICKS BEACH: The rate of duty on spirits, whether English, Scotch, or Irish, is 11s. per proof gallon. The duty on beer, whether English, Scotch or Irish, depends, not upon the spirit that it contains, but upon the specific gravity of the worts. As a matter of fact the present tax on beer works out to a rate of duty per proof gallon of the alcohol contained in beer of from 2s. to 2s. 3d. The duty on beer has been raised in recent years considerably more than the duty on spirits.

COLONEL NOLAN: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether, in view of the fact that in England the licence and other local Excise duties are paid over directly by the Excise authorities to the local bodies who raise or administer the English local rates, 1¼ per cent. being charged for collection, he would consider the advisability of extending this advantage to Ireland.

SIR M. HICKS BEACH: No charge for collection is made in either country, and Ireland would gain nothing by the suggested change. Under present arrangements the local bodies receive the full equivalent of the proceeds of the licence duties in Ireland corresponding to those licences which are handed over to the local authorities in Great Britain.

IRISH TAXATION.

COLONEL NOLAN: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer in what manner are the moneys collected in Ireland for excise, customs, taxes, and other imposts remitted to London; whether a portion of such moneys is retained in Ireland to meet Irish expenditure, and, if so, in what manner is the balance remitted to London; and, when a portion of the money payable for customs, excise, taxes, and other imposts from Irish sources is discharged by cheques on British banks, how are these cheques credited so as to show the total sum collected for excise, customs, taxes, and other imposts collected or collectable in Ireland.

SIR M. HICKS BEACH: The revenue collected in Ireland is paid in by the various collectors to the account of the Exchequer at the Bank of Ireland. Most of the money is retained to meet Irish expenditure other than that on account of the Army and Navy incurred in Ireland, which for reasons of convenience is paid by the Paymaster General in London. The balance is remitted by the Bank of Ireland to the Bank of England on the requisitions of the Treasury. People paying in revenue to the collectors sometimes do so by cheques payable in England, but all cheques, etc., are collected by the Bank of Ireland and credited to the various revenue accounts kept by that bank.

IRISH COUNTY COUNCIL ELECTIONS.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he will inquire whether at the Irish county council elections of 1899 more than twice the number of polling places were provided for the convenience of voters than at the late Parliamentary elections; is he aware that in constituencies like North Louth voters have had to walk in many cases five or six miles to the poll, contrary to law; and if the Government will do anything to ensure that no voter in Ireland will have to proceed a greater distance than three miles to the poll.

*MR. WYNDHAM: There has not been sufficient time to collect the information needed in order to verify the suggestion made in the first paragraph, but I have no reason to doubt its accuracy. I understand there are places in North Louth distant some five or six miles from a polling place. This is not necessarily contrary to the law, which admits of some latitude. The fixing of polling places does not rest with the Government. In the case of Local Government elections it rests with the Returning Officer, while in the case of Parliamentary elections it is primarily determined by the Chairman and Justices at Quarter Sessions subject to confirmation by the Privy Council. If representations are made to the Government from electors in any locality I will see that they are brought to the notice of the Chairman of Quarter Sessions.

MANUAL EDUCATION IN IRELAND.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state whether the Education Board supply the materials (or their cost) for carrying on the manual education programme, and whether the teachers must provide them.

*MR. WYNDHAM: This matter is now under consideration in connection with next year's Estimate. I am unable to make any definite promise at present.

MR. T. M. HEALY: If the teachers in the meantime provide the materials out of their own pockets, will the money be refunded to them?

*MR. WYNDHAM: I am considering the question.

IRISH CONSTABULARY — EXAMINATIONS.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether 119 constables presented themselves for examination under the P. and other systems last month; and is he aware that although candidates are entirely satisfied with the fairness of the Civil Service portion of the examination, there is an apprehension that the examination in professional subjects by a board of selected officers leaves room for personal bias; could the methods of the Civil Service Commissioners be introduced to govern the entire examination; how long do the board of officers take to make up their judgments; and is each district inspector allowed 15s. extra per night while the work goes on, and how often is the county inspector, who presides, changed; and would the Government consider the desirability of having an entirely fresh board for each examination, so that candidates might feel confident that the individual view of any officer should not be a permanent bar to his promotion, or that the board would not reflect the views of those who selected them as to any particular candidate.

MR. WYNDHAM: The number of constables who underwent examination last month was 114. No representations have been made to me of the nature mentioned in the second part of the first paragraph. In reply to the second paragraph, the examination of candidates in professional subjects must necessarily be conducted by police experts, and could not be entrusted to the Civil Service Commissioners. The last Promotion Board met on the 9th ult., and made its Report on the 26th ult. District inspectors appointed to this Board receive an allowance at the rate stated. The Board, consisting of five officers, is differently constituted, so far as possible, from year to year. On the occasion of the last two examinations the same county inspector presided, and one other member served twice in succession.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Will the right hon. Gentleman guarantee that the same officers shall not be appointed to the Board year after year?

MR. WYNDHAM: I think my answers show that the Board is freshly constituted yearly as far as reasonably can be done.

IRISH WORKHOUSES. — CLASSIFICATION OF AGED AND DESERVING POOR.

MR. GOULDING: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether a circular or instruction has been issued by the Local Government Board to the guardians of the poor in Ireland, urging the adoption of regulations affecting the classification of inmates in workhouses, with a view of securing separate accommodation for the aged and deserving poor; and, if so, whether such classification and separation is being carried out.

MR. WYNDHAM: The Board issued a circular relating to the better classification of workhouse inmates in November, 1893, especially with regard to deserving aged married couples. They have also frequently brought the whole question under the notice of guardians through the medium of their inspectors. The structural arrangements of Irish workhouses present great difficulties, and a thorough sub-classification of workhouse inmates throughout the country would involve an expenditure which the guardians would be reluctant to incur. Special inquiries were made by the Board in 1896, the outcome of which is the Poor Relief (Ireland) Act of last session, and the question of the amalgamation of workhouses, from which further desirable results in this connection may follow, is now under consideration.

CHILDREN IN IRISH WORKHOUSES.

MR. GOULDING: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether any circular or instruction has been issued by the Local Government Board in Ireland to the guardians of the poor urging that provision should be made for entirely removing all pauper children who are above the age of nurture from workhouses; and, if not, whether he will consider the desirability of issuing such an order, seeing that this change was unanimously recommended by a Committee of the House of Commons.

MR. WYNDHAM: The Local Government Board issued a circular relating to the relief of pauper children out of the workhouse in May last. I have forwarded a copy of this circular to my hon. friend. The Board have not urged the guardians to send all pauper children out of the workhouse, as until the passing of the Poor Relief Act of last session this would not have been a practicable suggestion. The matter is now under consideration in connection with the amalgamation of unions, and the Board hope to be able to indicate to boards of guardians shortly a manner in which a considerable advance can be made in this direction.

MR. GOULDING: Will the right hon. Gentleman consider the propriety of reducing the age? My question aims at the case of children of the age of five years.

MR. WYNDHAM: I am looking into the whole question, which I think demands attention.

IRISH LAND PURCHASE—GOVERNMENT CLAIMS.

COLONEL NOLAN: I beg to ask Mr. Attorney General for Ireland if, when property in Ireland is sold to tenants under the Purchase Acts, the Crown institutes inquiries to find if it can revive old claims for quit rents, tithes, or rent-charges against such properties; if the sums so recovered are small and productive of expense and delay; and if he could, by expediting or dispensing with such inquiries, facilitate purchases and tempt more landowners to sell.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. ATKINSON, Londonderry, N.): As the sale to tenants frees the land sold from liability to quit rent, it is necessary that inquiries should be made and claims put forward for the redemption of the quit rent out of the purchase-money. The certificates for the amount of the redemption money are generally lodged in ample time. In a small number of cases old claims for small sums have been made, but in very few of these has complaint of delay been received. All departments are only too anxious to facilitate the purchase by tenants of their holdings now proceeding at a very rapid rate, and if my attention be drawn to any specific instance of delay I shall have the matter inquired into.

SCOTTISH SHERIFFS' SALARIES.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Lord Advocate if he will state when the Report of the Committee appointed to consider the question of increasing the salaries of sheriffs in Scotland will be laid upon the Table of the House.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The Committee in question was a departmental one, which reported only for the information of the Scottish Office and the Treasury, and it is not proposed to lay the Report upon the Table of the House.

MR. WEIR: Does the Report recommend an increase of these miserably small salaries?

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member must give notice of that question.

THE ULLAPOOL SCHOOLMASTER.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Lord Advocate, in view of the fact that the rates payable by Mr. Cameron, schoolmaster, of Ullapool, Ross-shire, were paid on the 13th May, 1899, will he explain why Mr. Cameron was returned as a defaulter and his name removed by Mr. Morrin, the County Assessor, from the Register of Electors for the recent Parliamentary election.

*THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. A. GRAHAM MURRAY, Buteshire): Mr. Cameron's name was contained in the statutory list of defaulters furnished by the collector of poor rates to the assessor. By that list the assessor is guided in virtue of the statutory enactment to that effect. The usual opportunities of inspecting and appealing against the list of voters drawn up by the assessor were given, but presumably Mr. Cameron failed to observe the omission of his name from the list.

SCOTTISH CONGESTED DISTRICTS.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Lord Advocate if he will state whether the Congested Districts Board have yet secured any land suitable for the migration of crofters and cottars; and have any crofters and cottars yet been migrated from the Congested Districts of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland; if so, will he state what sum has been so expended.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY: I have nothing to add to the answer I gave the hon. Member on Tuesday last in reply to his question of that date.†

MR. WEIR: What was the answer?

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY: That full details would appear in the Congested Districts Board's Report.

MR. WEIR: Will you take care that next year the Report is in the hands of Members before the Vote is taken?

[No answer was given.]

FISHERY REGULATIONS IN ROSS-SHIRE.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Lord Advocate if he will state under what circumstances a net belonging to Robert Hosack, of Cromarty, was taken by Mr. James Nisbet, Water Bailiff Superintendent, Maryburgh, Ross-shire, last spring; and will he state under what circumstances the net subsequently fell into the hands of J. W. F. Junor, tailor, of Cromarty, and by what authority he retains it.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY: The hon. Member's question is based on information which is somewhat less accurate than usual. In reply to the first paragraph the net did not belong to Robert Hosack, but to George Skinner. It was not taken by Mr. James Nisbet, but by Mr. David Cramb, Inspector for the Alness District Fishery Board. The case was reported to Crown Counsel, who ordered no proceedings. In reply to the second paragraph Mr. Cramb thereafter transferred the net to Mr. Junor, who had been acting on this occasion not as tailor but as agent to the fishermen concerned. Mr. Junor does not retain the net upon any authority; he transferred it to its owner, by whom it has been sold to the Robert Hosack named in the question.

TRACTION ENGINE TRAFFIC IN ROSS-SHIRE.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Lord Advocate whether he is aware that on the 1st November last a complaint was lodged with Captain Munro, Chief Inspector of Constabulary for Scotland, to the effect that on the morning of the 15th October a traction engine, bearing the name John Campbell, timber merchant, Inverness, No. 2, was driven along the road at Muir of Ord, Ross-shire, without the usual precaution warning the public of its approach; and will he explain why no remonstrance has been addressed to the owner of the engine on the subject.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY: I am informed that the complaint lodged with Captain Munro was duly communicated to the Chief Constable of the county, who obtained a report on the matter which he laid before the clerk of the road authority, who acts as prosecutor under the Locomotives Acts. The facts, however, were not considered such as to justify a prosecution. I am to add that it is no part of the duties of Captain Munro, Inspector of Constabulary for Scotland, to deal with complaints.

DEER FORESTS—DESTRUCTION OF CROFTERS' CROPS.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Lord Advocate, in view of the inadequate provision made by owners of deer forests for preventing deer destroying the crops of crofters, will the Secretary for Scotland consider the expediency of introducing legislation such as will enable crofters residing in the vicinity of deer forests to obtain certificates of exemption from gun licence in order that they may be enabled to protect their crops from the ravages of deer.

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† See page 508.

*Mr. A. GRAHAM MURRAY: The answer is in the negative.

Mr. WEIR: Are the crofters not entitled to attack these brutes which destroy their crops?

[No answer was given.]

MUNICIPAL TAXATION—DISTRAINTS ON CHARITY PROPERTIES.

Mr. DAVID MacIVER (Liverpool, Kirkdale): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether his attention has been called to the action of the Liverpool Corporation in distraining upon the property of a certain well-known and widely-imitated charity for payment of municipal rates; whether he is aware that such demands are now being made in full for the first time, and upon the alleged ground that corporations, since 1899, have had no option in the matter, and that this increase is being resented by charities throughout the country; and whether, if the state of the law is as herein suggested, he can see his way to bring in a Bill with a view to its alteration in such a manner as to give a reasonable discretion to municipal corporations in the matter of exemption, so that charities considered desirable in the public interest, and which relieve the rates, may not themselves of necessity be subjected to rating.

The PRESIDENT of the LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. Long, Bristol, S.): I understand that the circumstances are as stated in the question, except that I am informed that the full rates on the property referred to were paid for the years 1893 to 1896, and that it was only for the years 1897 and 1898 that the rates were not paid in full, the Corporation being under a misconception of their powers in the matter. The contributions which ought equitably to be made by different kinds of property to local rates is one of the subjects which has been referred to the Royal Commission on Local Taxation, and, pending the Report of the Commission, I could not promise to bring in any such Bill as that desired by my hon. friend.

Mr. DAVID MacIVER: What is the position of charities such as the Kirkdale Industrial School, which are registered as places of worship?

*Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Gentleman must give notice of that.

ENGLISH WORKHOUSES — CLASSIFICATION OF PAUPERS — TREATMENT OF PAUPER CHILDREN.

Mr. GOULDING: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether classification in the workhouses in England and Wales, and the separation from the other inmates of the aged deserving poor, which was urged on the guardians this year in a circular from the Local Government Board, have been carried out; and if not, whether, seeing that this change was also unanimously recommended by a Committee of the House of Commons, he will consider the advisability of making such classification and separation obligatory. I beg also to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he can state the number of boards of guardians who have made provision for entirely removing all pauper children who are above the age of nurture from workhouses, the number of boards now making such provision, and the number of boards who are taking no definite action in the matter.

Mr. LONG: Perhaps I may be allowed to answer these two questions together. I am not at present in a position to say to what extent boards of guardians have taken action with regard to the matters referred to in these questions. Guardians are now considering the recommendations made in the circular which was issued by the Local Government Board, and I have already given instructions that inquiries shall be made in order to ascertain the result of such consideration. Meanwhile, I cannot undertake to say what course I may ultimately adopt in relation to this subject.

ALLOTMENTS—COMPULSORY HIRING OF LAND.

Sir WALTER FOSTER (Derbyshire, Ilkeston): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board if he will state the number of Orders for the compulsory hire of land for allotments deposited with the Local Government Board by county councils during the last year, and whether there were any that the Local Government Board did not confirm.

Mr. LONG: Six Orders of the kind referred to in the question were deposited with the Local Government Board during the year ended March last. Of these three have been confirmed by the Board;

in one case the application has been withdrawn, and the two remaining cases have not yet been settled.

SALES OF CORPORATE LANDS.

Sir WALTER FOSTER: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he can state the area of corporate land sold during the last year under instruments issued by the Local Government Board, and the amount received from such sales and invested in funded property as required by the Local Government Board.

Mr. LONG: The Local Government Board have during the year 1900 approved of the sale of about forty acres of corporate land, the value being about £66,000. The Board are not in possession of information showing the extent to which these lands have been actually sold and the proceeds invested.

FOOD PRESERVATIVES COMMITTEE—REPORT.

Mr. CHANNING: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board if he can state when the Departmental Committee appointed to consider the use of preservatives and colouring matter in articles of food is likely to present its Report.

Mr. LONG: I am informed that it is not expected that the Report will be ready till March next. The Committee have deemed it desirable to institute inquiries as to dairies in Denmark and Ireland, and they are deferring their Report until they have before them the result of these inquiries, and of certain physiological experiments which they have directed to be made.

FOOD ADULTERATION—PROPOSED NEW COMMITTEE.

Sir MARK STEWART (Kirkcudbrightshire): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Agriculture if it is the intention of the Government next session to appoint a Departmental Committee to inquire and report as to what regulations, if any, may with advantage be made by the Board of Agriculture under Section 4 of the Sale of Food and Drugs Act, 1899, for determining what deficiency in any of the usual constituents of genuine butter or what addition of extraneous matter shall, for the purposes of the Sale of Food and Drugs Acts, 1875 to 1899, raise a presumption, until the contrary is proved, that the butter is not genuine.

*The PRESIDENT of the BOARD of AGRICULTURE (Mr. Hanbury, Preston): I will not lose sight of the matter to which my hon. friend refers, but neither my predecessor nor I have yet taken any steps with respect to the setting up of presumptive standards for butter, because it has been thought better to wait and see whether any action can in the first place be taken in the case of milk and cream. The Report of the Committee appointed to consider the course to be taken with regard to the last-named articles has not yet been received.

CENTRAL LONDON RAILWAY.

Sir GEORGE FARDELL (Paddington, S.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade if his attention has been drawn to the inconvenience experienced day and night by the occupiers and owners of houses in Bayswater in consequence of the vibration caused by the running of trains on the Central London Railway; and, if so, whether the Department will at once institute an inquiry into the cause of the vibration, so that, if possible, some means may be devised for remedying the evil.

The PRESIDENT of the BOARD of TRADE (Mr. Gerald Balfour, Leeds Central): Yes, Sir, I have received several communications from Members of this House and others on the subject referred to by my hon. friend. The matter is receiving my most careful consideration, but there are many difficulties, and I am not prepared at the present moment to make any announcement with regard to it.

TRAINING OF BOYS FOR THE MERCANTILE MARINE.

*Sir CHARLES DILKE: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether the recent Government scheme, in connection with the light dues, for inducing British shipowners to carry British boys has failed; how many boys are carried under the Merchant Shipping (Mercantile Marine Fund) Act of 1898; whether the total number of boys entered in 1899 was the smallest on record and the proportion of foreigners the highest; and what remedy he proposes to adopt in place of the scheme in question for the state of things described by his predecessor.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: No, Sir, I cannot admit that the scheme referred to in the question, for inducing British shipowners to carry British boys on their ships, has failed. The scheme has been adopted by many shipping firms of the highest standing. It came into operation in April, 1899, and up to the 30th of last month 615 enrolments have taken place. There has, from the first, been a steady tendency to increase, which has become more marked during the last eight months. The proportion of foreigners employed in our mercantile marine in 1899 was slightly in access of that shown in any previous year, but this is probably due to causes outside the operation of the scheme. I hope that the measure of success that has attended this scheme will go on increasing as its advantages become more widely known. I have no proposal at present to submit to the House.

SLOUGH RAILWAY ACCIDENT.

MR. KEARLEY (Devonport): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether the expert advisers of the Department have any reason to believe that the disastrous railway accident at Slough on 16th June might have been entirely avoided had the train been fitted with the most modern high-speed brakes; whether from the moment the brakes were applied until the collision occurred the distance covered was about 600 yards, and the speed was diminished from 55 to 20 miles per hour; whether he is aware that in other countries trains running at similar speed can be brought to a standstill in less than 350 yards; and whether, under the circumstances, he proposes to take any steps to inquire into the efficiency of brakes on all English railways.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: I understand that the inspecting officer who inquired into the accident at Slough is of opinion that the disaster would not have been entirely avoided had the train been fitted with "modern high speed brakes." He also points out that the evidence is not clear as to the point at which the brakes were applied; in fact, it is unlikely that the men who were not watching the signals would be exact as to where the train was when the brakes were applied. The inspecting officer himself thinks that at the moment of application the train was little more than 200 yards from the point of collision. I am also informed that while the reply to paragraph 3 is in the affirmative there is no doubt that brakes in use in this country can be made equally effective over a similar distance. The Board of Trade are not in a position to press railway companies to adopt any particular brake, but I venture to express the hope that the companies will carefully watch the improvements which are being made and by experiments and otherwise ascertain the advantages of such improvements. On this point I am glad to be able to say that the Department has received a letter from the Great Western Railway Company in which the general manager informs me that "the directors have already ordered that a new and exhaustive series of experiments as to the efficiency of the brake power upon their trains shall be arranged in the coming spring."

SUPPLEMENTAL WAR LOAN (No. 2) BILL.

[SECOND READING.]

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

*SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Monmouthshire, W.): I need hardly say that I do not rise to oppose the Second Reading of this Bill. Bills of this kind have now become a matter of course. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave us very little information. We assume that from time to time, at intervals of a few weeks or months, there will be a Supplementary Estimate and that money will be borrowed. We cannot help ourselves in this situation. If I may borrow an old saying—needs must when war drives. There is no option when you cry havock and let loose the dogs of war; we have no control. When blood continues to flow, treasure continues to be poured out, and therefore whatever money is asked for the House have to give. I am bound to say that the announcement that has been made in this session has, in spite of the contradiction that has been given to that statement, caused great discouragement and a good deal of disappointment in the public mind as well as in the House of Commons. I see the Member for the Ecclesall Division of Sheffield shaking his head. Well, he is never discouraged and he is never disappointed. If the proposal had been for £100,000,000 he would have given it with equal cheerfulness. An Estimate generally is supposed to be a thing which is adequate to the purpose for which it is proposed, but the proper title of this Vote would be a Vote on Account—a Vote on account of a war which has not been brought to a conclusion. It is a war not only which is not concluded, but of which the Secretary of State says that he has no idea when it will be concluded. There is a supplementary guerilla war. I say that this state of things has caused discouragement and caused disappointment. There is no doubt that in this country there are thousands of families which were expecting this Christmas that at least the Imperial Yeomanry, the Militia, and the Volunteers would return. But we are told that they certainly will not, as far as the Government know, return before March, and it is very uncertain whether they will return even then. Therefore we have ceased to have any estimate given us with reference to the cost of the war. Last July I complained of the difficulty in understanding the Treasury document. I have found the same difficulty again. We have had a document laid upon the Table with reference to this Supplementary Estimate. It has no relation to the cost of the war at all. It only relates to the money that has been voted or is to be voted for this financial year, without any application to the cost of the war. I requested the Chancellor of the Exchequer last year to give us an intelligible document on the subject, which he was kind enough to do, and then on August 3 last we did have a paper which professed to give the cost of the war, which then amounted to £69,000,000. We have no paper to show what is the cost of the war now. The war in China and other items which do not appertain to the war in Africa are included. I hope we shall have a paper which will let us know what the idea of the Government is as to the cost up to the end of the present financial year, of the war in South Africa alone. Under the circumstances I wish to point out that this Estimate differs in principle altogether from that given to us in July last. This is in fact what may be called a carrying-over Estimate, and not a winding up Estimate, like the Estimate of last July. At last we have got a pretty frank declaration of the present condition of things. We had a frank declaration in this House from the Secretary of State for War, who, in a manner not too cheerful, has described the present condition of things and the future prospects. We also have had a frank declaration from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, not in this House, but at one of those banquets which annually recur at Bristol, where he informed his constituents that they were not to expect any diminution of taxation, but probably higher taxation. Those are very striking statements, and, as has already been observed, the Government are to be congratulated that these statements were made after and not before the elections. It was fortunate for them that they found themselves in the condition—under the necessity, as they said—of hurrying on the elections before it was necessary to make admissions of that character, and we have nothing to complain of as regards the frankness of their present declarations. Now we are going to vote £16,000,000.

*THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir M. HICKS BEACH, Bristol, W.): This is a Bill to borrow £11,000,000.

*SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: The Estimates are for £16,000,000, and we are going to borrow £11,000,000! I remember the time when a demand on the House of Commons to borrow £11,000,000 was considered a matter of some importance, but now we think nothing of it at all. We borrow £11,000,000 one month and a month or two afterwards we borrow another £11,000,000, and nobody thinks anything about it at all. I presume it will not be many weeks or months before we borrow another odd sum of £11,000,000, for eleven million pounds seems to be a favourite sum of the Government; they asked for £11,000,000 in July and August, and they ask for £11,000,000 now. I confess I possessed my soul in patience—moderate patience—because I relied upon the assurance that was given us last July by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. I know that the Chancellor of the Exchequer is a man of firm character and of very direct and reliable mind. I would just like to read in order that I may again put on record what that assurance was, because it was a very important one, and I am very glad, if the right hon. Gentleman will allow me to say so, that he is in his place to fulfil it. I had not regarded him as a sanguine man, and, therefore, I was surprised when he said he expected the war to be over in September. I do not know whether he expects the war will be over in March next, or whether he has completed his studies in guerilla warfare, and is now competent to give the period when the war will be absolutely over. The fact is that the Government in this matter are like favourite actors—they want the beneficence of the House of Commons. They advertise a benefit "positively for the last time," but the last time does not arrive, and they appear again for another benefit. However, the assurance of the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave me great satisfaction. The right hon. Gentleman said—

> "I do not propose to ask for any permanent borrowing powers. We should, as far as possible, earmark our borrowing for the war as temporary borrowing, and it should, automatically almost, point out to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whether I occupy the post or anybody else, that it is his duty at the earliest possible time to make provision for the redemption of the loan. The mode in which that provision is made must form part of the financial statement after the war is over, and when we can see how much we can secure from the Transvaal."

Therefore the right hon. Gentleman has undertaken that the next Budget shall provide for the redemption of the loan.

*Sir M. HICKS BEACH: Unless, in accordance with the supposition of the right hon. Gentleman, the war goes on longer.

*Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I was making no supposition at all, and it will be interesting to hear what your estimate will be as to the war being over. The Chancellor of the Exchequer promised that if the war was over by September the next Budget would provide for the redemption of the debt. That is a very important statement, and I desire to recall it, and I ask the indulgence of the House to call attention to it. Last night he repeated the statement as to getting a part of the cost of the war from the Transvaal in equally emphatic terms. He said that he himself, and the Colonial Secretary, and all his colleagues would redeem the expectation he had held out to the House of Commons and the country that a considerable portion of the cost of the war should be obtained from the wealth of the Transvaal. That is a most important statement which we, as the representatives of the taxpayers of England, ought to examine. I can confidently say that the right hon. Gentleman and the Colonial Secretary, and all his colleagues will have the strenuous support of both sides of the House of Commons in their endeavours. The Colonial Secretary misinterpreted me when I cheered him the other night, for he thought I was differing from him; but on the contrary I was applauding him. Now I should like to see what are the resources of the Transvaal from which the burden laid on the English taxpayer is to be relieved There is a notion that there is going to be, under the British administration of the new colonies, a surplus available for payment of part of the cost of the war. That is to say, the revenue will be more or the expenditure will be less; or that at all events there will be moneys in hand from that administration which will be available for the payment of part of the cost of the war. The right hon. Gentleman knows that I have always been sceptical on this subject, not because I did not wish the thing should be done, but because I did not see how it could be done; and I should like very much to invite the right hon. Gentleman to-night to give us a little more light upon the point. I will endeavour to lay before the House the reasons why I think such an explanation is necessary, and why I think the accomplishment of that pledge will not be easy. You have to consider first of all the revenue, and then the expenditure. Where is your revenue to come from in the new English colonies? What is the present condition of the colonies which you have added to your Empire? The land is devastated and the people are ruined; you cannot get revenue out of them. When the Boers return from St. Helena you will not be able to raise revenue from them, because they possess nothing. What you will have to do then is not to collect money from them, but to support them. The other night the Colonial Secretary uttered the terrible word famine. This war is to be succeeded by famine. That is not a favourable condition for the collection of revenue.

The hon. Member for the Ecclesall Division said, "Oh, as soon as you have got the railways you can get as much food as you like into the country." Who is going to pay for it? It is quite obvious that in the first instance you will have to pay for it. You cannot get your revenue at once, and you must either feed these people or exterminate them. That is the situation in which you stand in relation to the country which you have conquered. Then there remain only the capitalists and the Uitlanders. They, I suppose, are to return to Johannesburg and the Rand; they are the gold-mining population, and are the sole taxable source of wealth in that district. What else is there? I will ask the indulgence of the House while I call attention to a proposal made by Mr. Rhodes and his allies that the natives should be taxed. That is so serious a matter that it ought to receive the attention of the House, because if we are going to add to famine an insurrection of the natives that will not be an additional encouragement in the situation in which we find ourselves. But I ask the attention of the House to the expectation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer that he is going to derive a considerable revenue towards the cost of the war from the wealth of the Transvaal. They are the only resources from which you can expect revenue; and let us now examine what is the probability of obtaining a revenue from them. How will you get it, and how much will you get? What is the assistance the Chancellor of the Exchequer is likely to receive from the proprietors of that wealth? Of course, I need not say that these men, who have amassed incredible fortunes under the tyranny of President Kruger, are loyalists of the first water, that their patriotism is beyond suspicion, that they are Imperialists of the highest class, and you would suppose that they were ready to pour their gifts of gold and diamonds into the public exchequer. I have endeavoured to ascertain what is their disposition in this respect. I desire to assist in this matter the Chancellor of the Exchequer as much as I can. He expressed, and properly expressed, his gratitude to my right hon. friend the Member for the Forest of Dean for the valuable information he gave to the House on the subject of the assets of the Transvaal. What I would ask him to inquire into now is not the capital assets, which may be difficult or easy to realise—I do not know—but into the annual income for the administration of our new colonies. Now what is the attitude taken up with reference to these matters by the persons who have the control of this wealth of the Transvaal? There is a gentleman, I believe of very high authority in this matter—Mr. Robinson—who is chairman of the South African Banking Company, who have an interest in the control of a great number of these gold properties in the Transvaal. I believe no one is better informed of the condition of things than Mr. Robinson. I remember that in that admirable poem of Mr. Lowell's in the "Biglow Papers" there was a gentleman of the same name, and when somebody propounded to him the example of the Apostles as worthy to be followed, the verse goes on—

> "J. B.
> Robinson, he
> Sez they didn't know everythin' down in Judee."

Our Mr. Robinson, I am certain, knows everything about the "Judee" in the Rand, and no man is more competent to express an opinion on this subject. Now, the other day he made a speech to his company on the subject of their dividends which they did not get. He made a long speech, which was called by an enthusiastic admirer a State paper. He began, of course, by assuring them of their great wealth, their great resources, their accumulated funds, etc. He said the profits of the company and the dividends of the shareholders would enormously increase, and he said that he had always stated that the Transvaal Boers would not destroy the mines. That is quite true You have destroyed their farms, but they have not destroyed your mines. Therefore, although the wealth of the agriculturists is to a great degree destroyed—their farms gone, their stock taken—at all events, the wealth of the Transvaal remains in the hands of those gentlemen with undamaged mines. Now I come to what Mr. Robinson says as to their disposition to contribute towards the cost of the war. He says—

> "It has been argued that the Government will put a tax upon gold, or that it will tax the mines. I do not believe it. We know that under the régime of the late Transvaal Government very many mines were shut down because they could not be made to pay under the taxation that then existed. It is argued in the press that it is the intention of the British Government"—

well, it is not argued in the press, it is stated here by the Government—

"to impose taxation in the Transvaal for the purpose of reimbursing the Exchequer for the outlay and expenditure which has been incurred in connection with the war. I do not for one moment believe that the Imperial Government will commit so suicidal an action. If they were to do so they would find that, instead of obtaining from the country the expense incurred in connection with the war, they would simply plunge the whole country into misery, retard its development, and at the same time stir up a feeling of resentment and animosity which would prove a great danger to Imperial interests."

That is the menace addressed to the Government by these Imperialist patriots, who represent the wealth of the Transvaal—

"In fact, I may say that a policy of this kind would exercise a most baneful influence not only in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony, but in every other South African colony."

These gold gentleman are not confined to the Transvaal. They exist in Cape Colony and Natal, and this is what you are to expect if you attempt to collect revenue from them. It appears there are some gentlemen in the gold interest who have suggested that they might contribute something—not what might be asked of them, but what they thought fit—but Mr. Robinson will not have it at all. He says—

'You would create a discontented population who would be a menace to the whole position of affairs in the country, who would endanger Imperial interests and paralyse the state of things throughout the whole of South Africa and force the British Government into a very false position."

That is the account that he gives of their views of what their conduct in the Rand should be towards the new Government you are going to set up. I beg pardon for occupying the time of the House with these extracts, but it is very necessary for the country to know what is the attitude of the future wealth of the Transvaal towards this expectation, which was held out before the election, that the taxpayer of this country was not to bear the whole of this burden, and that there were means for his relief. I am quite sure that the Chancellor of the Exchequer held out that expectation in good faith. I do not doubt that for a moment, but it is one of those miscalculations, one of those delusions, with which the country has been amused. Well, why does Mr. Robinson state they ought not to pay? He says—

"Great Britain cannot expect to acquire a property so enormous in size, possessing such rich lands, &c., as well as the future developments that will follow, for a paltry sum of £60,000,000, and then turn round and tell the inhabitants of these countries that they will have to pay the £60,000,000 or a portion of it to enable her to acquire these valuable possessions. They are of very great value. To tax the mines or impose any burden of debt on the newly-acquired States for the purpose of paying a portion of that £60,000,000 or £70,000,000 would, in my opinion, be perpetrating a very great injustice upon the whole population of South Africa. . . . The taxation that was in existence up to the time of the war will have to be reduced, and reduced very considerably."

Their view is that you have acquired these countries in order to get a very good thing for yourselves, and, having got a very good thing for yourselves, they say that £60,000,000 or £70,000,000 is a trifle which nobody ought to be expected to consider, and to which they ought not to be expected to contribute. They are to pay no portion of it, and no burden of taxation is to be placed on them for the cost of the war. He adds—

"I need scarcely say, as you are all, no doubt, aware of it, that there are indications that matters are trending in that direction."

Yes, Sir. What are those indications? The declaration of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the declaration of the Secretary for the Colonies. Mr. Robinson goes on—

"And unless the Imperial Government uses that discretion which is so essentially necessary in the government of a country like South Africa it will indeed shake to its very foundations the Imperial dream which all lovers of freedom, justice, and progress so much admire."

There are some people who are to "Pay, pay, pay," and there are others who are not to "Pay, pay, pay" out of the wealth of the Transvaal. Mr. Robinson proceeds—

"I must frankly admit that there are scintillations in the air at the present time which indicate further manœuvring in that direction."

Scintillations in the air! The declarations of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and of the Colonial Secretary. Those are the scintillations in the air which he expresses his determination to defeat. Well, Sir, he goes on to declare that what they desire and have a right to expect is not that they should go on paying for their privileges, for their gold, what they have hitherto been paying, and under which they had done so well and accumulated their fabulous wealth, but that their payments should be greatly diminished. Everybody knows that the taxation under President Kruger and the old Government in the Transvaal was incomparably lighter than that imposed by Mr. Rhodes and the Chartered Company in Rhodesia. If anybody doubts that I would ask him to refer to the report of the meeting of the United Rhodesian Goldfields (Limited). The chairman at that meeting said that—

> "It was disconcerting to find that the vast majority of experienced miners and mining men who had been expelled from the Rand had preferred to waste their time in Cape Town and the ports rather than to try their luck in Rhodesia. This was due, he believed, to the severity of the conditions imposed by the Chartered Company on prospectors. Being one of the largest companies in Rhodesia, they were vitally interested in securing some relief from the intolerable conditions under which all exploring undertakings worked. . . . If the country was to be worked on its merits fresh capital must be attracted by fair conditions being offered."

Then he expresses the hope that one day he will get an alteration from Mr. Rhodes, and declares that unless an amendment is speedily made all hope of attracting fresh capital into Rhodesia will disappear. That is not very promising for your revenue if that is to be the policy pursued. That is Mr. Robinson's view of the contribution by the wealth of the Transvaal to the revenue. But there is another, and probably the greatest, gold combination or trust in South Africa—that is the Consolidated Goldfields Company. They say they have a balance in hand of £1,750,000, a reserve of £1,000,000, and they boast of their enormous wealth and great resources. They have, of course, an ornamental lord as chairman. That is necessary in this country, but the significant point is that they have as directors Mr. Cecil Rhodes and Mr. Rochfort Maguire. Therefore we may suppose that when the chairman speaks he speaks with more authority than his own. They dictate the policy and pull the strings. Now let us see what this "golden diamond" policy is. Lord Harris, as chairman, on the 27th October refers in his speech to a report by Mr. Hays Hammond, the engineer of the company, and, I believe, the greatest expert in South Africa, who in a previous report had stated that if by good government 6s. a ton could be saved it would mean a profit to the Rand of £4,000,000 a year. That statement attracted the attention of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and he thought that perhaps the English taxpayer might have a fraction of that £4,000,000 a year which the Rand estimated would be their profit by this war. Yes; but those gentlemen saw that that was rather a roseate and dangerous statement on the part of their engineer, and as soon as it was known that any money might be diverted for the relief of the English taxpayer the chairman said it was necessary to correct that statement. He said it was a "clerical error"; that "it was an estimate"—there is something charming in this—"made not by a politician, but by a mining engineer." We know that estimates made by politicians and not mining engineers are estimates made to suit the period of elections, but the estimate I am now dealing with was made to suit the purposes of shareholders. But the remarkable thing is that the statement which it was thought necessary to correct in this case was made by a mining engineer of great eminence, and not by a politician. So it is necessary for politicians to correct this error, and they at once bring the estimate down to £2,000,000, so that there should be less to attack. Then the chairman goes on to say—

> "As to the burdens to be laid on the Rand, it was comforting to remember that they would not be settled by the officials in the Transvaal or even by the Colonial Office."

So that, according to this, the Secretary to the Colonies and the High Commissioner are to have nothing to do in a Crown Colony with the taxation that is to be put on the wealth of the Transvaal. He supposes that the final settlement will be Parliamentary, and he goes on to say—

> "The line that divided politics from economics in the affairs of the company was so thin that it was scarcely distinguishable."

Yes, Sir, we know that very well. We know well the line that divides the politicians and the gold men at the Cape, and their economics. The latter control the politics of the Cape. The Consolidated Goldfields Company, however, represent the high-grade ore, and they are denounced by Mr. Robinson in his speech for having intimated the possibility of contribution having to be made. These weak-kneed men, he says, are actuated by the most selfish motives; they want to shut up the low-grade ores and so secure all the labour, which may be scarce, for themselves. That is the charitable view these gentlemen entertain of one another. What they want is cheap labour. One of the great complaints that they made against President Kruger was that he would not give them cheap labour by coercing the natives. That was one of the great complaints these men made, and the principal foundation, as far as they were concerned, of the agitation which was got up and which led to the war. What they think is that the British Government will do that for them when they establish their government in these colonies. There is a Mr. Rudd, who does not object to some payment by the mines, but he denied that the war was originated by the capitalists or on behalf of the mines, and afterwards remarked that, if the allegation were true, the nation owed them, or whoever caused the war, a deep debt of gratitude. But he said, the main thing is that we—

> "must get something out of the 10,000,000 able-bodied natives in South Africa."

The chairman said—

> "the Government must take the lead in the collection, importation, and distribution of labour."

That is the great aim of the greatest gold combination in South Africa—to insist upon the British Government providing them with cheap labour, It is a great difficulty unquestionably, the question of labour. How are they going to procure it? As politicians, not as mining engineers, they have a scheme of their own. The Boers cannot pay, because they have nothing to pay with; the wealth of the Transvaal will not pay, but there remains another population, and the people that are to pay are the black natives. That is the "golden diamond" policy. It was anticipated, according to the directors' report of the Consolidated Goldfields Company—

> "that the conditions of life amongst the native labourers under a British administration will be immensely improved in various ways, amongst others by the prohibition of drink"

—we have not succeeded in getting that prohibition in this country yet, but it will be observed that the object of these Rhodesian gentlemen is not the improvement of the moral and social condition of the natives, but it is to cheapen their labour—

> "by their protection on the route to and from Johannesburg, by regulations as to the duration of the service, and by other means. It may be expected that the mine labourer will, owing to these and other reforms, become a better and, therefore—apart from the rate of wage, which will no doubt settle itself as the various ordinary forces which affect supply and demand come into play—a cheaper workman."

Just let us see what is going to be done with these natives. Their wages are to be run down by the importation of foreign labourers, which is to be undertaken and carried through by the British Government, and then, when you have run down their wages, the British Government is to determine the period of their service. I know what the miners of Monmouth would say if it was proposed to improve their position and cheapen their labour by methods of this character. But these gentlemen are sanguine—

> "It is to be hoped that, in return for the many advantages which the native races of British South Africa will now secure, the Government will take care that in some form or other those who have not hitherto been directly taxed shall now contribute to the expenses of the war."

The gold miners will not contribute, the Boers cannot contribute, but the natives shall "contribute to the expenses of the war," and also "become an industrious and useful portion of the population." These are the people who are to contribute to the expenses of the war. If there is anything certain in the world it is that a policy of that kind, if the British Government were so insane as to adopt it, would produce a native insurrection as it did in Matabeleland under the Rhodesian régime. It may be asked, Who are these men that we should attend to what they say? I will tell you who these men are. They are the masters of South Africa. It is recorded that Philip of Macedon said that wherever you could drive a mule laden with gold into a city you could capture it. There are golden convoys of this kind going all over South Africa, and I am not sure there are not convoys of that description in London; and therefore we know perfectly well that these are the men who control the politics, who control the Government, of the Cape. They are the men who will be supreme in your Government and in your new colonies. These are the men on whom you are going to rely in your new colonies. Who else is there in the population on whom you can rely? These are the men who have tarnished your reputation all over the world, who have destroyed the reputation to a great degree of South Africa, and if you allow them to prevail they will ruin your new colonies. It is, therefore, of the last importance that you should know what are their intentions and what is their policy. I would say to the right hon. Gentleman that if you want to obtain anything, as you have pledged yourselves to obtain it, for the British taxpayer out of the enormous expenditure of this war, you must be prepared to face the "Kaffir Circus." If you face them in South Africa you will have to face them here, and it will require all the courage which I know is possessed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and by the Colonial Secretary, and it will require all the integrity of Parliament to deal with this matter. You will receive the most obstinate resistance and you will receive a refusal to grant a single farthing. The demand is made that the taxation of South Africa shall not be greater, but less; and, therefore, what is the hope for your revenue? The hope for your revenue, I must say, seems to me extremely ambiguous, and that it will be equal to the revenue which has been hitherto levied in South Africa I believe to be impossible, owing to the country being so impoverished that the means would not be available. I will speak very briefly on the subject of expenditure. Is your expenditure going to be less? You have been told that when the British Government comes the expenditure would not be half what it was before. The British Government is a very good Government, but it has never been a cheap Government, and it will never be. There are charges coming upon you that never came on the late Government in the Transvaal. We have heard a great deal of the moneys spent by President Kruger on armaments and other things, but they do not amount to a great sum, certainly not a million a year. The annual expenditure of the Transvaal was four millions at the highest estimate it reached, and the expenditure of the Free State was about a million, or five millions in all. Yes, Sir, but you are going to enter on a hostile country. You are going to have what was unnecessary before, a permanent army of occupation—an army of occupation, I am sorry to say, which has to be contemplated not only with reference to the Transvaal and the Free State, but with reference to the disaffected in Cape Colony. I have asked questions about this new police force that is to be raised, a very proper force, but a most expensive force never raised before. I remember in the old days we always thought that for the British Army you took £100 a man. We were told yesterday that the estimate for these men is £250 each. That, I believe, is without any consideration for the barracks, and so on, that will have to be made for them. These are to be mounted men. I was rather curious to know how many men had applied in South Africa and how many men in England. In England, where the men do not know what South Africa is, 10,000 men applied, but in South Africa, where the conditions are known, there were 500 applications. It was expected to raise, with the aid of the Imperial Yeomanry and the Volunteers, a force of 15,000 men, but I think that any hopes of getting the Imperial Yeomanry and the Volunteers to undertake this job are dispelled. The Imperial Yeomanry and the Volunteers want to come home and not to remain there. That seems to be a very general sentiment. I am glad to see my hon. and learned friend opposite (Mr. A. Lyttelton), who has just been out, has not enlisted in this force. But it is all nonsense to talk about policing this country with 10,000 men. These men cannot be quartered alone in the condition in which the country will be when the war is over. You must have them in groups, and in a country as big as Spain, Cuba, and the Philippines, as the Secretary for War told us the other day, 10,000 men would not be visible at all. In the midst of a hostile population mounted men are needed, and the conditions require that there should be a certain number of them grouped together to protect one another. Thus, the 15,000 men originally contemplated was none too great, but what will they cost? They will cost four millions, and the 10,000 spoken of will cost, at £250 each, two and a half millions. This single item alone will amount to the whole cost of President Kruger's Government. What becomes of your surplus? We have been told that the wealth of the Transvaal is going to pay for them. They are also, I take for granted, going to pay, as the Indian people pay, for the 30,000 men we propose to have as an army of occupation. Besides that you have all the civil administration, which, it was said, in the time of President Kruger was much below the mark. They did not do much for education or public works, and there are demands made here for the Government to do a great deal for the water supply, which is so deficient in that country, and for other things. With your army of occupation, and when you have paid three or four millions for this police, where is your surplus? I have not any elements to make even such estimates as the Government make, but I have made a guess, and so far from their being a less cost of administration it will not be far from double that of the late Government in the Transvaal. If that is so, where is the money to come from? The right hon. Gentleman had indicated his wish to relieve the British taxpayer. I have no doubt the right hon. Gentleman is very anxious and willing to relieve him, but I am sceptical the more I hear about it as to the existence of any fund from which he can do it. We hope that the Government have entered upon a new policy of conciliation. We hope that you are going to instal a Government in the Transvaal which shall be a Government of reconciliation—*felix faustumque sit.* All I can say is that the appearances before the country are not encouraging, but it will depend altogether on the character of the Government you so establish—I mean the character of the Government as it relates to the Dutch population in that country. Upon the character of that Government will depend the future disposition of the Dutch race, not in the colonies alone, but in the whole of South Africa, in the Cape Colony as well as in these new territories. I was reading the other day a book of great knowledge written by another Robinson—Sir John Robinson, the first Premier of Natal—who knows the whole subject as well as any man in this House knows it, and I commend his views to the consideration of those have not read the book. Sir John Robinson says first of all—and it is the material fact we have to deal with—

> "If the whole European population of South Africa be counted together the Dutch race is numerically preponderant."

Therefore your policy is going to affect the preponderant white race of South Africa; and this is the advice which he gives you:—

> "We must give the Afrikander a Government which he not only fears and obeys, but loves, trusts, cherishes, and is proud of; a Government which represents to him no sense of grievance or deprivation; a Government which is large enough and free enough to satisfy his national and patriotic aspirations and yet strong enough to make its authority felt."

Even the other Robinson saw the necessity for this, because in the speech to which I have referred he recommended that Generals De Wet and Botha should be put on the Executive Council. I do not know that the Colonial Secretary got quite so far as that. But are you going to establish in these new colonies an administration of reconciliation? Are you going to establish a Government which the Afrikander may trust and love and cherish? Are you going to have a Government which represents to him no sense of grievance or deprivation; which is bound up with none of the bitter associations of this horrible war? If so, you may have a peace which deserves the name. But if your administration, in its personality and character, represents to the Afrikanders nothing but the right of conquest and the hateful memories of the past, the insatiate greed of the gamblers for gold, and the poisonous spirit of race ascendency, then the war may be over, but you will have achieved a victory without honour, and, though you will have conquered these colonies, you will have a peace which is no peace.

*MR. MARKHAM (Nottinghamshire, Mansfield): If with all humility I rise to address the House, I do so for the reason that during the last ten years I have travelled through all the countries in South Africa from the Zambesi to the Cape. I have been down many of the mines on the western, eastern, and central Rand, and I have also inspected several of the goldfields of South Africa. I claim, therefore, to know something of the character and the conditions of gold-mining in South Africa. I must ask the indulgence of the House for three reasons: first, as a new Member speaking in this assembly for the first time; secondly, for the reason that I feel my utter incompetency to do justice to the cause on which I am speaking; and thirdly, because I wish to say at once that I have been a shareholder for the last ten years in the Witwatersrand mines. As soon, however, as I was adopted by the central council of Mansfield, I wired to my broker instructing him to sell every Transvaal share that I had. I am sorry to say that as I held a very considerable interest in one or two mines, I have not been able to get that instruction entirely carried through. I think I owe this explanation to the House. I have never been connected with the flotation or promotion of any gold mines, or associated with any group of capitalists. What I have done is merely to have invested my money after going down the mines and making an inspection of them. It is with deep respect and humility that I venture to criticise the remarks just made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouthshire. In many ways I entirely dissent from the views he has put before the House, but I do not dissent from one word that he has said with reference to the conduct of the men in South Africa connected with the Raid. I am one who for the last ten years has recognised that either President Kruger would have to grant reforms, or war or revolution would occur. The Raid rendered war inevitable, because you could not expect that the distrust engendered by that capitalist attempt to seize the Transvaal would be removed, at any rate for generations. But the Raid having taken place you had to face a most difficult condition of affairs. I believe that the honesty of purpose and the integrity of Sir Alfred Milner are above suspicion, but he was brought face to face with one of the most difficult tasks it has ever been the lot of man to face. I agree with every word of the right hon. Gentleman as to the way in which the capitalists have worked up this agitation in South Africa, but it is only on the question of the riches of the Transvaal that I venture to speak to the House to-night, and on that point I differ from the right hon. Gentleman. It will probably be said that I am a young man, an enthusiast, who is going to tell the House that the future prospects of the Transvaal are over-estimated.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: That is not my opinion; I only said that its wealth was difficult to get at.

*MR. MARKHAM: With the indulgence of the House I will deal with some of the points put forward by the right hon. Gentleman. For the first time in the history of the world, gold-mining has passed from a speculative to a manufacturing industry. The House must recollect that Rand mining is absolutely distinct from all other mining that has ever been known in the world. The right hon. Gentleman stated that gold was the only source from which taxation could be obtained, but I will venture to show the House that there are many other resources, without touching the gold question at all, which are valuable assets in the Transvaal. The right hon. Gentleman said that the right hon. Baronet the Member for Forest of Dean had shown no annual income. It is true the right hon. Baronet was unable to do that at present, but although, I believe, he has not been in the country, he knows where the taxation and the riches of the Transvaal come from even better than I do. It would not be right for me as a new Member, I should be presuming on the time of the House, to show whence this income could be obtained. [Cries of "Go on."] If the House wishes it I will deal with that point, but I rise in a very difficult position. I should have liked to, and if I were not a new Member I would, tell the House a good many things that have gone on in South Africa, and which have come under my own knowledge, but they are questions of a highly controversial character. I will deal in the first place with a few remarks of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouthshire. The right hon. Gentleman was very hard on Mr. Robinson. Mr. Robinson is a Boer who has lived in that country all his life; he has never been associated with the De Beers group; he was not associated with the Raid; he was a man who in South Africa always kept himself to himself. Both sides of the House, I think, will agree that where a man makes money honestly, whether it be one million or ten millions, he ought not to be attacked merely on that account, and it is very hard that Mr. Robinson should be singled out for a special attack when he above all others is the only man that I know of who has not mixed himself up with the Raid or the large De Beers elements in South Africa. The right hon. Gentleman said that taxation in Rhodesia was much higher than in the Transvaal. The mining licence is higher, but, as a matter of fact, mining in Mashonaland, even on a small scale, can be carried out much more cheaply than in the Transvaal. The right hon. Gentleman is somewhat sceptical as to the statement of Mr. Hammond. On referring to my notebook I find that the tonnage, according to the State Mining Engineer's returns, was 7,861,089 tons. If I multiply that by 6s.—the saving per ton which Mr. Hammond estimated would be made by good government—it comes out approximately at £2,300,000. The statement made by Mr. Hammond was, therefore, correct. In 1897 what is known as the Industrial Commission was appointed by the Boer Government. A great mass of figures was put before that body to prove that the mines could not be worked at a profit. I have taken the liberty of summarising and having tabulated these remarkable figures. Before the outbreak of war there were 5,910 stamps dropping on the Rand, and 68 companies producing. I have divided those companies into three schedules: "A," those that were paying dividends; "B," those that were working and would have paid dividends if war had not broken out; and "C," those that were working at a loss or at a very small profit. The summary of these figures is somewhat remarkable. The 42 mines which were paying dividends had a nominal capital of £19,463,740, the average for each company being £463,423. The market value of these shares represents to each company an average value of £1,313,773, and the amount of dividend distributed was £4,925,793. The average yield per stamp in July, 1899, was 79 ozs., and the dividend on the nominal capital was equal to 25 per cent., equal on the present market value to a dividend of nearly 9 per cent., the present market value of the £1 shares being £2 17s. These are the mines I have scheduled as Class A. In Class B, the average nominal value of the companies which have never paid a dividend was £482,736, and the average market capital—that is, watered capital, most of which was never put into the mines, and which in some cases consisted of shares issued at a high premium and brought into the capital account—is £1,515,649 in these depressed times. That is to say, every £1 of capital is worth on the market an average of £3 8s. 5d. In Class C, mines working at a loss or a very small profit, the nominal capital of the nine companies was £2,162,625, and the market value is £1,405,750. They are represented by 460 stamps, and every £1 of nominal capital is worth on an average on the market 13s. The names of these companies are—Aurora West, Crœsus, Geldenhuis Main, Langlaagte Star, New Niufied, Paarl Central, Roodepoort Gold, West Rand Mines, and York Gold. There were only 6,000 stamps before the war, but there is no reason why in a few years, if taxation is placed on a proper basis, there should not be at least 15,000 stamps "dropping" on the Central Rand alone. There are, in addition, districts which are all highly mineralised, and if taxation is placed on a direct and not on an indirect basis so as to enable the lower grade mines to be worked at a profit, you will see a production of gold in the Transvaal that will astonish the civilised world. The wealth in that country—I do not wish to exaggerate—is untold. There is in Randfontein 150 miles of reefs, the property of one gold mining company alone, but the mines have not been able to be worked at a profit where seven pennyweights to the ton could not be obtained. There are also immense deposits of coal in this country. I have been down some of these coal mines, and within five miles of the Rand there are immense seams of good steam coal, sixty feet thick. The output in 1898 was 1,907,808 tons. But we have in addition to coal, ironstone copper and diamonds. The ironstone contains a large percentage of metallic iron and the copper has not been able to be worked up to the present owing to the absence of railway facilities. Diamonds have been discovered in various districts, and their estimated value has been put at fifty millions. In addition, it was stated before the Industrial Commission, and also in the report of the Boer Government, that at least £750,000 worth of amalgam was stolen yearly in the Rand. That surely can be saved to the mines. A duty of 2½ per cent. on the total gold produced, held under mynpachts, was payable to the Government, but that law has never been enforced. I have asked myself why, and I leave it to the sense of the House to ascertain. Mr. Hays Hammond stated at a meeting of the Consolidated Goldfields at Johannesburg in December, 1897—

> "We confidently believe that we shall be able to mine at depths of from 3,000 to 4,000 feet, at an expense not to exceed that at present obtaining upon the outcrop companies."

That was to be accomplished not by cheap labour, but by reduced indirect taxation. At an extraordinary meeting of the Consolidated Gold Fields in May, 1897, Mr. C. D. Rudd stated that Johannesburg as the centre of the Transvaal would yet see the production of a thousand millions sterling, and that with moderate reforms the saving would be 7s. 6d. a ton. The House will therefore remember that there is a fair margin of profit to pay something towards the cost of this war. Mr. Eckstein at a meeting of the Rand Mines in Johannesburg in 1897 stated that the cost of production would be reduced 10s. a ton by moderate reforms. That, Sir, I think, is an undoubted fact, or again according to the Mine Managers' Return in 1897 30 per cent. of the labour was incapacitated owing to drunkenness, and for the past five or six years the greater proportion of the natives have been in a perpetual state of drunkenness. Let us look at Rhodesia and give Mr. Rhodes the credit that is due to him. I have never seen, even in the most remote parts of Rhodesia, any liquor sold to natives. I know it is not a very popular statement to make, but it is only just to say that the natives, not only in the Transvaal, but in Cape Colony, are a very secondary consideration, the profits of the Boer farmers being the first. I would wish also to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer if he is aware that where large blocks of shares are dealt with in London they are sent out to Johannesburg, where they can be registered for sixpence, thereby evading the duty that would be payable in this country. That is very largely done, and the revenue may lose as much as £1,000 in a single transaction. I hope the Chancellor of the Exchequer will take means to prevent that in future. Now I come to what is, after all, the most serious matter I wish to mention. I wish to prove to the House that every appointment of any value in the Transvaal has been given to men who were directly connected with the Raid.

*MR. SPEAKER: I think a discussion of that sort would not be in order. The hon. Member has been speaking of the assets of the Transvaal; he is now going into the question as to the manner in which certain appointments have been distributed, and that would not be relevant.

*MR. MARKHAM: I do not know whether I have made myself clear to you, Mr. Speaker, but what I wish to show, if I am in order, is that financial appointments have been made in South Africa which must react on the taxation which this House will be able to obtain from the Transvaal, and which we will lose if these appointments are persisted in.

*MR. SPEAKER: Any observations of the hon. Member showing that a certain class of appointments would increase or decrease the revenue of the country would be in order. I interrupted the hon. Member to prevent him going into the political aspects of the question.

*MR. MARKHAM: That is entirely my view, Mr. Speaker. I wish to show that these appointments have been made in the capitalist interest, and not for the benefit of South Africa. Mr. Samuel Evans, the gentleman appointed Civil Commissioner of Johannesburg, is a member of the firm of Eckstein, a director of the Liquor Concession Company, a director of the company owning the *South African Mining Journal*, and a director of the *Star*. Mr. Van Hulsteyn, who has been appointed legal adviser to the Field Marshal, is solicitor to Ecksteins. Mr. Emery Evans, who has been appointed Controller of the Treasury, that is Minister of Finance, is a director of several mining companies, and has an appointment in the East Rand Debenture, with which Mr. Eckstein and Mr. Farrar were connected. Mr. J. A. Hamilton, who has been appointed financial adviser to the military governor, is interested in concessions granted by the Transvaal Government. He has the right of inspecting the books of all the banks in the Transvaal, regarding which, I believe, a protest has been sent to the Government by the Standard Bank and the Bank of South Africa. Mr. Wyberg, who has been appointed Minister of Mines, was an employee of Beit, Rhodes, and Co., in the Consolidated Gold Fields, and he was president in 1898 of the Johannesburg branch of the South African League. Mr. George Farrar, with his attorney, Mr. Solomon, solicitor to the Consolidated Gold Fields, in which, again, the Beit interest prevailed, had been sent to investigate alleged rebel cases—a man who has been convicted of high treason. Mr. E. Fraser, the late British Agent in Pretoria, who has been appointed to Goertz, as their Johannesburg representative, has no knowledge of the industry. Mr. Monypenny has an appointment in Johannesburg, and he is, as the House knows, the representative of

Messrs. Beit and Barnato, who hold a majority of the shares not only in the *Star*, but in every other financial paper except one in South Africa. I do not know what the appointment of Mr. Monypenny is, but what I do know is that he is acting in a position of trust on behalf of the Government in Johannesburg. Mr. Goldman, a director of forty-three companies, and, I believe, the representative of *The Times*—though I am not sure on this point—has also, I think, an appointment. Mr. Loveday, who is one of the members of the Transvaal Concessions Committee, is a director of companies holding concessions, and is co-director with Mr. Eckstein.

MR. LYTTELTON (Warwick and Leamington): I think I ought to intervene here. I do not know from whom the hon. Member obtained his information, but my own information comes from Mr. Loveday himself. I had the honour to have Mr. Loveday as a colleague on the Concessions Committee, and my information is to the effect that he is a director of the Electric Lighting Company only, and that company is not a monopoly.

*MR. MARKHAM: I have not the honour of knowing the hon. Member who has just spoken, but he will, perhaps, excuse me if I say that Mr. FitzPatrick, the author of "The Transvaal from Within," is a director of four companies holding direct concessions from the Transvaal.

MR. LYTTELTON: I was referring simply to Mr. Loveday.

*MR. MARKHAM: I will come to Mr. Loveday presently. Mr. FitzPatrick was a director of the Cement Concession, which the Chamber of Commerce, in their protest to the Government in 1897, said was "a parasite on the industry." This is the gentleman who wrote "The Transvaal from Within." He was also a director of the Pretoria Lighting Company, which holds a concession from the Government, and Mr. Loveday was associated with him then—I do not say now, since these gentlemen had got Government appointments. I do not know whether the hon. Gentleman opposite knows that the greatest number of concessions in South Africa is held by Mr. Eckstein in Swaziland.

MR. LYTTELTON: I was not making any statement with reference to the hon. Member's general argument. I simply ventured to say, on behalf of a colleague for whom I have the greatest possible respect, Mr. Loveday, that the statement that he was interested——

MR. BRYN ROBERTS (Carnarvonshire, Eifion): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, I rise to ask whether it is in order for an hon. Gentleman to interrupt in order to make an explanation of a matter which does not affect him personally, and I wish to know whether the rule which applies to this side of the House does not apply to all of it?

*MR. SPEAKER: There is no rule that an interruption should only be made in regard to an observation which affects an hon. Member personally. As I understand, the hon. Member for Warwick is making an explanation which the hon. Member in possession of the House has given him the opportunity of making.

MR. LYTTELTON: I hope I was not treating the hon. Member with discourtesy. What I was saying was that I should blame myself, as being a colleague of Mr. Loveday for four months, and having the greatest respect for him, if I allowed this statement of the hon. Member, no doubt made in good faith, that he was a director of companies which had concessions from the Transvaal Government, to pass unchallenged, when I believe that statement to be incorrect. My information—I may be wrong—is that Mr. Loveday was a director of, I think it was, the Pretoria Electric Lighting Company, that he resigned long before I was associated with him or before he undertook this investigation. Therefore, I must confess that any charge against him of this character seems to be wholly unfounded.

*MR. SPEAKER: These very minute details of the history of particular directors of companies seem to me to be getting rather far away from the subject of debate.

*MR. MARKHAM: The hon. Member opposite admits that Mr. Loveday was a member of a concessions company.

MR. LYTTELTON: No. I did not admit it.

*MR. MARKHAM: You admitted that he was a director of the Electric Lighting Company.

MR. LYTTELTON: That was not a concessionaire company.

*MR. MARKHAM: I, too, have a very high opinion of Mr. Loveday, whom I believe to be a thoroughly honourable gentleman in every respect. But what I say is that the Government have no right to appoint men who have been connected with concessions in any way or shape. I presume that in the Estimates laid on the Table of the House there is a charge made for the conveyance of railway material. I do not know whether it is in the knowledge of the House that during the past few months a railway, which will be paid for out of the Estimates laid on this Table, has been made chiefly for the benefit of Wernher, Beit, and Co.

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member's observations do not relate to the Finance Bill. If there is in the Estimates an item that relates to the railway material, the remarks of the hon. Member will be more in order on the Appropriation Bill.

*MR. MARKHAM: I take it, Sir, that the money the House is now voting is for the railway in question?

*MR. SPEAKER: The House is not now voting money. It has voted the money, and that Vote will come before the House again upon the Appropriation Bill, on which the remarks of the hon. Member may be in order. At present they are not.

*MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): May I submit, Sir, that this loan must include some sum of money on account of the railway, and that, therefore, it is in order for the hon. Member to refer to the subject? I submit that if we are raising a loan which includes this railway being made for the benefit of Wernher, Beit and Co., it is in order to discuss this question.

*MR. SPEAKER: I have already given my ruling on that point.

*MR. MARKHAM: I do not wish to trespass further upon the time of the House. The Government have sanctioned these appointments, and although a protest was lodged at the Colonial Office against them by a responsible gentleman holding a high financial position in London, those appointments were persisted in. Was it in the interests of South Africa and of this country, which had to find the money, that gentlemen who had been connected directly with concessions, and with what has been the most unfortunate and unhappy incident in South Africa, should be appointed to such responsible positions? Could such appointments possibly be in the public interest? I must now thank the House for the generous and kind way in which they have listened to me. When I rose to speak I had no intention of raising highly controversial disputes in the few words which I have had the honour of saying upon the first occasion I have had of addressing the House, but I have been placed by my friends sitting near me in the position of making a somewhat antagonistic speech. I trust, however, that hon. Members will believe that it was not with any wish to thrust myself forward that I ventured to bring these matters before the House.

*MR. T. M. HEALY: The House has just listened to probably the most remarkable and interesting speech we have had this session, and delivered as it has been by a new Member, we are all the more grateful. What is also remarkable is that it was delivered in the absence of the Colonial Secretary, and I think the House must wonder at the absence during such a speech of the right hon. Gentleman when this important question of concessions and shareholders is being discussed, and why he does not come into the House to aid the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his arduous duty. I rise for the purpose of congratulating the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the firm attitude he has taken recently, in determining that the gold mines shall be saddled with the cost of the war. He is, of course, not popular in Ireland as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and it can hardly be expected, and indeed, since the new appointment of the Financial Secretary to aid him, they have been called "the twin screws" of the Government. I think the right hon. Gentleman's courage deserves recognition. His decision in regard to the taxation of the Transvaal has been a gradually advancing one, for when we pressed him last session he absolutely declined to say that he would tax the mines.

*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: I think the hon. Member does me an injustice.

*MR. T. M. HEALY: Towards the end of last session I put a question to the right hon. Gentleman on the subject, and got what I consider a very unsatisfactory answer. Perhaps most questioners are of that opinion. Since then the Bill for British and Irish taxpayers has gradually mounted up. The difficulty of the right hon. Gentleman with regard to the taxing of the mines seems to be that Mr. Hawksley holds a number of letters from a particular member of the Cabinet which he frequently threatens to publish.

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Gentleman will not be in order in referring to the Hawksley letters.

*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: They have nothing whatever to do with the matter.

*MR. T. M. HEALY: Not with the right hon. Gentleman, of course, and that is my point.

*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: Nor with the matter at all.

*MR. T. M. HEALY: We know that the Chancellor of the Exchequer has been keeping up what De Wet would call a rear-guard fight with the Colonial Secretary on this question. I desire in every sense to respect the ruling of the Chair, but I desire also to pay a due compliment to the firmness of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. I will only say that I think this promise which the right hon. Gentleman has made—I am sure against the wish of many of his colleagues—that this burden should be thrown upon the mines, has been received with a sense of gratitude in every part of the three kingdoms. It would have been monstrous had it been otherwise, because if we do not hesitate to throw burdens upon the ryots of India, why should we hesitate to tax the gold bugs of the Transvaal? The right hon. Gentleman has had great assistance from the Member for Mansfield to-night. He has not told us by what machinery and to what extent he is going to inflict this fleabite upon them. I think the Chancellor of the Exchequer ought to make a clean breast of it so that those persons who are contemplating investing in concerns in the Transvaal will know exactly what they have to face, and the sooner this is done the better. I think it would be better if the right hon. Gentleman would state at once that England, Ireland, and Scotland will be totally relieved of the cost of this war. You have given them the blood of 50,000 men, and that should be considered sufficient, without £100,000,000 expenses, and this should be placed upon the mines; whose patriotic owners will, of course, cheerfully bear it. Indeed, since you have changed the name of the Orange Free State to that of the Orange River Colony, I would suggest that the name of the Transvaal should be changed to "the New Jerusalem." I must complain in reference to this question of their taxable capacity that we have entered upon this debate without that report which the hon. and learned Member for Leamington was sent out to make. I think that report would greatly have assisted us to a conclusion, because we must remember that when the Transvaal Government tried some years ago to get some idea of the wealth of the country these magnates then all declared that they were blind, like the mendicants in the street, and that they were all starving. The right hon. Gentleman sent out Sir David Barbour to investigate those assets, but I wish he had had associated with him the hon. Member for Mansfield. If the cost of this war be laid upon the mine owners, at least there will be some £15,000,000 which will be returnable to Ireland. We must get that money back, although I am aware that we cannot get back the Dublin Fusiliers, for their bones will be lying about Ladysmith. I believe that Sir David Barbour was on the Irish Financial Relations Commission, and he did not agree with his colleagues. He is now sitting to investigate the assets of the Transvaal, and I think the Irish people have reason to complain that somebody from their country has not been associated with him. What will happen? I do not know what Sir David Barbour's African experience is, but we do know that every man he will examine will be an interested party, whose business it will be to throw dust into the eyes of the hon. Baronet. I do not think you can hardly expect anyone to make a fair estimate of the assets of the Transvaal amid the crash of sabres and the explosion of bombs. I would like to make one other remark with regard to this Bill. In the case of the former Bill the right hon. Gentleman floated a great portion of the loan in America. That gave rise to a considerable number of complaints amongst that interesting body of gentlemen who form the Stock Exchange fraternity in London. It was only after the last Bill became an Act that the right hon. Gentleman, for the first time, made this new departure of floating these British bonds in America. For my part I altogether object to this association of Wall Street with what I may call British international interests. It is bad enough to have the politics of this country dominated by the British Stock Exchange, but when in addition to that we have Wall Street unscrupulosity on top of it, I think we are paying very dearly for the small sum that would be saved to this country in the matter of discount by floating the loan in the United States. I think, from your English point of view, this country's boast being that it is the richest country in the world, the British Chancellor of the Exchequer ought to think it beneath his position to have to go to a number of Yankee brokers to float British Consols. If this country has all the vast stores of wealth and enormous patriotism about which we hear so much, these gentlemen of the Stock Exchange in England ought to be able to absorb the £11,000,000 of the right hon. Gentleman. It is said the De Beers Company has made a demand for half a million or a million for compensation for injuries at Kimberley during the siege. I suggest that as we want to find the taxable assets and taxable capacity we ought to remember that Kimberley was filched from the Free State on mere pretence, and the Free Staters got only £90,000 for what was worth about £500,000,000. I would suggest a delimitation commission be sent out, and that you should re-include Kimberley in the Orange River Colony, so that they should have one good thumping asset to go to pay for this war. I agree with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouthshire in thinking the Chancellor of the Exchequer would require unusual courage to face the Kaffir Circus. But all the gentlemen connected with the Rhodesian promotions can be satisfied by an easy process. Last year we learned how the Niger Company was bought up. Of course the Colonial Secretary was an entirely disinterested person, and he allowed that matter to be managed entirely by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. British finance is very elastic —very elastic, indeed—and why would it not be possible to square these Rhodesian gentlemen by the Government offering to buy up the Chartered Company at, say, £10 apiece? The Imperial Government bought up the East India Company, the Niger Company, and a good many other companies, and now you are embracing in your fraternal arms the whole of South Africa it would be a pity to leave Rhodesia out. It would only mean a few more beggarly millions, and thus the financial souls of the promoters of this war would be completely salved. The Chancellor of the Exchequer could add the purchase money to the Transvaal debt, and I think the suggestions I have made he will find very useful later on. Lastly, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouthshire stated that the natives were going to be taxed. I do not think that he could have been reading Lord Salisbury's speeches. The Prime Minister said when the war commenced that the keynote of the policy of the British Government would be greater kindness to the natives. Now the natives could not be taxed after such a pledge as that, nor could the Boers, for they were in the position of the Highlander who was devoid of a certain garment. And therefore there only remains as the single asset which the Transvaal possesses, its great mineral wealth; and we who are without any mineral wealth whatever, and have had to bear our share of the cost of this unhappy and unjust war, have to congratulate the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the insistence he has shown in facing his colleagues, and in determining that the people supposed to be benefited by the war shall bear the cost of it. I assure him that if he does this he will have the united support of every member of the Opposition.

*Mr. JOHN WILSON (Falkirk Burghs) said he had listened with great interest to the remarks of the hon. Member for Mansfield, but he should not like it to go out to the country that that Member was alone in adopting the position that the whole cost of the war should be borne by the Transvaal. He had had the honour to be the first to express that opinion as far back as at the special session in the autumn of 1899. He had visited the Transvaal; he was a practical mine owner, and had been down the mines there. He had a profound idea of the prodigious wealth of the Transvaal, which would last for a great many years on account of the particularly permanent nature of the gold deposits. Already the output of gold exceeded that of any other country in the world, but under the security of British rule it would soon be doubled. He should like to give a warning to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. They had heard a great deal, some years ago, before the war broke out, as to the large savings that would be made if the country were under British rule instead of under the corruption of the Boers. But all this was now being minimised. It was formerly said that the saving to the gold mines, alone, would amount to four and a half millions per annum, but the mine owners on the Rand were now attempting to minimise that to two and a half millions. He begged the Chancellor of the Exchequer to note that, because he was perfectly certain that the mines were perfectly capable of bearing the whole cost of the war. They heard of the immense fortunes that were being made on the Rand, and he had never any doubt whatever of the richness of the gold mines. The sole doubt he had ever had was as to the methods of floating those gold mines. The hon. Member for Mansfield had told the House that he had sold out his shares in the Rand. He had not sold out his shares, but still held them, and that was all the more reason why his words should be listened to, because it showed he was prepared to be taxed for the cost of the war, which could be borne to a much greater extent under British rule when all the Boer corruption had been done away with. He did not see why hon. Gentlemen opposite should object to native labour being got cheaper. The unjust liquor laws should be abolished, and strict native liquor laws enforced as has been done in Rhodesia. He had visited the compound at Kimberley where no drink was sold to the natives, and where everything was in a most excellent state, and the natives thoroughly happy. When the dynamite monopoly was abolished, and good liquor laws enforced on the Rand there would be plenty of native labour and a vast increase in the gold mining profits. He expected the Chancellor of the Exchequer would take very good care that the whole cost of the war would be put on the Transvaal, and he congratulated the right hon. Gentleman on standing to his guns in this respect. He remembered the Chancellor of the Exchequer making a speech at the beginning of the war in which he expressed his intention of putting a large proportion of the war expenditure on the Transvaal. He interrupted the right hon. Gentleman, and asked if he meant the whole cost. The Chancellor turned round to him and said, "Perhaps the whole cost of the war," and that would be found recorded in *Hansard*.[†] As to the kind of officials appointed in the Transvaal, he confessed he was very much astonished to hear that many of those interested in the gold mines had been appointed to places of responsibility on the Rand. When Sir David Barbour went to these officials to get their opinion he hoped he would remember the discussion in the House that night, and take very good care not to accept their opinion in its entirety without full investigation.

*MR. CHANNING (Northamptonshire, E.) said he did not intend to prolong the debate, but he wished to emphasise that the resources of the Transvaal should be drawn upon to the fullest amount which could be reasonably paid for the relief of the British taxpayers. He wanted to raise a specific point in connection with the assets of the Transvaal which he presumed had been transferred to the present Government. He wished the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his reply would state what his views were as to one of the assets of the late Transvaal Government—he meant the admitted liability of the British South Africa Company for damages for the Jameson Raid. Her Majesty's Government, in despatches of the Colonial Secretary, and the directors of the British South Africa Company themselves had admitted this liability, and the Colonial Secretary had been prepared to enforce it. The only question was as to the amount. The amount claimed by the late Transvaal Government was considered by Her Majesty's Government to be excessive. There was a million claimed for "moral and intellectual damage," the validity of which was naturally questioned by the Colonial Secretary; but with regard to the actual damages caused there was undoubtedly an irresistible and admitted claim against the British South Africa Company. He thought that a reasonable amount towards the cost of the war ought to be paid by the British South Africa Company. In fact it might be argued that a much larger proportion of the cost of the war should fall on the British South Africa Company than on the mine owners, because that company had indirectly been the cause of the whole war.

[†] See *The Parliamentary Debates* [Fourth Series], Vol. lxxx., page 140.

MR. BECKETT (Yorkshire, N.R., Whitby) expressed the satisfaction which he was sure they all felt that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was still prepared to deal with the very awkward and delicate financial situation brought about by this unduly protracted war. Various suggestions had been made as to the means by which the revenue was to be made. He thought that the financial position in England was somewhat serious, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer next year would be face to face with the probability of having to increase the burden of taxation, which was already so heavy. He had no doubt that when the right hon. Gentleman framed his Budget he would consider the advisability of drawing revenue from some new sources. He could not help thinking that the right hon. Gentleman must now regret that two years ago he had laid hands upon the Sinking Fund. A loan might have been raised of £80,000 upon the security of the amount by which he reduced the sinking fund, and that would have relieved the taxpayers to a considerable extent. He had pointed out a year ago that the sinking fund constituted a great war fund, and he was sure they wished now that it had been left intact. That, however, he ventured to say, was the solitary lapse of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his financial career. It was probable that the extra taxation which would be laid upon this country in consequence of the war would amount to ten millions a year; we would have to meet the interests on various loans and the increased expenditure on the Army. It therefore stood to reason that the taxpayers of the country ought not to be called upon to bear any burden which could be legitimately laid upon the Transvaal. As regards the assets of the two countries we had taken over, it would be extremely interesting if the Chancellor of the Exchequer could present next year a balance-sheet, for we all knew that the debt account amounted to a very considerable sum, and we wanted to know what the assets were. It would have been interesting if the hon. Member for Mansfield had in his most admirable speech indicated what were the assets on which he thought we could lay our hands if we wanted more money, and he hoped that the hon. Member would give this information on another occasion. Mr. Kruger raised about four and a half millions in the Transvaal. The right hon. Gentleman had shown to some extent the nature of the expenditure imposed on the Transvaal. The cost of the police, the army of occupation and administration, would amount to six and a quarter millions. In addition to that there was the interest on the loans raised in the Transvaal. It was perfectly possible to raise a loan of a hundred millions, but he did not believe the Transvaal could bear a burden of more than fifty millions, the interest on which would be one and three-quarter miilions. Therefore the total amount required to be raised in the Transvaal would be eight and a half millions, or double the amount raised by the Kruger Government. He did not see how these figures could be modified in any respect. The revenue of the Orange River Colony was about a million, but the cost of the police alone would amount to more than the entire revenue, and there were no means of taxing the Orange River Colony further, although the hon. Member for Mansfield talked of the great prospects of that colony, and dazzled us with visions of gold and diamonds. The difficulty was a very serious one. A representation had been sent to the Chancellor of the Exchequer from the foreign shareholders in the Transvaal mines. The references in that memorial were undoubtedly of a kind that deserved the attention of the right hon. Gentleman. The memorial purported to come from 300,000 shareholders, and it stated that they wished to submit respectfully that the mines of the Transvaal belonged to a great extent to French, German, Belgian, and Dutch persons, who were not subjects of Great Britain. It was said that the shareholders had held themselves neutral during the war, and had done nothing to provoke the war. They were the victims of the war, because in the course of it the mines had paid no dividends to the proprietors. There was considerable depression, they suffered from the additional burdens being laid upon them, and they were entitled to compensation. Furthermore, they pointed out that according to statements made by Ministers this war had been entirely undertaken in the interests of the British Empire, and that therefore the British Empire ought to pay for it. It seemed to him that this representation ought to have some attention paid to it—he did not say too much attention, for he could quote some reassuring figures. A German computation made out that 70 per cent. of the shareholders in the mines were English, 14 per cent. German, and the remainder belonging to various other countries, so that it might be fairly said that it was the English who would be the chief sufferers if the mines were taxed. He had ventured to make these observations to the House because he felt that this question of taxation was going to be a very serious one in the coming year. The Secretary of State for War had made a speech described as pessimistic, but it seemed to him that it was the most hopeful speech which had yet been made, because for the first time a Minister had fairly looked the facts in the face. If we continued to look the facts in the face, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer were to make a wise and just provision for carrying the burden of the war, all difficulties would disappear.

*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: We have had a debate which has had only an indirect reference to the Bill before the House, but which, all the same, has been full of interest to myself at any rate, and I think to the House at large. Practically the debate has wholly turned on the amount of the contribution towards the cost of the war which it may be possible to derive from the Transvaal, and the sources from which that contribution might come. This matter was brought before the House by the right hon. Member for the Forest of Dean yesterday, and I then ventured to say that I was not in a position to enter into any details at present, but that we had taken steps for a full and careful examination of the financial position of the Transvaal, of the possibilities of taxation, of the assets of the Government, and of the condition of the mining interest, with a view to framing such proposals as we might think would be fair, and of submitting them to the House after the termination of the war, which I hope may be—although the right hon. Gentleman opposite is not so sanguine—before the next Budget. I cannot do more than that to-night, but I would first call the attention of the House to the remarkable difference which has been exhibited during this debate in the views held by hon. Members as to the possibility of any contribution being derived from the Transvaal. The hon. Member for North Louth tells us that we may expect 100 millions for the total cost of the war, and also whatever sums may be sufficient to buy up the Chartered Company at a price which, in his opinion, should be such as would induce them to acquiesce in annexation. I never held out to the House or the country any such suggestions as that. I never said that I anticipated that the whole cost of the war would be borne by the Transvaal. I think any such idea would be an absolute delusion. I do not think it possible, and I hope nothing I shall say to-night will give countenance to it. What I have said is that I think a considerable contribution towards the cost of the war should be made by the Transvaal. Now, the right hon. Member for West Monmouthshire has appeared to-night in his favourite character of a prophet of evil. He was rather disappointed, I think, the other night when my right hon. friend the Secretary for War anticipated him in painting in somewhat unfavourable colours the probable future of the war; and all he could do was to put the colours on with a stronger brush and suggest that, even so, the whole of the future had not been exposed to the House. But while expressing that which I am sure we all feel, his earnest desire that the war should be rapidly brought to a close, I do not think his prophecies or speech were exactly calculated to have that effect. But the right hon. Gentleman has told us to-night that it is his earnest desire that the Transvaal should make a considerable contribution towards the cost of the war. Now, was his speech to-night calculated to make that an easier task? I venture to say that it has added not a little to my difficulties. He has painted the financial position of the Transvaal in the darkest possible colours. He has said that the country is devastated, that famine is probable, that other expenditure—the cost of administration and the cost of police—will more than consume any possible revenue, and he went on to say that the mine-owners and capitalists who are the favourite objects of his detestation and abuse [SIR W. HARCOURT: Hear, hear], but who do not always deserve all he says of them, have absolutely declined to assume any such liability. I am not over fond of capitalists, except when I have death duties to collect, but I think the right hon. Gentleman did some injustice, at any rate, to Mr. Robinson in his quotations from his speech. I have read a report of that speech, and what I understood Mr. Robinson to fear was that there would be some attempt, so to speak, to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs—to impose such an extravagant burden upon the mining industry in the Transvaal that it would, if not kill that industry, at any rate materially interfere with its future development. I do not think Mr. Robinson himself would contend that there should be no contribution from the Transvaal towards the cost of the war. But the right hon. Gentleman, in the whole of his speech as far as I could see, took no account whatever of what was laid before the House in the interesting speech of the hon. Member for Mansfield—namely, the vast wealth of the Transvaal in the future, the possibilities of the country when that wealth is developed, and, therefore, the possibility of the country bearing a burden in the future which we could not exact from it now. It may be for a year or two after the close of the war impossible to obtain from the Transvaal any contribution towards the cost of the war. But I would point out that in the part of my financial policy which has been fortunate enough to meet with the assent of the right hon. Gentleman opposite I have carefully borne that in mind. I have said throughout that I would not make the borrowing for the war a permanent burden on the country. I have obtained—and this is the third occasion—power from Parliament to borrow for the cost of the war. I have borrowed partly on Treasury bills, partly on Exchequer Bonds for three years, partly on Exchequer Bonds for five years, and partly on the War Loan for ten years, and therefore I have made the falling in, so to speak, of these loans at such periods as would enable Parliament to have before it the condition of the Transvaal from time to time with a view to seeing what we could impose, as these loans fall in, upon that country. I hope Parliament will not for a moment consider that if the Transvaal at the close of the war should be in the devastated and poverty-stricken condition to which the right hon. Gentleman points that, therefore, in the future it should be free from all charge. I do not think that is a policy he would suggest for a moment. I can go no further than that to-night. But I should like to allude to one point of the right hon. Gentleman's speech which, I think, he can hardly have sufficiently considered. He alluded to some utterances of directors of companies in regard to the provision by the Government of cheap native labour for the mines. But there is a way whereby the cheapening of labour in the mines can be effected without anything of that kind. The hon. Member for Mansfield, or an hon. Member on this side of the House, pointed out that in certain districts half the natives in the mines were drunk. Now, what has been suggested? That the sale of liquor to natives should be prohibited. Is that a policy which the right hon. Gentleman the author of the Local Veto Bill objects to?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I approved of it, and I hope you will follow it up, but I said the object of a great many directors of companies was not to improve the condition of the natives, but to cheapen labour.

*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: Does not the right hon. Gentleman see that if in the future natives are sober who are now drunk, their labour will be better and therefore cheaper for the mines? [A Voice: A sober man wants better wages.] Further than that, the municipal government of Johannesburg and the local government of the Rand have notoriously been incapable of preserving order, preventing abuses, and giving security to life and property, and may we not reasonably hope, that under the government which will in the future be in the Transvaal there will be rather more fairness, rather more equity, shown to the native races than has been shown to them in the past? All these reforms may tend to cheapen native labour without the introduction of anything like a system of forced labour, the idea which the right hon. Gentleman attributed to the directors of companies. I have referred to the speech of the hon. Member for Mansfield, and he made one suggestion which, I think, eminently deserves the consideration of those who will have to settle the taxation of the Transvaal. He said that, in his opinion, the fault had been that taxation had been indirect rather than direct in regard to the mines. I express no final opinion, but it does seem to me a matter that deserves most careful consideration whether direct taxation on the profits of the mines should be imposed. If, as the hon. Member has suggested, such taxation was intended by the late Transvaal Government, but has not been levied owing to corruption, because those who ought to have levied it were practically bribed not to do so, all I can say is that we shall take care nothing of the sort shall go on in the future. The hon. Member has alluded to appointments made at Pretoria and elsewhere by Lord Roberts. Now, I know nothing of them, but I will venture to say I do not think the hon. Member considers fairly the position occupied by Lord Roberts. The country was in a state of war, appointments had to be made, and the choice of men was very limited indeed, so that it was practically impossible to obtain anyone for the appointments but local residents, and I dare say these were connected with the companies or undertakings to which the hon. Member has referred. But I am sure that directly Sir A. Milner establishes civil government all these appointments will be considered afresh, and probably entirely new appointments will be made in many cases to which the hon. Member has referred. We shall take very good care —we should not do our duty if we did not take care—that the action of local government shall not be biassed by any undue influence of the great companies in the Transvaal. The hon. Member for Northampton has asked a question; the assets of the Transvaal having been referred to, he wanted to know whether those assets included the claim of the late Government on the Chartered Company. Well, I think any question on that matter should be addressed to the Colonial Secretary.

Mr. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): He is not here.

Sir M. HICKS BEACH: But I will tell the House frankly what occurs to my mind. The claim may have considerable justice, but what has happened since? For every pound fairly due in consequence of the Jameson Raid from the Chartered Company to the late Transvaal Government at least £5 is probably due to the company from the late Transvaal Government in consequence of the war entered into by that Government against this country. Thereupon I think on fair investigation it will be found that against the claim on one side there is a considerable set-off on the other. I do not know that there is any other point to which I need refer, but this much, I trust, the House will believe. I am grateful to more than one hon. Member who has alluded to my position in these matters and will do my best to carry out the policy which I have indicated. If I do not say more than I have been able to say it is really because I cannot bind myself by any expression of opinion as to details. It would be unwise, it would be dangerous to do so; but I can assure the House that I have at heart as much as any hon. Member the desire that the Transvaal, and of course, if possible, the Orange River Colony, shall make some contribution towards the cost of this war, that the whole cost shall not be thrown on the taxpayers of this country. How this may be best carried out must be matter for careful consideration; it is a difficult and delicate subject, as I said yesterday, but in dealing with it we shall have regard to the necessity for doing nothing that will fetter the industry of the Transvaal and prevent the development of the country; and we shall take care that we are not biassed in dealing with the subject by any unreasonable demands or unfair suggestions from those who are interested in mines that they ought not to be called upon to bear such burthens as the interests of the country require.

Mr. LABOUCHERE thought that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer (whom everybody on the Liberal side of the House was most anxious to see in his present position so long as the present Government was in power, considering his unfortunate surroundings) had acted very squarely in the matter. He had only one or two points to urge upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer; the first was that the right hon. Gentleman should add to the gentleman who was to be sent out as Financial Commissioner to the Transvaal some capable geologist who should examine the country. This was all the more necessary as owing to the provisional appointments made by Lord Roberts it was not at all unlikely that those gentlemen who had been provisionally appointed, and whose interest was on the side of the capitalist, had mining engineers at their side, and that they were entirely in the hands of the millionaires. He regretted that the right hon. Gentleman had not seen fit to issue a Transvaal loan guaranteed by this country, because he believed that the Transvaal would not be able to pay its expenses. It could not pay for the army which we must keep there for some time, or for its police, or civil administration, and that being so we should have undertaken the repayment of it, and when the Transvaal got rich we should have come in and called upon it to pay its share of the loan. Another point to which he desired to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman, although he did not know that it concerned him especially, was the question of black labour. It was desirable, as soon as possible, to have some sort of labour bureau in the Transvaal. He did not dream for a moment that the Government would accept the view of the millionaires, that the Government should find labour for the Transvaal, but there was a sort of trades union among the mine owners themselves, and the men were employed at very inadequate wages. The actual Kaffir does not work in the mines, he follows agricultural pursuits. These men go into the back part of Africa, where they make arrangements with the chief to supply them with so many hundreds of men. The chief then orders the men to go down and work for a certain time in the Transvaal. There was an absolute trade in these men. Some one got them and sold them for a consideration to anybody who wanted them. The unfortunate men were obliged to work, because if one went back to his own country the chief would immediately have him slain in order to prevent others doing the same. The right hon. Gentleman appeared to think that the men would work better if they did not get liquor; he, on the other hand, was of opinion that the labour was forced labour, and if the men kept sober they would not work at all. It was only by keeping them half drunk that the mining engineers had succeeded in forcing them to work at a most inadequate wage. A labour bureau such as he suggested should see that there was no attempt to force anyone to do labour unless he liked himself to do it, and secure the natives against what really amounted to slavery.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.) said the right hon. Gentleman could not have made a more popular statement than that which he had made, that the influence of the British Government would be exercised against any form of forced labour. He did not, however, quite follow the argument adduced from that statement, which appeared to be that, as the natives became more sober, virtuous, and industrious they would work for a less wage.

*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: No, I did not say that, but that they would do more work.

MR. LOUGH: Even if they did more work they would require more money. The argument was, he believed, that they would then do more work for the same wage. But their wage would not necessarily get lower; the tendency would be in the direction of exacting a fairer compensation for their work. The right hon. Gentleman had not been so candid in dealing with this matter as the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War, and he had not given them much ground for the hopeful view he took. With regard to the economic view of the situation he would point out that at present there was no revenue whatever from the Transvaal. The year 1900 would be a blank year, and probably 1901 would be so too. If these terrible operations were brought to a conclusion, and if the revenue were as it was before, they must remember that the best revenue ever seen before the war was some four millions. The expenditure, it could be clearly seen, would be on a larger scale than ever before. They would have to provide for civil government, for the police, and for the troops kept there, to say nothing of all the repairs and reconstruction of destroyed property that would be necessitated. The right hon. Gentleman said nothing about that, and apparently had not taken it into account. But, setting the latter necessity on one side, it seemed that seven or eight millions a year would be required immediately, for Transvaal purposes alone, before a single penny could come towards war contribution. Where were they to get such a revenue as this? All that they could get from these gold mines, he thought, should be secured as a contribution towards the expenditure in connection with the war, but taking the practical view, he thought the country ought to receive the fullest information and be told the truth. They were not accustomed to a Chancellor of the Exchequer basing his requirements on such a shadowy foundation. The right hon. Gentleman had disclaimed making any definite statements, which was perhaps the wisest thing he said, for he did not see where they would get any revenue at all to meet such an expenditure as would arise. To obtain the war contribution the best step would be to restore peace.

*Mr. KEIR HARDIE (Merthyr Tydvil) said that having stolen Naboth's vineyard they were now bent on discovering what share of the spoil they were to secure. He frankly confessed that finance was not his strong point. He desired, however, to offer a suggestion to the Chancellor of the Exchequer which he ventured to think would be useful to him. There seemed to be some difficulty in determining what amount of taxation the gold mines of the Transvaal should bear when they resumed full working order. In South Africa it happened that they had something to guide the Chancellor of the Exchequer in making up his mind on this point. In addition to the gold mines of the Transvaal there were the gold mines of Rhodesia, worked under the administration of the Chartered Company. Reference had been made that night by one speaker at least to the fact that in Rhodesia the taxes imposed on mining—the licence payments—were less than those paid in the Transvaal. That was part of the truth, but only part of it. The mining licences cost a few shillings per month less than in the Transvaal, but the Chartered Company took it out of the mine owners in another way. When a claim had been prospected and gold discovered, and when the prospector proceeded to develop his claim and form a company he was under obligation by his charter to issue double the amount of shares required to capitalise the concern and hand over half the number to the Chartered Company. Thus it happened when gold began to be produced from the mines in Rhodesia 50 per cent. of the profit belonged to the Chartered Company. If the poor mines in Rhodesia, struggling to pay, were able to bear this load of 50 per cent. to the Chartered Company, it would not, in his opinion, be going too far to ask, if necessary, that a like proportion of the profits in the Transvaal should be claimed to meet the cost of the war. There was another point to which the attention of the right hon. Gentleman might profitably be directed in this connection. The diamond mines of Kimberley paid no taxes. These mines were in Free State territory. By some sharp practice, after diamonds were discovered, the land on which they were discovered was held to be the property of one Waterboer, a half-bred chief, but subsequent legal proceedings showed that such was not the case. The diamond mines of Kimberley were in Orange Free State territory, and now that the Orange Free State was under British dominion what was to hinder the Government from including the diamond mines of Kimberley in Free State territory and taxing them also to help to bear the cost of the war? He rose to refer more particularly to a subject in which naturally he had a more direct interest. He referred to the native labour question. He had listened with some interest to what had been said with regard to this subject. He had read the reports of the mining companies to which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouthshire referred. He desired to call the attention of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the fact that the gold mining companies of the Transvaal had come to a joint agreement whereby—he was speaking on the authority of Mr. Rudd—the British Government would be asked to collect native labour for them, and part of the contract was that no native was to be allowed to sign on for less than three months. If that was not forced labour then language had lost its meaning. They also favoured the compound system in the Transvaal. The compound system as it existed in Kimberley was slavery in the most absolute sense of the term. The natives were brought there chiefly by force, and when they arrived at Kimberley they were housed in compounds, so well described by the Member for South Aberdeen in his interesting book on South Africa. They were housed in great compounds there, and they were not allowed to escape during the whole period of the engagement. A subterranean passage led from the compound to the mines. The natives were supplied with groceries from truck stores established within the compounds, and white people were not allowed to get inside. The whole system was one of forced labour and slavery in the worst degree. In regard to the sobriety of the natives, the Government would remember that the question had two sides. In Kimberley the natives were made sober. He remembered reading many years ago in a temperance newspaper that one reason for the prohibition of the liquor traffic was that whereas a drunken native required a dollar a day to live upon, a sober native would live as well on half a dollar, and wages were reduced actually from 4s. to 2s. per day. He desired to see the natives sober both at home and abroad, but he did not desire, and he hoped the Government did not desire, to see the sobriety of the natives used as an instrument for compelling them to work for half the ordinary rate of wages. There were two other matters on which he trusted the Government would insist strongly. He was advised that under the Transvaal Government native labour was restricted by law to eight hours per day in the mines. He trusted that the Government would see to it that that law at least was not abrogated. The Transvaal Government prohibited Sunday labour in connection with the gold mines. So far as he knew the Transvaal was the only mining camp in the world in which Sunday labour was prohibited. He did not say that the prohibition was always obeyed, but the law was there, and mine owners were fined for breaches of it. Under British rule the prohibition would, he trusted, be maintained. He looked forward with serious doubt to the future of labour, black and white, in the Transvaal. If the mine owners who paid to bring about this war, who paid for the Jameson Raid, who dictated the policy of the Government with regard to the war, were to be allowed to govern the Transvaal in the future, then for a certainty labour would be worse off than under the Transvaal Government rule. He would like to say one word with regard to the liquor laws of the Transvaal. The laws were good, but they were not well administered.

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The discussion of the liquor laws is not in order.

*SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT (Sheffield, Ecclesall) said the hon. Member for the Mansfield Division had made an attack upon certain persons who, he alleged, had been improperly appointed to certain offices in the Transvaal, and he gave as his reason for the attack that they were connected with various well-known firms in the Transvaal. He did not know these gentlemen, with one exception. They had been referred to with a great deal of unnecessary odium. It was almost impossible to find anyone capable of holding office, legal or otherwise, in the Transvaal, who had not been connected in some way or another with some of the great mining companies. He was sorry to hear the cheers with which the attacks were received. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had pointed out that these appointments were really only temporary, and that the whole arrangements would have to be very carefully looked over. It seemed to him that regard must be had to the personal fitness, knowledge, and integrity of the persons employed, and the mere fact that they had been previously engaged with one of the great gold mining firms in the Transvaal was not a sufficient reason to allege against their appointment. There were two names mentioned, and he thought the references to them were very unfortunate. He did not think they were fair references, and he was sorry the hon. Member who made them was not present. He had attacked Mr. Loveday, and perhaps the public did not know who that gentleman was. He was an old member of the Transvaal Volksraad; and he had always upheld the legitimate rights of the Uitlanders. He was a burgher of the Transvaal, and was greatly respected by everyone. He could not conceive of a man more suitable to be appointed to such a commission than Mr. Loveday. The hon. Member did not state any of these facts, but simply tried to prove that he was connected with some electric company in Pretoria, as if that should prevent him holding the position he now held. Mr. Loveday was by character and antecedents qualified to hold the position he now filled, and he challenged the hon. Member for the Mansfield Division to dispute what he was now saying. With regard to Mr. George Farrar, the hon. Member accused him of being convicted of high treason, but he was careful not to tell the House that Mr. Farrar was one of the principal leaders of the great movement in the Transvaal in favour of reform. Everyone admitted the necessity of these reforms. The hon. Member, himself, spoke again and again of the terrible corruption of the Boer Government. Mr. George Farrar was one of the men who faced the music. He put himself at the head of the movement, was tried, and sentenced to death. That gentleman deserved to be praised. He felt bound to make these observations, because these were subjects on which he had reliable information. He did not like to hear persons attacked in that House, where they could not defend themselves, and lose the opportunity of saying what he had to say from real knowledge.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed for To-morrow.

CONSOLIDATED FUND (APPROPRIATION) BILL.

[SECOND READING.]

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

MR. BRYN ROBERTS said that the House must be aware that he had throughout consistently voted in every division against the war, and now he was against the continuance of the war. He believed that a majority of his colleagues and friends on that side of the House were as strongly opposed to the war as he was at the origin, but still they were of opinion that after hostilities commenced, and especially after the ultimatum delivered by the Transvaal Government, this country had no option except to support the war. He had never been able to adopt that view. He did not propose to argue the question of the original injustice of the war, even if he should be in order, but he would defend the course he had taken by pointing out that the First Lord of the Treasury and the Colonial Secretary had on different occasions stated that the duty of any person who believed that this was an absolutely unjust and iniquitous war was to vote against it on every possible opportunity. The Colonial Secretary said he could not restrain the expression of his contempt for hon. Gentlemen who, admitting the injustice of the war, yet voted for its continuance. These remarks expressed entirely and exactly the reasons why since the commencement he had voted against the supplies for the war. The difference between him and his hon. friends really started with the ultimatum. They said, "Oh, the ultimatum makes a difference," and they thought, therefore, that they were bound to support the Government in prosecuting the war through all its stages. He would admit that, if the ultimatum had been spontaneous on the part of the Transvaal Government and not forced by our action. The ultimatum was not delivered until speeches had been made in this country which were equivalent to an ultimatum. It was stated that having put our hand to the plough we could not go back——

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member has already suggested that he would not be in order in referring to the origin of the war.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS said he would not pursue that point. He was not referring to the question whether the grievances were such as to justify the war. The ultimatum did not make a difference, and that was the only point on which he and his political friends had differed in the matter of voting supplies.

*MR. SPEAKER: It is out of order to discuss how the ultimatum came to be delivered.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS: I will keep myself as closely as I can to your ruling. I only wished in passing to make the observation that these declarations had been made and that this country had announced its intention of sending an army to South Africa for the purpose of the invasion, and my hon. friends who justified their conduct in supporting the Government in Supply throughout these proceedings have persistently ignored, and very improperly ignored, those controlling acts of the situation with respect to that point. Continuing, the hon. Member said the position of his friends who still continued to support the Government was really more inconsistent at present than at the time when they first embarked on their support of the Government. At that time they said they were only actuated by a desire to repel the invasion of our territory, and that after this had been done their voices would be raised in favour of a fair, just, and equitable settlement so far as the Transvaal Government was concerned. He felt at the time that that was a ridiculous, if not a puerile, proposition for any gentleman to make. They talked then as if the withdrawal of their support would cause some very great change in the policy of the Government. He knew very well that the Government would sneer at any attempt to control them by withdrawing their support. After the evacuation of Natal and Cape Colony, after General Cronje and a number of troops had been captured, the Presidents of the two Republics made overtures for peace on conditions which would have abundantly satisfied the necessities of the case, but, so far as he remembered, not a single voice was raised by his hon. friends on that side of the House in favour of pressing those terms on the Government. They had followed the course which experience showed was always taken in such a case. If they started on a wrong road they were forced by circumstances to go further and further. Not only his hon. friends, but hon. Members opposite and members of the Government, were now openly advocating a position with respect to the Transvaal that they themselves shrank from with horror before the commencement of the war at all. Why were we continuing this war? Nobody could suggest that there was any other cause than the fact that the Government, in breach of its promises, had insisted upon the total extinction of the internal independence of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, and the annexation of these territories to Her Majesty's dominions. That was completely at variance with the repeated declarations and assurances of the most prominent members of the Government. It was clearly necessary to remind the House that Lord Salisbury stated that we sought no territory. That assurance was given a month after the war commenced. The very day after the decision had been arrived at to send a force of 48,000 men to South Africa to invade the Transvaal, the Duke of Devonshire referred to the rooted conviction the South African Republics appeared to have that England was cherishing some design against their independence and self-government, and he declared that such apprehensions were absolutely unfounded. Three weeks after the war had broken out the Secretary of State for India, referring to the taunts that British talk about reform and the desire to improve the internal government of the Transvaal were mere hypocrisy, said that when success was achieved and the terms this country proposed, as victors, to the vanquished were known, foreign nations would change their opinion, and would see that the main cause for embarking on the conflict was not a desire for pecuniary profit or territorial aggrandisement. There were other declarations of leading and responsible politicians to the same effect, and it was deplorable and humiliating for every honest subject of the Queen to have to confess that all those assurances had been openly broken. As soon as the Government found they could break those assurances with impunity they did not hesitate to do so. It was actions such as that that brought disgrace and discredit on the name of England, and had made the name of England a by-word for perfidy among the nations of the Continent. A reason given for the adoption of the policy of annexation was that a recurrence of such a war must be rendered impossible. That was an utterly unfounded argument. If it were a sound argument it might be some, although not a sufficient, excuse for breaking faith, but he contended strongly that so far from annexation securing the country against disturbance, it was certain to lead to a repetition of the unhappy events now occurring. The question should be asked, What caused these events before, and would those causes be removed by annexation? It was believed that the campaign would be a short and victorious one of four or six weeks duration, that the Transvaalers were absolutely weak, and that 50,000 men would be more than sufficient to finish the business. It was that mistaken belief that had led to the false step. By annexation the British Government would be lulled into a false sense of security in the future as in the past. It would be impossible to deprive the Transvaalers of rifles, as they were absolutely necessary for their protection against wild beasts, and when a suitable opportunity for rising occurred this country would be astonished to find the fighting capacity of the Boers only very little less than at present. Although it was assumed that annexation would have the result he had mentioned, the conduct of the Government showed that they did not believe it. They themselves admitted that it would be necessary to have a permanent military garrison of from 30,000 to 50,000 men to guard against the danger of future disturbances. He contended that annexation was the worst possible solution of the problem, even from the purely selfish and opportunist point of view, and setting aside all questions of international obligations and good faith. The best plan would be to retain the internal independence of the two Republics. Annexation would be regarded by the whole of the Dutch of South Africa as a gross and fraudulent breach of faith, and would cause undying hatred in the breast of every Dutchman in South Africa. No human passion was more permanent than the resentment occasioned by a sense of gross injustice, and the iniquities committed during this war would be related around the hearths of the Transvaal families for generations, giving to every lad a strong desire to avenge the wrongs done to his nation and his forefathers. It was admitted that eventually representative government would have to be established, and it was certain that in the future the Dutch population would be preponderant. When the time came there would be a majority absolutely irreconcilable against Great Britain, and how would it be possible then to retain South Africa? Then, it was suggested that the result of annexation would be the ultimate federation of all the States in South Africa under British suzerainty, but that federation instead of being a protection to England's supremacy would be its greatest danger. Government from Downing Street would be absolutely impossible, and the result would necessarily be the total loss of these colonies. All these prophecies would doubtless be derided, but he felt confident they would be fulfilled. The reason annexation was insisted upon was that it was only by annexation that the absolute falsity of the main ground upon which the Government went to war could be concealed. That main ground was to enforce the right of the Uitlanders to the franchise, but the Government had discovered that the English Uitlander would never accept the franchise at the cost of his British nationality, and the claim was therefore a false one. President Kruger never made a greater mistake from his own point of view than when he refused to grant the franchise at once, because it was perfectly certain that not ten per cent. of the British Uitlanders would have accepted it, and Sir Alfred Milner and the Colonial Secretary would have been deeply humiliated by having threatened war for such a fictitious cause. It was in order to avoid the humiliation of that exposure that this war was being continued week after week and month after month, and thousands of lives sacrificed, and millions of treasure wasted.

MR. BARTLEY (Islington, N.): I only desire to ask two or three questions, and I do not wish in any way to continue the long discussion we have had. There are, however, one or two points which I think should be brought up on this occasion, because we are very anxious to see what are the first steps in the direction of reforming the War Office. We hear a great deal still of men being sent out to South Africa, and if experience has taught this House anything, it is that it is wrong and extravagant, and a practice which we all deplore, to send to the front young men with no experience. I asked a question the other day concerning some troops sent from Omagh to join the Inniskilling Fusiliers. I think I was right in saying—and the right hon. Gentleman did not contradict it—that none of these men were over eighteen years of age, that they had practically never fired a shot, had received no battalion drill, and had only been four months enlisted. With our experience during this last year in South Africa, I think to send men of that sort out to the front is certainly an indication that we are not learning the elementary principles of warfare. The idea of sending men of this sort out is very extravagant, and although the reply given to me was that they were only going to serve on the lines of communication, still, while there are De Wets about, the lines of communication seem to be as important a part as any in the campaign. We know what has happened in different parts of the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal, and it is obvious that in sending out troops we should stop the practice of sending these young lads, who ought to be kept at home until they have learned to use a rifle and how to ride as well. I wish to get an assurance from the right hon. Gentleman that in future troops will not be sent out of this tender age, and certainly not until they have learned the very first principles which are wanted when they get to South Africa. My second point is concerning those officers who have been sent back to England from the front. I do not wish to say anything unpleasant or mention any names, but it is common knowledge that a certain number of men have been sent back who have not been invalided home, who had either made mistakes or who were not considered competent to lead the men. There are several of these cases. We are very sorry for it, because no doubt many of them are gallant men, and personally everything that could be desired. I brought this matter forward in the summer, and I want to know whether it is desirable in an Army which we are about to reorganise that the men who have been sent home in this way should be placed in high positions here at home when, in the very act of war, they have been sent back as not fit to carry out the duties of their position. Although it may be very painful to these individuals, still the only object for which a soldier exists is that when war comes he should be competent to perform his duties. If a man is sent home at a time when we are sending out more men—and when every available man is wanted to assist in the campaign—because he is not suitable, it is a very extraordinary thing that such men should be given high positions, and should be allowed, in some cases, to go about criticising the conduct of the war, in which they were not fit to take part. I wish to know whether there are any rules dealing with officers who have been sent back, and who are not considered suitable to carry on a campaign, to the effect that they shall be given commands in England which are so much coveted by the men who have done good service for their country. The third question I wish to ask is what regulations are there in regard to officers returning home whose regiments are still at the front. This is a matter which astonishes a good many people. We were told in the right hon. Gentleman's speech the other day that the Yeomanry and the Volunteers could not return, and that they had been called upon to serve a longer time. Of course I know that as loyal and patriotic men they will do their duty, and I do not think there will be much grumbling among them. They are quite willing to give their services, and they are acquitting themselves in a most heroic manner. It seems very strange to us how easy it is for some officers in high positions to leave their regiments and come home, and I should like to know whether this is a usual thing, and what are the rules under which they are allowed to return. I was always given to understand that an ordinary officer at the front never dreamt of leaving his regiment unless he was invalided or promoted. It is common knowledge that a considerable number of these officers have come home. I will not mention names, but I think it is only right that the country should know for what special reasons they have come back, and what are the general rules which regulate these matters. Many of them are very competent men, and should be at the front under ordinary circumstances. We have a right to know what special reasons there are for picking out certain individuals to come home leaving their regiments behind. Those are my three main points, and they are questions which we are all interested in. We are all extremely anxious that the war should be brought to a conclusion as soon as possible, and we desire also to see the War Office system completely reformed and made efficient, and I think that the three points which I have raised demand some explanation from the right hon. Gentleman.

MR. BRYNMOR JONES (Swansea District): I do not rise to oppose the Second Reading of this Bill, and I am quite as ready as I was in the last Parliament to vote for any reasonable supplies for the vigorous prosecution of the war in South Africa. I believe that we are, substantially, in the right in this quarrel, and I believe that the demands made by the Government upon the South African Republic were fair and reasonable, and that there was no justification, either technically or really, for the invasion of our territory by the two Dutch Republics. I am simply stating the conviction I have formed from studying the literature connected with the subject, and taking into account what has happened since the outbreak of the war. I simply make that statement in order that my point of view may be understood. I have one or two points to put to the Government. I believe that there has never been a demand of this kind for so large a sum of money as £11,000,000, or rather £16,000,000, with which we are now dealing. The House is being asked to vote this money in complete darkness. I have done my best to follow the events of the war, and, from the accounts furnished by the generals and the correspondents, I confess that I really am not in a position to say whether the money which has been previously voted by this House has been well spent. I am not in a position to form any judgment as to whether the war has been conducted with efficiency or with economy. There are many arguments which I might raise indicating that there has not been an efficient conducting of the war in South Africa in many parts of the theatre of the fight, but I am not now going to go into the details. I am only leading up to this point—Why is it that no full despatches from Lord Roberts have been published since April 17th? Since the commencement of the war ten full despatches by generals commanding have been published. During the Crimean War, in 1854, I find that the sending of despatches by Lord Raglan was pursued with the utmost care and promptitude, and immediately upon their receipt by the War Office they were published in the *London Gazette.* It is very remarkable, considering the difficulties of transport in those days, with what speed Lord Raglan's despatches were published, and that course was pursued throughout the whole war. Therefore, when the Members of the House of Commons were called upon to vote the money, they were in a position to form some judgment not only as to the efficiency of the War Office, but also as to the way in which the war was being carried on. Many Members of the House will remember that there was a debate about the Spion Kop despatches in the month of May last, and I suppose it is in consequence of what took place then that there has been this cessation in the publication of despatches. I should like to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman to a passage from a regulation bearing upon this matter, which I think was referred to by the ex-Under Secretary of State for War, and which was read by Lord Lansdowne in another place. It reads—

> "It will rest with the Secretary of State for War, acting upon the advice of the Commander-in-Chief, to determine what despatches shall be made public, and the manner in which they shall be made generally known."

The question I wish to ask is whether it was upon the advice of Lord Wolseley, who until a few days ago was Commander-in-Chief, that no further despatches from Lord Roberts have been published. We have been told that the publication of these despatches rests with the Secretary of State for War, acting upon the advice of the Commander-in-Chief, and it appears to me that the Government are not treating the House fairly in coming again for another Vote without giving us the best information in their power to enable us to judge whether the money we have already voted has been well spent. Many hon. Members will remember the immediate occasion of the cessation, for it occurred at the close of a debate upon Spion Kop, when the right hon. Gentleman told us that the House should not complain if the Minister for War declined to publish despatches or answer questions about despatches. And so, because the Government acted indiscreetly in publishing one despatch, the House is to be deprived of all the despatches in future. That is all I have to say upon that point. Then there is the question of the promise of an inquiry into the organisation of the War Office and our whole system of national defence. I do not think that that point has been touched upon this session.

*Mr. SPEAKER: The only vote appropriated by this Bill is that for carrying on the war in South Africa and China.

Mr. BRYNMOR JONES: Perhaps my particular form of words did not properly explain my argument. Before I vote for this money I should like to know how far the Government are going to redeem their promise made last session in order to induce us to vote sums of money in regard to Army reform. I do not think that this money will be well spent unless we have some immediate changes in regard to the War Office and our Army. It is evidently the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman that this war is going to be prolonged. We are now face to face with sporadic encounters here and there. We are going to keep some 200,000 men still in South Africa, and if this inquiry is held quickly perhaps some good will result from it. A definite promise was made by Lord Salisbury on the 9th November, when he said that we must scrutinise every department connected with our national defence, and this is all the more necessary in view of the extraordinary miscalculation made by the Government in South Africa.

*Mr. SETON-KARR (St. Helens): I need hardly say that, as far as I am concerned, I am entirely in favour of the principle of this Bill, and if the amount was for £160,000,000, and it was required in order to bring this war to a final and satisfactory conclusion, I should cheerfully support it. I desire, however, to call the attention of the House to a certain specific matter affecting two battalions of the Imperial Yeomanry. I pass over the general principle of this Bill to the question of how some of this money is going to be spent, and to how some of it has been spent. I want to call the attention of the House to the detention of two battalions of the Imperial Yeomanry—the 17th and 18th battalions—who formed part of the Rhodesian force, and who were sent out in April last and landed at Beira about May, and passed over the Beira Railway in order to take their part in the operations in Rhodesia. But before I call the attention of the House very shortly to this subject, I wish to make one or two preliminary observations. My statement deals with the detention of these two battalions in a very bad fever district through which the Beira Railway goes, and the result of that delay and the loss of life which occurred in consequence was due to some very serious mismanagement. Before I come to that fact I should like to say that I am making this statement entirely on my own initiative. I have not been requested by any officer or any man in that force to make any complaint about it. I think we ought to recognise that when men volunteer for the defence of their country and respond to the call of arms they take their chance of the hardships and suffering which they may meet with in the field of battle or in the field operations. The men I am talking about do not wish to complain of what they have suffered. The second preliminary point which I should like to mention is to answer the natural query—What business have I in this matter beyond the fact that I am a Member of this House? Well, I wish to say that I happen to be the individual who obtained authority from the War Office to recruit the corps. I only mention this fact in order to ask the House to grant me their indulgence in the matter. The third point I wish to make is that I have no complaint to make of any want of courtesy on the part of the War Office or of the way in which they have answered my correspondence in this matter. I have received long letters upon this subject, and I sent copies of them to the Secretary of State for War and to my right hon. friend's predecessor in this House, the present Chief Secretary for Ireland, and both these Ministers wrote me very sympathetic letters, and promised me an inquiry into the facts of the case. I wrote to my hon. friend the present Secretary of State for War asking for the result of that inquiry, and he sent me in reply a summary of the report of Sir Frederick Carrington, Commander of the Rhodesian Field Force, who had inquired into the matter. I have not seen the complete report, but I have read the summary, and I should like to say that, in my humble opinion, that report is very unsatisfactory. It states that the delay of these two battalions on the Beira Railway was unavoidable, and that it was one of those inevitable accidents connected with operations in the field. I have to submit that this might have been avoided, and I make this assertion upon the facts represented to me. I have letters from some of the officers and men of the two battalions, and I have seen some of the men who were out there, and I think that the responsibility for this occurrence ought to be pressed home on somebody. This House should understand that the first sixty miles of the Beira Railway is the narrow gauge and the dangerous portion of the railway extends for about 200 miles. Now Beira is one of the worst fever districts on the coast of that continent. I am told that the principal means of subsistence at Beira is whisky and soda, which is necessitated by the climate. Unless your temperature is over 104 you are not considered to be ill, but if it goes over that you are justified in going home and lying down. Otherwise you are expected to go about and do your business. That will show you what kind of a place Beira is. For about 150 miles inland it is still worse. The country is full of game but it is reeking with fever. It was obviously, therefore, in any military operations, of the utmost importance to take your men over that railway with the utmost speed, and any commander with any foresight at all would be anxious to get his troops over the railway with as little delay as possible. Well, I believe that the colonials were not delayed, and I am very happy to think that they were conveyed over the line without any delay. But the two battalions of Imperial Yeomanry were delayed twenty-three miles inland for sixteen days, and were then taken to Bamboo Creek, the narrow gauge terminus, where they were kept for fourteen days more. One company of the 18th battalion Sharpshooters were camped for three weeks at the Horse Paddocks at Beira—a bad fever spot, where the land crabs cover the ground with slime—in charge of 1,400 horses. The general result was that in the two battalions twenty-two men died, 200 were invalided home, and the remainder of that fine battalion of 1,100 men were so saturated with malaria that they were completely incapacitated for a time; for, however strong a man may be, once having got the malaria into his system it takes months to get rid of it. In the words of one of them, when these battalions landed at Beira they were 1,100 of the finest young fellows that had ever left England, and when they reached Pretoria they were only a miserable remnant. I should like to say as an illustration of what stuff they were made of, that in spite of their weak condition, they shot a rifle match with the Umtali Rifle Club, who hold the championship of Rhodesia, and thoroughly beat them. The local newspapers said that no such shooting had ever been seen in South Africa. Now these men were worth looking after. Let me deal for a moment with the summary of Sir F. Carrington's Report. He says that this delay was inevitable, that it was owing to the break of gauge at Bamboo Creek, and to the misrepresentations made to the military authorities by the railway manager in regard to the carrying capacities of the railway. It is not my business to impute blame to anyone in particular. I do not stand here to blame a distinguished soldier like Sir F. Carrington, but I do say that there must have been some mismanagement somewhere. As to the delay being inevitable, I challenge that conclusion and submit that ordinary business foresight on the part of the military authorities would have obviated this sad blunder. There were several ways to avoid delay. In the first place there was no reason why all the transports should have arrived at Beira at the same time. Some of them might have been detained for a time at Durban and been successively brought up to Beira, and so have enabled the troops to go through, one detachment after another, without causing a block. Then having brought them to Beira at the same time there was no reason why they should not have been kept on board the ship instead of being landed in such numbers and sent to camp on fever swamps. I am quite unable to understand why that was not done. I believe that after the steamers reached Beira there was a demurrage of £150 a day, but I do not suppose that that consideration entered into the minds of the military authorities. Then it is said in the Report that there was not sufficient rolling stock on the broad gauge section, but there was no reason why the troops, instead of being planted down on fever swamps, should not have been taken through at once to Umtali, and no further for the time. This was a healthy spot, and free from fever. This could, I believe, have well been done had the rolling stock been used more judiciously, and not used unnecessarily on the longer section to Marandallas, beyond Umtali, until all the troops were through the dangerous fever belt. I want to ask my right hon. friend if he will give us more explanation than is found in the report in regard to the control of this railway. He will correct me if I am wrong, but I understand that at the time the Rhodesian field force arrived at Beira the railway was under the control of the military authorities. The Report states that these did not exercise any actual control, but left it in the hands of the railway contractors and their manager, Mr. Lawley. Now, I cannot imagine a better arrangement to enable all parties concerned to escape responsibility. If you blame the military authorities they may say, "We are not responsible, because we have not the actual control." If you blame the actual managers they will say, "We are not responsible, because the military authorities had the control of the line." Responsibility must be brought home somewhere. We cannot alter the facts of the case now; they are part of history. But our object is to see that the War Office system, and the system of national defence are properly reformed, and if that is to be done we are bound to find out who is responsible and so bring responsibility home in order to guard against a repetition of such blunders in future. I submit that, in the first place, if the rolling stock on this line was not sufficient to take these battalions of Imperial Yeomanry through the fever belt, then the military authorities ought to have ascertained that with absolute certainty. In the second place, if, as appears in the Report, the military authorities were misled by the railway contractors as to the facilities for carrying troops on the line, the responsibility ought to be fixed on the railway contractors and their managers. If the military authorities had the formal control of the line they ought to have taken steps to enforce that control. Let me give an instance as to the absurd way in which the control was exercised. The Report speaks of the break of gauge causing delay. To my knowledge five non-commissioned officers and men of the Sharpshooters Corps at Bamboo Creek, where the break occurs, untrucked 215 horses in an hour and a quarter, and trucked them again. If sufficient rolling stock had been provided at this point, a delay of two or three weeks would not have occurred. Again after the Sharpshooters battalion had been kept for three weeks at Bamboo Creek they themselves commandeered some trucks, and fitted them with sides to protect the troops, in spite of the assurances of the railway officials that there was no rolling stock available. Unless they had thus taken the matter into their own hands they would not have got away as soon as they did. That shows that the management of the railway transport and the arrangement of the different sections was most inefficient; and I most humbly resent the taking away the responsibility from the War Office by the statement that this was an inevitable state of things. I am perfectly well aware that you cannot carry on warlike operations 6,000 miles from this country without some inevitable mistakes and mishaps, but here you have a fine force, some of them the finest men and the finest shots in the country, and all of whom had left their businesses at the cost of a good deal of money to themselves and friends—absolutely squandered by the delay of three weeks in what is known to be one of the worst fever districts in the whole of South Africa. I do not want to blame anyone unnecessarily, but I want to see the responsibility placed on the quarter where it properly belongs. My right hon. friend has said that he is going to lay the Report of Sir F. Carrington on the Table of the House. I have taken the trouble to collect the facts from the men who were there—I hope it will not be thought presumptuous on my part—and I have placed these facts in a statement I have sent to my right hon. friend. I should like him, if he would, to place that statement on the Table along with the other documents. I hope that whatever we do in the future in carrying on our wars, we shall make our arrangements on a better footing than we have apparently hitherto done. In a daily paper this morning I saw a form of words which exactly expresses my meaning. I do not know who the writer is; he writes anonymously; but he says—

> "I appeal to business men. Given a large technical business, employing a great number of workpeople and containing many different departments. Put in absolute control a man who has made such a business his life's study, and who understands every detail. The result will be success. Make such a man subservient to a gentleman who is entirely ignorant of the business, and the result will be failure. Surely this rule applies also to matters of State."

I hope the matter will be pressed home, and this want of business capability will disappear from the management of our national defences.

MR. LABOUCHERE: I sympathise most warmly with the woes of the Sharpshooters, but the hon. Member has only confirmed what we have said on this side of the House, that when in this South African business there is an opportunity to muddle, muddling takes place. I have not risen, however, to discuss that point. I think that although this session has been a short one, we may congratulate ourselves on this side of the House as to what has taken place. We are in a small minority. We have not the advantage of a large and dominant majority; but, on the whole, although we, of course, have not been able to beat the Government by our votes, yet we have thoroughly singed their wings. I think if the country at large were consulted now on this South African business it would return a somewhat different verdict to what it did at the General Election. For my part I consider that the session has been a session of inquiry and investigation, and I regard the Government as being much in the position of a person who has been brought before a magistrate and has been committed to the February Assizes. When the February Assizes come on and the issues are in we shall have a very great deal more to say to the Government than we have had the opportunity of doing on the present occasion. There is a minor point I would again press on the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for War. It is a question in regard to the Reservists and their families. You give a Reservist's wife 1s. a day and his children 1s. 3d. I say it is quite impossible that they can live in the same decent comfort as when the husband was earning large wages, on that small pittance. The consequence is that in almost every town in the country public subscriptions have flowed in to supplement the Government allowance. But these subscriptions cannot last for ever, and I do think if you cannot allow these Reservists to come back to England, the very least you can do is to keep their families here in decent comfort. I have been attacked for not having a sufficient sentiment of vicarious patriotism in thinking how these soldiers have conducted themselves in the field. I say they have conducted themselves very well; but there are many in this House who blow their own trumpets. For my part I take more interest in their wives and children than in the soldiers themselves. I would ask the right hon. Gentleman to see that the allowances to their families are increased, and that they should not have to depend upon public charity, which, to a certain extent, is dried up. I wish to call the attention of the House to a statement made by the right hon. Gentleman last night—the most extraordinary statement that has yet been made in connection with affairs in South Africa by the Government. The right hon. Gentleman said that Sir A. Milner—I will quote from *The Times*——

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! That is not a question that can now be raised. Sir A. Milner's position does not arise on this Bill.

MR. LABOUCHERE: I am raising the question in this way because I have doubts and hesitations in my own mind whether I ought to vote for this Bill.

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member's mind may be swayed by the most irrelevant considerations.

MR. LABOUCHERE: Why I have doubts is this, that I conceive that if this statement is not contradicted it is vain and useless for us to vote money in the way we are doing, because the war will be perpetuated for ever and there will be no peace or harmony in South Africa. Perhaps I may allude to the fact——

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Member must not pursue the subject further.

MR. LABOUCHERE: I will mend my ways, Mr. Speaker. I will not even go so far as to hope that before the debate is over the right hon. Gentleman will tell us that all those who distrust Sir A. Milner——

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! I must ask the hon. Member to observe my ruling. He is now persisting in discussing a topic which I have told him is not in order.

MR. LABOUCHERE: I did it in the interests of the country. Perhaps it is right that the statement should go to South Africa as it stands. I am not very clear in my own mind, and if I were to ask hon. Members opposite I am sure they would also say that they were not clear in their minds, as to what is going to be done in South Africa. We have had statements here and in the other House in regards to how the war is going to be conducted; but I would ask the right hon. Gentleman, before this House breaks up, to more clearly tell us something in regard to this burning and devastating of the country in South Africa. So far as I have been able to gather, the proclamations of Lord Roberts are to be in some way modified. I believe myself that if you want to crush out a national resistance in any country it is impossible to do so without the means taken in the present war. As I understand, some sort of change is going to be made, but I do not believe that if you really intend to carry out what you say is your object, you will ever be able to do so without practically and to all intents and purposes using the means you have already employed. I suggest an alternative to that. I do not believe the Boers are likely to surrender. My belief is that, although probably a considerable number of adventurous spirits are fighting for fighting's sake, there are also in these commandoes numerous Boers who are exceedingly desirous that their country should not cease to exist as a separate country, and that they are fighting, as we ourselves would fight, for what they consider is the noblest of all causes. I admit fully that we cannot go back to the *status quo ante*, and that there must be an annexation of these two Republics to the political area of the Empire. But it seems to me that it would be desirable that some proposal should be made to the Boers that, subject to every precaution that can suggest itself to the mind of man to prevent a second war breaking out, they should be put in a position in which they would have some kind of autonomy. Take the case of the Native States in India. The subjects of one of these States are not subjects of the British Empire, but of the ruler of the State. I cannot help thinking that the Government might very easily, if it would give its mind to the question, make some sort of proposal that would be perfectly safe to us, and at the same time would give to the Boers what may be termed a special reserve, where they might live under their own laws, and according to their own habits, and call themselves Boers if they preferred that. We go on telling them that it is a great and glorious thing to be a British citizen. In the same way a German thinks it a great and glorious thing to be a German citizen; but if the Germans were to invade this country there would be a national resistance, and we would say that we prefer to be British rather than German citizens. Take the case of Scotland. History does not regard Wallace as a mercenary or a robber. He did his duty to his country by fighting against the English to the death, and I am not prepared to blame the Boers resisting to the bitter end. I tell the Government they may depend upon it that if the Boer resistance goes on, and if, as a necessary consequence, they have to fall back on these burnings and devastations now going on, the British public will not much longer stand it. There is a strong feeling already growing up against it. We know perfectly well that there have been other cases before in which we have expressed our opinion in regard to such transactions. We know what happened in Bulgaria. The Turks wanted to crush out the Bulgarian nationality, and they were obliged to do so in the same way in which we are carrying on this war. [HON. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.] I say that the Turks were obliged to devastate the country in Bulgaria and to burn down the houses. It is a necessary consequence of policy, and I am not blaming the Government or the military authorities. Those who are old enough to remember will recall the feeling that was excited by the occupation of Italy by Austria, and I say, looking at the past history of England and the feeling that has been elicited in England under somewhat similar circumstances, I certainly believe that the Boers have only to continue to resist for a certain time, and we to combat that resistance by military measures in the only way we can, to excite the sentiment of this country to a pitch that it will be impossible for the Government to control, and they would be compelled to give more advantageous terms. What we want to do is to establish peace and prosperity in South Africa. I want the South African Colonies to be united to us in the bonds of friendship, and that is why I urge that every effort should be made to arrive at the end of the war.

MR. YERBURGH (Chester) said the question he desired to raise was the position of the Imperial Yeomanry at the present time. The position taken up by the right hon. Gentleman was that the Yeomanry had enlisted for the period of the war, and that so long as the war lasted the Government had a right to the services of the Yeomanry in South Africa. That might be the letter of the agreement, but it certainly was not the spirit of it. The Yeomanry came forward at a time of national peril to assist the Government at a time when the military force was at its lowest. It was composed of men of all classes and occupations, and only enlisted to assist so long as the war continued on a large scale. The war was now practically over, and police duty was not the sort of work for which the Yeomanry were required. He felt most strongly upon the matter, and considered that if the Government insisted upon the Yeomanry remaining in South Africa until all military operations were comcompleted they were violating the spirit of the agreement into which they had entered with that body. He hoped that the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War would see his way to relieve them from further service. He had seen it stated that the Chinese regiment at Wei-hai-wei had been engaged in operations for the relief of Peking. He would like to hear from the right hon. Gentleman in what capacity the regiment had acted, and whether that regiment had distinguished itself or not.

SIR J. FERGUSSON (Manchester, N.E.) dissociated himself entirely from the position taken up by the hon. Member for Chester. Everybody admired the way in which these Volunteer forces came forward at a time when there was a check to British arms in South Africa, at the risk not only of their lives, but the loss of their prospects in their various professions and occupations, in order to assist the Government so far as they could in maintaining the honour and integrity of the Empire. It was a gallant and praiseworthy act, which had a great moral effect not only on this country, but on the world at large; but it was hardly fitting that the Government should allow any claim that these men should judge for themselves as to the proper time for them to come home. They undertook to serve during the war, and it was not for them to say when the war had come to an end or when their services were no longer required. Many of the Yeomanry who when they joined were perfectly raw and had only a most rudimentary knowledge of military service had become some of the finest soldiers in the Army. Some had become most efficient scouts and light cavalry only second —for indeed they were second—to our colonial troops, and they had gained immortal honour. It might be that in the Army broken up into detachments to put down this guerilla warfare they were doing as efficient service as any done when our forces were fighting in large detachments. They had been engaged for the war, and were now occupied in bringing the war to an end and pacifying the country, and it was not for the House to protest at their being kept in South Africa, and he hoped there would be no attempt to interfere with the military authorities in this matter.

MR. JOHN BURNS (Battersea) said he desired to support the very sensible and experienced view that had just been expressed. If there had been a mistake in this matter it was that the Government originally allowed the Yeomanry, as Yeomanry, to enlist at all. Undue preference had been given to certain sections of men in this war, and if ever Great Britain was placed in a similar position he hoped the Government would be influenced by the lessons taught by the experience of these particular regiments, the Yeomanry, Lovat's Scouts, and other sections of Volunteers, and that they would see how unjust it was to the Regulars and Militia that these Volunteers should be split up into regiments—class regiments—as against the Regulars, who, after all, would have to see the thing through. Six hundred Cavalry enlisted, and should have been attached to some regiment, instead of which they were formed into one regiment, described by Tommy Atkins as the "Dandy Regiment" We had regiments under noble lords and distinguished gentlemen whose idea was that the war was to be a picnic and medal-hunting expedition. Every man who volunteered for this war and wished to join a Cavalry regiment should have been attached to an additional squadron of regular cavalry; every man who desired to join a foot regiment should have been attached to the territorial regiment which he wished to join; if a Volunteer Artilleryman he should have been attached to a regular battery. He made these observations because this preferential treatment had created a profound feeling of dissatisfaction, amounting in some cases to positive jealousy, among the men who would have to see the war through. This sort of thing ought to be avoided in the future. We ought not to have a Brigade of Guards which had done its work extremely well receiving 1s. 2d. a day, while a special corps was getting 5s. a day. While Rundle's half-starved regulars were pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for the Colonial Secretary, these special corps were sheltering behind zarebas of Fortnum and Mason's delicacies and tinned food. If this was a just war there ought not to be any distinction in treatment of the men. If patriotism was the inspiring motive to make men fight, then a man ought to be as glad to fight with the Tower Hamlets workman as with the Yeomanry, which is now crying out to be sent home. If we were to maintain a Volunteer Army it could only be done on one footing, which should be that the whole force should have a co-equal share in the burden and hardships of the campaign, and that every soldier, whether a gas-stoker, an aristocrat, or a farmer, should be equal in war with his fellows. It was a disgrace to the honour and best traditions of the British Army that, when the war broke out, any man with a title had only to land at Cape Town to be immediately attached to the general staff, to the exclusion of fine soldiers, company officers, who by distinguished work in other campaigns had a right to a position on the general staff—a right to the prizes which war offers to all. But in this campaign Lord Roberts had been surrounded by a ring fence of younger sons, many of whom had not earned their spurs in any quarter of the globe. This was causing great dissatisfaction among the officers of the Army. If we were to have an Army and give encouragement to our officers, many of whom had done admirable work, it should not be possible, when there was staff promotion, for men with only political influence or back-stairs power to secure a position which only fighting ability and patriotic zeal should entitle them to have. He hoped that this war would put an end to this sort of thing. Let all men come under one discipline in the battlefield. If that was done we should get patriotic soldiers. If it was not done, the rank and file of our Army would be dissatisfied, and we should not get recruits, because no one would enter the Army when it was proved that you had to be a gamekeeper to Lord So-and-So before you could become a sergeant-major and get a commission. With regard to the money which had been asked for, the House had been asked for £16,000,000 to bring this war to a conclusion; and a great deal of that money would be spent upon stores of various kinds which were very badly needed, and upon food which was not there in the quantity that it should be. He had received a letter from the father of one of the Volunteers, enclosing a cutting which had come from his son who had cut it out of a Rhodesian paper, which stated how at Salisbury there were sold, for ridiculously low prices, great quantities of overcoats, provisions, saddles, and other necessaries at a time when our soldiers were suffering from exposure to the cold and were short of food. That savoured rather of what happened in the Crimean War. Apparently we were sending stores, saddles, overcoats, and food out in sufficient quantities, if it were only properly distributed and reached the men at the right place at the right time. It appeared to him, in the face of the paragraph which he had just read, that the Secretary of State for War ought to inquire how it was that in many portions of South Africa men were contracting rheumatism owing to improper clothing, while these things were being sold at these low prices in other parts of the country. It was the duty of the Secretary of State for War to inquire into this matter, and to ascertain whether the facts that he had brought to the attention of the House were true. If they were true it was a reflection upon the War Office, and was a reason for some officer, whoever he might be, being brought home and immediately cashiered for allowing stores to accumulate where they were not required. As a great portion of the £16,000,000 the House was then voting would be expended on these things, he had thought it was his duty to bring that paragraph to the attention of the House, and to state from his place what was the general view of the British Army. Out of the 24,000 men on the register in the constituency he represented nearly 800 were out at the front, and, being near the Guards' barracks as he was, he knew an enormous number of Reserve men in London, and he knew the view of the average soldier. These men did not complain about short rations, or of having to march with boots half off their feet, or of dying as the brave fellows had done, but what they did feel keenly was the differential treatment in pay, status, and social condition. If the class distinctions made in this campaign were to prevail, we should be driven to conscription to get our Army. The only thing which bound the Army together was comradeship. It was a mistake, a blunder, and might be some day a crime, and it was in order to save the military authorities from a more serious mistake in the future that he now ventured to express the views of every Reserve man, every Militiaman, and every man in the Regular Army.

The SECRETARY of STATE for WAR (Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford): When the hon. Member and I rose together I gave way to him, and I am glad that I gave way. If I had not done so I should not have had the opportunity of repudiating on behalf of the Army one of the most regrettable speeches I have ever heard in my life. I have listened to a good many Army debates, but a more inaccurate and a more unjustifiable speech, a speech worse in tone and in temper, I never listened to. It contained innuendoes which the hon. Member could not support by a single instance. It was a speech of accusation for which he had no authority whatever to quote to the House, a speech of pretension to speak on behalf of the rank and file of the Army.

Mr. JOHN BURNS: Mr. Speaker, I did not pretend to speak on behalf of the rank and file of the Army. What I did say and what I adhere to is that that portion of the rank and file of the Army who have been invalided home, with whom I have had conversation, endorse my view, and it is only that section whose opinion I voice.

Mr. BRODRICK: The hon. Member made an allusion to the 24,000 electors of Battersea. I venture to say that out of the electors in my division there are more who are serving in the Army than out of the hon. Member's division. I have come in contact with a good many of them, and I undertake to say that they will repudiate the view which has been put forward by the hon. Member. What is the meaning of these statements about the preferential treatment of the Imperial Yeomanry or Volunteers?

MR. JOHN BURNS: Does the right hon. Gentleman deny that the Australians are getting 5s. and our men only 1s. 2d.?

MR. BRODRICK: I deny that the Imperial Yeomanry or Volunteers have not shared alike with the Regular Army in every one of the fatigues and privations of the campaign. What the hon. Member complained of is that any allusion should be made to their services, because he urges they are Volunteers and ought to have been proud to go. What meant that allusion—an allusion, which, I think, was one of the most ungenerous ever made in the House of Commons—about Volunteers hiding behind Fortnum and Mason's provisions? The hon. Member cannot support that. It was unworthy of the hon. Member and the House. I should like to see him go to any regiment of the Line and make that insinuation about the Volunteers who have served in the ranks. Coming to my own county, the regiment of West Surrey have had I do not know how many Volunteers from my own neighbourhood serving with them for nine months of this campaign. Ask them whether the Volunteer company of that regiment has not shared every fatigue and privation without a single grumble. The hon. Member has no authority, no proof, no vestige of justification for the attacks on these Volunteers, who have given up everything to serve the Queen, as hiding behind Fortnum and Mason's provisions. I could say a good deal more. To-morrow it will be known that the man who has represented so long so large a body of working men has so detracted from the reputation he has deservedly gained in this House, and so presumed on the position which he occupies. I am only sorry that there should have been a debate of this character. As regards the Yeomanry, the Volunteers, and the Militia, who are as much Volunteers in this business as the others, they have probably in their ranks a larger proportion of married men and men who have left their business than any other class in the Army. I would say on behalf of all the men that to them we will give the utmost consideration we can when circumstances which, I hope, will not be far distant will enable us to recall troops, but at the present moment, as I pointed out to the House two nights ago, we have got to consider first of all the exigencies of the campaign. As soon as circumstances admit of it, we will release those whom we can spare. I hope that will not be, as I said, at any great distance of time. Several other points of great importance have been raised to-night before the House was as full as it is at this moment, and I will very briefly deal with the indictment brought by my hon. friend the Member for St. Helens. I am perfectly willing to take for the War Office any blame that it can possibly bear, but in regard to Beira it would be an abuse of the term to ask the War Office to bear any share of that blame. The expedition from Beira to Rhodesia was not organised by the War Office. Lord Roberts, commanding at the front, made up his mind to do something towards the relief of Mafeking through Rhodesia. The circumstances were very peculiar. Beira is Portuguese territory. It is not British territory. The railway the troops had to operate by was not an English railway, and it happened at this moment to be in process of conversion from the narrow gauge to the broad gauge. In the month of March we were assured that the total conversion of the railway had taken place. In the month of April, when we began to land troops there, 220 miles had been converted to broad gauge, and 60 were still narrow gauge. I believe the British officers did everything they could to push forward the troops, but it was impossible to keep them for a prolonged period on foreign territory; it was equally impossible without the railway to get them forward, and undoubtedly, as my hon. friend says, at Bamboo Creek some of the men were encamped for more than a fortnight, and a large number caught fever. This is due to one of the exigencies of war. I am not prepared, even if it were possible, in a case like that to make any officer accountable for circumstances as regards a railway over which we had no control.

*MR. SETON-KARR: May I interrupt the right hon. Gentleman for a moment? Is it not a fact that the military authorities had nominal control of the railway at the time?

MR. BRODRICK: Nominal control! The question is simply, Had you got materials on the spot? There was no time to make an exhaustive examination of everything. The rolling stock turned out to be defective. None of these things were under the control of the War Office. The effort of every officer and man in that place was directed to getting through to the relief of Mafeking. As it happened, one of the most important items in that relief was the arrival of the Canadian battery. I am far from saying that, when you have got a very serious difficulty of that kind to deal with, and when you consider what a blow it would have been to this Empire if Mafeking had had to surrender, we should censure officers who ran the risk of keeping troops there in order that they might get forward as soon as those defective engines would take them over the ground. The troops underwent severe experiences, and I would not be behindhand in taking up the matter from that point of view; but in these matters it is not our business simply to find out whether there is anybody we can hang. The question is whether what occurred was due to the exigencies of war. The hon. Member for North Islington has put a very pertinent question to me; he has asked whether troops were sent out without any experience in musketry. Up to about a month ago some very young drafts had been sent out with a view of attaching them to Militia battalions on the line of communications. I had considerable doubts as to the desirability of the procedure, and about three weeks ago I gave orders that no more drafts should be sent out under those conditions. My hon. friend touched a delicate question when he spoke of officers being sent home because they had failed during the war. The hon. Gentleman asked whether those who were not considered fit to hold commands during a campaign would be considered suitable to hold commands at home. Each case must be decided on its own merits, but I can, perhaps, go as far as to say that I have been in telegraphic communication with Lord Roberts as to some individual cases. So far as I am concerned, unless in some very exceptional cases, I certainly should not be prepared to recommend for a command at home an officer who has been sent home because he has failed to fulfil a command to the satisfaction of the Commander-in-Chief in South Africa. I hope I shall not be pressed further on the subject. I can assure the House that the general spirit in which the matter will be approached will be one that will be by no means inclined to that spirit of leniency which every man of good nature would like to adopt, but which, I think, is altogether unsuitable when it comes to dealing with the training of troops and to giving commands to men who may in future be expected to exercise them in the field. My hon. friend also asked me in regard to officers who have returned home while their regiments are still at the front. He said that distinguished officers were coming back from the seat of war, and yet the mass of the troops still remained there.

MR. BARTLEY: Their own regiments.

MR. BRODRICK: I would just correct a misapprehension. It is obvious, now that the war is broken up into small operations, it is unnecessary to keep the large number of generals commanding divisions, and, indeed, commanding brigades, who were employed when the war was taking place upon a larger scale. I am not aware of any officers having left except those who have returned with the direct leave of Lord Roberts and those who have been invalided home. I believe some few exceptions have possibly been made in the case of Members of Parliament, and, really, I do not think the House of Commons and the House of Lords have any reason to be ashamed of the part their Members have taken in this campaign. Of course, it must be understood that when a man has Parliamentary duties to fulfil some little latitude must be allowed to a general in deciding whether such men are to be precluded altogether from serving with the forces or whether they are to be allowed some consideration owing to their Parliamentary duties. Generally speaking, the position is perfectly clear; officers, whoever they may be and whatever their social condition, will remain with their regiments so long as their regiments have to stay abroad. I think my hon. friend will find, if he goes into details, that that rule has been carefully observed. So far as I am concerned, those questions which have been brought before the House, even though I have not been able to answer all of them, will not go without notice.

MR. CAWLEY (Lancashire, Prestwich): So far as the rank and file of the Army are concerned, and so far as the experience of practical men is concerned, I would rather take the opinion of the hon. Member for Battersea than that of the right hon. Gentleman. I am one of those men who fought at the General Election under somewhat difficult circumstances. I am one of those who were called traitors to their country. I do not think that I was a traitor then, or that I am a traitor now. I was called a traitor because I did not believe in the policy of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for the Colonies. I believe when the right hon. Gentleman said this would be a long and bitter war, and that it would leave the seeds of disaffection for generations, he was speaking the truth. I believe when he said that we should not carry the Dutchmen with us that he was speaking what was true statesmanship. We have not carried the Dutchmen of Cape Colony with us in our policy. The Dutchmen of Cape Colony and the Orange Free State were against President Kruger. I do not think that the loyal Dutchman of Cape Colony likes to be called a traitor, but when he comes to read the debate in this House he will know that that is what is said of him because he disapproves of the action of Sir Alfred Milner.

*MR. SPEAKER said it was not in order to refer to that matter now.

MR. CAWLEY: With reference to the Yeomanry and the Volunteers, it should be remembered that they went out to remain until the war was over. Now we are told that the war is over, and that it has degenerated into a guerilla war. I think the war is not over. The war is going on, and the Yeomanry are wanted and will have to stay there. I agree with the right hon. Baronet the Member for North-east Manchester that they must learn that one of their first duties is to be obedient to those above them. I only wish that this war may soon come to a close, but I do not think that the speeches which we have heard on the other side are quite likely to bring it to a close.

MR. MILDMAY (Devonshire, Totnes): Having personally had the honour of serving in the Yeomanry with what has been called Rundle's half-starved division, I feel bound to rise if only to assure the hon. Member for Battersea that the existence of jealousy between the Regular forces and the Yeomanry and Volunteers is entirely a fiction of his imagination. The Yeomanry are proud of having been treated absolutely in the same way as every other man in the division. I may tell you that they suffered the same hardships and experienced the same want of food, and so on. We were on the very best of terms with the Guardsmen in the division, who were kind enough to help us in difficult circumstances, and we were only too glad to return those kindnesses whenever we were able, and I am sure that every Guardsman in General Rundle's force will bear out what I say. The Yeomanry certainly suffered, as did every man in the division, but they recognised that they could not take part in a war without undergoing hardship, and therefore they endured their hardships as good soldiers should. The hon. Member has alluded to Lindley. I should advise hon. Members in this House and any of those who have been at home during the operations to refrain from criticising men who for five days and five nights fought in circumstances which any man at home would have looked upon as a frightful experience. I thank hon. Gentlemen for listening to me. I thought I must intervene in the interest of men with whom I have lived so long, and to whom I have become so deeply attached.

*MR. KEIR HARDIE: I would not have intervened in this debate but for two causes. The first is the after dinner display of manners which we have had while my hon. friend the Member for Battersea was speaking, and the second is the ebullition of temper shown by the Secretary of State for War in replying to the hon. Member. Anyone who took the trouble to listen to the remarks of the hon. Member for Battersea would understand that they were meant to apply exclusively to the regiment known as the Duke of Cambridge's Own. The hon. and gallant Member for Totnes has given us the officer's view of what the Army feels, which is about as valuable as what the employer thinks of what the workman feels. Last night I travelled from London to Crewe with three soldiers, home on sick leave, belonging to the South

Lancashire Fusiliers. If hon. Members could have heard the conversation which those three men carried on amongst themselves they would have altered their opinions as to the feelings prevailing in the army in South Africa. If one tithe of what they said were true we are on the eve of a mutiny among the rank and file in South Africa, largely the outcome of the favouritism shown to certain regiments. I do not know that it would be in order to inform the House of one remark of one of the three men. When they learned that Michael Davitt was going out to South Africa a thrill of relief went through the Army because of the impression that he had come to organise the revolt for which they were prepared. In conversation one of them declared that should he return again to South Africa it would be to enlist under De Wet as a protest against the treatment to which the men had been subjected. I want to call the attention of the Secretary of State for War to statements occurring in letters from the front. One is as to the punishment meted out to men who fall out on the line of march, even to obtain a drink of water when thirsty. I cannot vouch for the statement, but it has been made, and has to be answered. Eight men came home in the ship with the three South Lancashire Fusiliers to whom I have referred. ["Names."] I will give the names to the Secretary of State for War if he desires them. These men had been sentenced to terms of imprisonment of from three to five years, some of them for having fallen out on the line of march to take a drink of water by the roadside. In the case of others the charge was one of so-called malingering. I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he will produce the list of punishments imposed upon men in South Africa for the offences I have mentioned. The result of this treatment is likely to be the impossibility of getting Volunteers to enlist at any cost. The truth about the war is now becoming known. The men in the field understand what they are there for. They have seen the Boers; they have fought with them; they have chummed with them; and nine out of ten of the soldiers in South Africa if they had their choice would be fighting to-day under De Wet and helping the Boers to recover their independence. There are three classes in the country who still favour the war. There are those who make something out of it, either as contractors or as shareholders in companies; there are the people who know nothing about the facts, the "men in the street," as they are called; and there are those who are lost beyond redemption to all sense of honour and truth. These classes continue to support the war, but there is rising up in every constituency a feeling of protest against the further continuance of these operations. The more the truth becomes known the less defensible the war seems to be. I trust the hon. Member who opened this discussion will go to a division, because as a newly-returned Member I desire to have every opportunity in the division lobby of recording my protest against the blood-guiltiness of the nation. The men in the field against us are not being treated in a manner worthy of their courage, their humanity, and their devotion to their freedom. If the Government could but realise how much this country would gain and the Empire benefit by meeting the heads of the Boer army and of the two Republics in consultation in order to agree upon a peaceful future course in South Africa, I feel certain they would not hesitate to take that step. A gentleman not unknown in this House, and whose name was on all lips on a certain morning in December some five years ago, and who is in London at this moment on a visit from South Africa, has, in conversation, been justifying the war. Here is a summary of what he says—

> "But for the war, in a few years from now, when President Kruger had either died or given up office, there would have been a *rapprochement* between the progressive forces of the Transvaal and the progressive forces throughout South Africa, and they would have offered to this country a federated South Africa under the Union Jack and such a subsidy towards Imperial defence as is undreamt of by any other colony."

Had that come to pass the loyal Dutch subjects at the Cape would have ruled South Africa, and Rhodes and Beit and Eckstein, and others of that unholy gang would have occupied their rightful places. It is to prevent this that we are spending our blood and treasure, and every day that passes is bringing fresh light to the minds of the people, and making them feel that capitalism in South Africa as at home is becoming a menace to the progress and peace of the nation and must be held in strong check. I rose in the first place because of the unmannerly interruptions from the opposite benches, and because, although in the streets the myrmidons of the war party may smash our heads and sometimes close our lips, yet in this House we should insist upon freedom of speech for even the smallest minority.

*MR. T. M. HEALY: Because I rose a moment ago to ask a question the hon. Member for the Totnes Division seems to suppose there was some reflection of cowardice against those who took part in the transaction. The very reverse is the fact. In July last I protested against the manner in which a number of Irish troops at Lindley were led into a trap by the folly of an officer, and I rose to-night only to ask for further information on the subject, not to cast the slightest suspicion on the gallantry of my countrymen. It is a peculiarly English characteristic to charge men with cowardice according to the side they are on. When the Irish are with the Boers they are drunkards and scoundrels, ravishers and assassins, but the moment they put on the scarlet coat they become brilliant Irish soldiers at once. It is exactly the same thing with the Irish Members of this House—the side upon which they sit makes all the difference. Is it a crime to ask for an explanation of the Lindley disaster? That this Irish regiment was driven to surrender because of the mismanagement of certain English commanders I greatly deplore, because it is a humiliation I very much dislike to see upon a gallant body of my own countrymen, although I entirely differ with them in political views. They were ordered to Lindley by Colonel Colville, I understand —I go only by the newspapers, and cannot vouch for the fact—and the moment they got near Lindley the colonel said "Good evening," and turned his back and took off all his forces without sending word to these men, with the result that the Boers at once marched into the town. Then this Irish regiment is said to have held out for five days awaiting succour which never came, with nothing to eat except a spoonful of jam per man. I don't vouch for these details, but I asked last July for an explanation of this matter, but received none. As far as I can understand, after this surrender the men were sent home, and the whole business is hushed up, with disgrace thrown on Irishmen, while those really responsible are screened. Why have we no consecutive military narrative of this war from authorised sources? When the Government so easily get Supply it is very unusual that hon. Members should be howled down. I do not say that generals who are fairly busily engaged should sit down and write this narrative; but, for instance, Lord Stanley is out there; he is only censor; and there are other gentlemen of great competency who might fulfil this duty. We are fairly entitled to have a consecutive account of the operations of this war before we vote all this money. The Germans in the war of 1870 did not minimise the checks or reverses they received, but rather set them out with great frankness and austerity as warnings to future generations. Another point I wish to raise is as to the great inconsiderateness with which inquirers as to casualties have been treated by the War Office. The Protestant sexton of my parish had three sons at the war, one of whom was badly wounded. He is a poor man, but in order to get information concerning his son he came over to London; he sent a cable and prepaid the reply, but after waiting for six weeks he could get no answer as to whether his son was dead or alive, notwithstanding the fact that all the time messages were passing as to the sons of big people. Yet we are told there is no distinction made between officers and soldiers! I wrote to the War Office asking whether they could not relieve this poor father's mind, and instead of getting any kind of courteous or reasonable reply, the only answer I got was that owing to the crush of work the War Office was wholly unable to pay any attention to the matter. I say that the humble people in the Army do not receive the same consideration as the rich. Of course, that is not a state of things peculiar to the British Army; it is true of every walk of life; but when it is a matter of wounds and deaths I think there ought really not to be any such distinction.

*SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: The hon. and learned Member for North Louth has referred to the surrender or misfortune at Lindley. I desire to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether the proceedings of the courts of inquiry into the various surrenders of considerable bodies of troops will be made public. I quite see that in some cases it might be undesirable to publish the proceedings, but I think at all events we ought to have the results.

In most cases eight months have elapsed since the deplorable events took place. The feeling in the country and. in the Army on this subject is very strong; there is a very great desire that the truth should be known and the action of the Government in regard to these matters stated.

MR. BRODRICK: By the indulgence of the House I may be allowed to deal with the two or three points addressed to me. With regard to the general question which my hon. friend raises, I think there is great force in what he suggested—namely, that there may be considerable inconvenience in publishing the proceedings of all these courts of inquiry, they being exceedingly voluminous. With regard to the results of these inquiries, Lord Roberts is on his way home, and before absolutely committing myself I should like to refer to him to ascertain what he has to say before giving a definite pledge to the House. I will only say that as far as the Government are concerned, we have not the smallest desire to conceal or minimise the facts laid before these courts of inquiry, and my own view certainly is in favour of giving the House of Commons and the country as frankly as possible all the facts. With regard to the particular case referred to by the hon. Member, I might perhaps explain that it was not possible to come to a conclusion earlier. The difficulty of holding these courts of inquiry is great, for although the inquiry has been ordered the moment after the event has occurred it may be that the troops have moved off in different directions and the necessary witnesses may be hundreds of miles off and very difficult to bring together. As to the Lindley case, I only received the proceedings of the court of inquiry by the last mail. I have carefully studied the proceedings and I can say that, generally speaking, they entirely exonerate from blame Colonel Spragge and his regiment.

*MR. T. M. HEALY: I did not refer to Colonel Spragge.

MR. BRODRICK: There are persons whose names are mentioned in the inquiry who certainly require censure, and, in my opinion, more than censure, and after telegraphing to Lord Roberts I have taken further steps—namely, I have taken steps to dismiss two of them from the Army, and I am taking some further steps as to a third person.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Am I to have no answer about the wounded man whose father could get no answer for six weeks to his telegram, although the reply was prepaid?

MR. BRODRICK: I am sorry if that is the case; I have never seen it. If the hon. Member will give me the facts I most certainly will see who is responsible. The difficulties have been very great in these communications, and they are much more serious in the case of the private soldier than in the case of an officer, because an officer is more easily traced, and there have been cases in which the very best attempts of the authorities have not been successful. May I just allude to one point referred to by the Member for Battersea? He read an extract from a Rhodesian paper professing to show that a large quantity of stores had been sold at Salisbury. I saw that extract about ten days ago, and I at once ordered an investigation to be made.

MR. COURTENAY WARNER (Staffordshire, Lichfield): The Secretary of State said the results of the courts of inquiry would be published. Does that mean the recommendations of the courts?

MR. BRODRICK: It means the verdict, so to speak.

COLONEL WEBB (Staffordshire, Kingswinford): I have heard the speech of the hon. Member for Battersea with so much pain and regret that as a Volunteer officer I thought I could not allow it to pass without saying that as I have two sons at the front I can in a measure contradict what the hon. Member said. One of my sons has just returned, and I can assure the House from what he has told me that there is no favouritism at the front. As to the remarks of the hon. and learned Member for North Louth, I can assure him that the fact of the men to whom he referred being poor men makes not the slightest difference; the same consideration is shown to the poor as to the rich; there is no distinction whatever. I am speaking only in the interests of the Yeomanry and the Volunteers, for whom I have so much respect, and I am quite satisfied that if it be necessary and if this country asks them to remain in South Africa longer they will do so with the greatest pride and pleasure.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed for To-morrow.

POST OFFICE (WEST INDIA MAIL CONTRACT).

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Contract, dated the 1st day of September, 1900, entered into with the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company for the conveyance of the West India mails for the period from the 1st day of July, 1900, to the 30th day of June, 1905, be approved."—(*Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*)

MR. CALDWELL (Lanarkshire, Mid) said he hoped the Financial Secretary to the Treasury would give some information with regard to the contract.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.) said that the contract for the conveyance of the West India mails had expired. Tenders were called for, and after consideration it was decided to accept a tender which was in exactly the same terms as the contract which had expired. A subsidy of £80,000 per annum was payable under the contract, part of which was repaid by the Colonial Governments who shared the advantages of the contract. The contract had to be laid before Parliament under Standing Orders a few days after the meeting of Parliament, and that was the reason why it was presented. He hoped the House would pass the resolution approving the contract, because the bargain could not be clinched until the sanction of Parliament was given. It was open to the company to withdraw from the contract in the meantime, and as it was the only tender it would be in the public interest that approval should be given to it at once, and the bargain affirmed.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON (Dundee) said he applied at the Vote Office some hours ago for a copy of the contract, but was unable to obtain it.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: It is only a repetition of the old contract.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: Surely it is in the interest of the House that a copy of the contract should be in the hands of hon. Members.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: If I had been asked for a copy I should have given it at once. A copy was placed in the Library.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: I went to the Vote Office for a copy, but could not obtain it. The hon. Member says that the contract should be presented to the House a few days after its meeting, but we have been in session nine or ten days now, and it seems strange that the members of the Government who are responsible for the conduct of the business of the House should not have had copies printed.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The contract is printed.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: I would suggest that the matter be left over until to-morrow, when the discussion can be taken after we have seen the contract.

MR. ALEXANDER CROSS (Glasgow, Camlachie) said it was singularly unfortunate that there should have been only one tender for such an important contract. A subsidy of £80,000 was involved, and, bringing the experience of private life into public affairs, he was strongly of opinion that when a contract was entered into without competition, it was not to the public interest. He stood strongly for competition in matters of that kind. As the contract was not before the House, he begged to move the adjournment of the debate.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): The Government have no intention of pressing this matter if there is to be any discussion. We recognise that we met for one purpose and one purpose only, but we thought that this matter, which is broadly speaking a formal matter, being only a repetition of a former contract, might be carried through instead of being deferred until February. If it is to be discussed to-morrow we will defer it, but I hope the House will allow it to pass without discussion. I gladly assent to the motion of my hon. friend.

MR. CALDWELL: I knew where to find the contract, and did find it in the Llibrary.

Debate adjourned till To-morrow.

Whereupon, in pursuance of the Order of the House of the 7th day of this instant December, Mr. Speaker adjourned the House without Question put.

Adjourned accordingly at twenty minutes before Twelve of the clock.

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, 14*th December,* 1900.

APPEAL COMMITTEE.

First Report from; read and agreed to.

ADDRESS.

The Queen's Answer to the Address of the 6th instant reported, and Address and Answer to be printed and published.

Several Lords took the Oath.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

FISHERY BOARD FOR SCOTLAND.

Manual of the Sea Fisheries (Scotland) Acts and Statutory Byelaws in force at 31st December, 1900.

COLONIES (MISCELLANEOUS).

No. 15. Canada (Memorandum on the legal status of British North American Indians).

RAILWAY ACCIDENTS.

Returns of accidents and casualties as reported to the Board of Trade by the several railway companies in the United Kingdom during the nine months ending 30th September, 1900, in pursuance of the Regulation of Railways Act (1871), 34th and 35th Victoria, chap. 78; together with reports of the inspecting officers and sub-inspectors of the Railway Department to the Board of Trade upon certain accidents which were inquired into.

Presented [by Command], and ordered to lie on the Table.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT, 1888.

Orders under Section 57 of the Act, as confirmed by the Local Government Board, of the following county councils—

I. Brecon, for uniting the parishes of Aberystruth Brynmawr Urban, Llanelly Brynmawr Urban, and Llangattock Brynmawr Urban to form parish of Brynmawr.

II. Bucks, for transferring part of the parish of Ashley Green from the Amersham Rural District to the parish and urban district of Chesham.

III. Bucks, for transferring parts of the parishes of Upton-cum-Chalvey and Eaton Wick from the Eton Rural District to the parish and urban district of Eton.

IV. Bucks, for transferring parts of the parishes of Upton-cum-Chalvey, Stoke Poges, and Langley Marish from the Eton Rural District to the parish and urban district of Slough.

V. Chester, for adding the parish of Kerridge to the Bollington Urban District and for uniting the parish of Kerridge with the township of Bollington.

VI. Chester, for uniting the parish of Bosden and the townships of Bramhall, Norbury, Offerton, and Torkington to form the parish of Hazel Grove-cum-Bramhall and the Hazel Grove and Bramhall Urban District.

VII. Hertford, for uniting the parishes of All Saints, Bengee Urban, Brickendon Urban, Saint Andrew Urban, and Saint John Urban to form the parish of Hertford.

VIII. Kent, for transferring parts of the parish of Herne from the Blean Rural District to the parish and urban district of Herne Bay.

IX. Pembroke, for the conversion of a portion of the parish of Llanstadwell into the parish and urban district of Neyland.

X. East Suffolk, for the conversion of the parish of Saxmundham into the Saxmundham Urban District.

XI. West Sussex, for transferring parts of the parishes of Bersted and Pagham from the Westhampnett Rural District to the parish and urban district of Bognor.

INDIA (EXAMINATIONS).

Regulations for examinations for Civil Service of India.

NEWCASTLE CHAPTER ACT, 1884.

Order in Council of the 26th November, 1900, establishing two Residentiary Canonries in the Cathedral Church of Newcastle.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1858

Order in Council of the 26th of November, 1900, approving a statement of proposed new and revised appointments, alterations of salaries, and abolition of appointment in the establishment of the Secretary of State for India in Council.

FOREIGN JURISDICTION ACT, 1890.

Order in Council of the 26th of November, 1900, entitled "The Siam (Registration) Order in Council, 1900."

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACT, 1894.

Two Orders in Council of the 26th of November, 1900:—

1. Fixing an increase of salary for a clerk in the establishment of the Commissioners of Northern Lighthouses.
2. Making rules concerning the lights and signals to be carried by vessels when within the Harbour of Galway.

SEAMEN'S SAVINGS BANKS, MONEY ORDERS, AND TRANSMISSION OF WAGES.

Account of all deposits received and repaid by the Board of Trade, under the authority of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, during the year ended 20th November, 1899, and of the interest thereon. Statement showing the number and amount of seamen's money orders issued and paid, at ports in the United Kingdom and at ports abroad, from 1855 to 31st March, 1900. Also, statement showing the receipts and payments in connection with the transmission of seamen's wages from 1878 to 31st March, 1900.

PRIVATE LEGISLATION PROCEDURE (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1899.

General Order for the regulation of proceedings under and in pursuance of the Act amending General Orders Nos. 70 and 71, already issued.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Standing Order No. XXXIX. to be considered To-morrow, in order to its being suspended for the day's sitting.

LORD HARDWICKE AND LORD ROSEBERY—PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (The Earl of HARDWICKE): My Lords, I crave your Lordships' indulgence while I make a few remarks in reply to the comments made by the noble Earl, Lord Rosebery, in his speech on the Address, in reference to my appointment as Under Secretary for India. I have given the noble Earl private notice of my intention to make a statement this afternoon, a courtesy which he did not think fit to extend to me, or I should have been able at once to reply to his observations, and thus to have saved your Lordships' time this afternoon. I could hardly have been expected to foresee that the noble Earl would have included my humble name in the list of personalities he introduced into his versatile and entertaining speech. In making this statement this afternoon I have only one object in view, and that is, to place your Lordships and the public in full and entire possession of the whole of the facts in connection with my position in the City. It is, I think, a fourfold duty I owe to the noble Marquess the Prime Minister, to your Lordships, to the public, and, perhaps, to the noble Earl himself, who expressed the conviction that I had severed my connection with the London Stock Exchange before accepting office. But why, my Lords, if the noble Earl was so convinced, was it necessary to introduce the question of my appointment into his speech at all? Did the noble Earl mean, when he insisted on the perils arising from any connection between Her Majesty's Government and the Stock Exchange, that no man can serve in any Government who has ever been a member of the Stock Exchange? If that was the noble Earl's meaning there is very little I can say in answer to it. The facts, my Lords, with regard to myself are these. About a month ago the noble Marquess the Prime Minister offered me this appointment. I pointed out to him, through his private secretary, and personally to the Secretary of State for India, that though I could undertake to relinquish all active share in the conduct of the business of the firm of Messrs. Basil Montgomery and Co., in which I am a partner, I could not undertake to sever my connection with that firm; and, my Lords, I will explain why. Eighteen or twenty years ago a private Bill was passed through Parliament, known as the Hardwicke Estates Act. This Act transferred to trustees the administration of the estates, and it seems almost like the relentless irony of fate that after ten years those estates should have passed into the hands of the mortgagees, who became the possessors of all that that Act was passed to secure to myself. I was left without a shilling, and I had to consider what I should do, and which way I should turn. I decided to embark on a career in the City, and it is eight years since my connection with my present firm commenced. I do not say, my Lords, that the course I elected to pursue was the only course open to a Peer who, early in life, finds himself involved in financial embarrassment. I am told there are pleasanter and easier methods of rehabilitating one's fortune than working for a living in the City. But, my Lords, however that may be, I took that course, and I am very glad of the connection I have had with the London Stock Exchange. In the City a man can gain an experience and a knowledge of men and matters that is not easily obtainable elsewhere. The plain fact of the matter is that I cannot afford to cut off my only means of livelihood for the sake of a few years of office—no, not even to oblige the noble Earl. What, therefore, I decided and have arranged is this. I remain a partner in my firm; I remain a member of the Stock Exchange, and I have the right in the future to return to it; but in the meantime I shall never enter the Stock Exchange, and I shall take no active part of any kind in the conduct of the business of the firm. Naturally, my Lords, this arrangement could not be carried out in a day, and I therefore asked that I might be allowed to defer taking up my duties at the India Office until the beginning of the new year, and to this request the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State acceded; and I have to thank the noble Earl the Under Secretary for the Colonies for having so kindly undertaken to discharge my duties in the meantime. Perhaps I may mention, to save the noble Earl a personal explanation if the question was raised, that though he is doing the duties of two Under Secretaries he is only receiving one salary. Seeing that the Opposition are making much of a personal line of attack I have been scrupulously careful to avoid even the most formal communication with the officials of the India Office. I have not even had the pleasure of being introduced to the heads of the Department. We have recently learned that the most harmless and natural acts can be made the pretext for unjust and unworthy insinuations; and, further, in case the noble Marquess might have been convinced by the noble Earl's arguments, I took the earliest opportunity to offer to resign the appointment. Perhaps the noble Earl will be surprised to learn that the noble Marquess did not see the necessity. As regards the observations of the noble Earl, I am not ungrateful to him for his generous and kindly expression of pleasure at my appointment, apart from the dangerous principle he deems my appointment to involve. But I cannot help thinking that the noble Earl came down to this House, having taken as little trouble to consider my position as he did that of Mr. Gerald Balfour. He insinuated that the right hon. Gentleman was a director of several companies, while, as a matter of fact, he is not a director of any company at all. I do not doubt that the noble Earl has already apologised for his mistake. Then, if the noble Earl had considered the past administration of the India Office, I think he would have left alone the question of my appointment, as he would undoubtedly have left alone the question of Mr. Gerald Balfour and his supposed directorships. Noble Lords are aware that the powers of the India Office in respect of finance are wholly in the hands of the India Council. Its members have it in their power to use any special knowledge they may have for their own personal advantage in the City through the medium of the Stock Exchange. Now my Lords, whom did Mr. Gladstone appoint as finance member of the India Council in 1880? Mr. Bertram Currie, a leading banker in active business, a member of the important bank of Messrs. Glynn, Mills, and Co. The noble Earl was a member of that Government. Did he protest against that appointment? And again, my Lords, in this same Administration whom did Mr. Gladstone appoint as Under Secretary for India? He appointed Mr. Kynaston Cross, a partner in a firm of cotton merchants; and it may not be uninteresting to your lordships to be reminded that the two principal questions which the India Office had to deal with during the life of that Government were the fall in silver and the cotton duties. I should like to know if the noble Earl pointed out to Mr. Gladstone that the purity of his Ministry was in question? However that may be, I do know that the practical commercial experience and trained financial ability of Mr. Currie and Mr. Cross were of great value to the Secretary of State in one of the most serious economic crises through which India has passed. I do not for a moment mean to say, or even to suggest, that I shall be of any special value to my noble friend the Secretary of State for India, but I must say that I fail to see why any practical experience I may have gained in the City is to be considered a disqualification. To-day, my Lords, on the India Council there are two gentlemen, both of distinguished and conspicuous ability, both of unquestionable integrity, but they are both members of business firms in the City of London. From the noble Earl's speech we must assume that he has the merest, the simplest, knowledge of matters connected with the Stock Exchange, or he would know that it does not require a man to be a member of the Stock Exchange to make use of any special knowledge for speculative purposes. Anyone in the public service, from a Cabinet Minister to a Permanent Secretary, can in ten minutes send an order for the purchase or the sale of any security in the world without anyone being one whit the wiser. If, however, the noble Earl, on highly technical and moral grounds, holds that there is a danger in a member of the Stock Exchange, who, after all, is only the agent who executes the business of others, being a member of Her Majesty's Government, what are we to say of the stockbroker's client? Surely, if the stockbroker is to be debarred the client must be debarred also; and it comes to this. Does the noble Earl hold that a man who at any time has been engaged in financial or speculative operations is not worthy to be a Minister of the Crown, or even an Under Secretary? Does the noble Earl accept that proposition? Is he prepared to adhere to that principle? The noble Earl gives no sign of dissent or assent. I pass to the general public question raised in his speech, only to say that I think it would be almost an impertinence in me to discuss it. While I was made the peg on which to hang an argument, the argument was obviously directed against the noble Marquess the Prime Minister, for it was he, not I, who made the choice of an Under Secretary—a choice which the noble Earl thinks is so fraught with peril to Her Majesty's Government. I have endeavoured plainly to place my position before the House, and, while thanking your Lordships for the indulgent hearing accorded me, I desire to express my regret at the unpleasant necessity which has compelled my first utterance at this Table to take the form of a personal explanation.

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* See page 48.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: My Lords, I confess that the speech of the noble Earl has placed me in a position of considerable difficulty, because no one could have heard it without the liveliest sympathy at the position which he has described. I was aware of that position as far as regards the private Act of Parliament of which he spoke when I addressed your Lordships the other night; and it was my knowledge of the circumstances attending that Act and following upon that Act relating to himself that caused me to speak in terms which he, I think, acknowledges as warm and generous with regard to his career. In the circumstances I am, therefore, in a position of great delicacy, because, as the noble Earl has pointed out, though I spoke of him, as I felt, in warm and generous tones, I also asserted a public principle. Now I am sorry to say that there is nothing in what the noble Earl has said which shakes my maintenance of the public principle I laid down. He said: "Are we to understand that no one who has ever been connected with the Stock Exchange or with commercial pursuits is ever to be a Minister or to form part of the Government of the country?" Of course this is reducing my argument to an absurdity. My argument did not refer to the past, it referred to the present; and if the noble Earl asks me whether I maintain the principle that no member of a firm on the Stock Exchange should be a Minister of the Crown I am obliged to say that I maintain my opinion. I say it with the deepest regret. I do not mean in saying that to disparage the Stock Exchange. Many of my friends are connected with the Stock Exchange, and I know how high and honourable a pursuit it is, or it may be. But that is not the point. The point is whether connection with a firm on the Stock Exchange is or is not compatible with the position of a Minister of the Crown. It has never been so held in the past, and I hope it will never be so held in the future, because, though I am perfectly certain that the noble Earl is as incapable of misusing his position as Minister of the Crown as any of those who have occupied that high and honourable position, yet it is unfitting in these days that there should be any circumstances connected with a Ministry of the Crown which should in any degree lend the slightest foundation to any suspicion affecting their honour as Ministers. The noble Earl has referred to past precedents. I do not thoroughly carry them in my mind. He has said that even now there are two members of the India Council who are connected with firms. But members of the India Council are not members, so to speak, of the current Administration of the country. They are in the position of permanent advisers for a fixed term to the Minister responsible for the Government of India. In these circumstances they do not fall in the same category as those more responsible Ministers who sit in this and the other House of Parliament. The Minister who makes these appointments is responsible for them, and behind that responsibility, where I know nothing of the case, I am not willing to inquire. The noble Earl also referred to a case which occurred twenty years ago—that of an Under Secretary for India appointed by Mr. Gladstone in 1880; and he says to me, "Were you not a member of that Government?" Well, in 1880 I was not. But there is a Member of this House who was Secretary of State for India at that time, and he can give every information to the noble Earl on that appointment—I mean the noble Duke the Lord President of the Council. It is, therefore, going over his head to seek information from a private Member of this House as to that appointment. Later on, no doubt, I did become an Under Secretary; but I do not think that it is a practice of Cabinet Ministers, and especially of Prime Ministers, to inquire of Under Secretaries their opinions as to appointments. I am not sure that it is a precedent which even now the noble Marquess would care to have set, because Under Secretaries are naturally apt to be critical of those who are placed over them. But, in any case, I had nothing more to do with the appointment of the Under Secretary for India in 1880 than the noble Earl himself. I am quite sure of this: that, according to the high and honourable tradition which inspired Mr. Gladstone, he made himself perfectly clear that there was no actual connection between a firm doing business in India and Mr. Cross at the time of his appointment; and if Mr. Gladstone failed in that duty I am quite sure that the noble Duke himself very carefully made that inquiry. I do not know that I have anything more to say in pursuance of this ungracious and ungrateful task. Except this. The noble Earl charged me with having misrepresented the position of Mr. Gerald Balfour as regards being the director of a public company. It is quite true that I stated my belief the other night and expressed my regret that Mr. Balfour should have accepted the Presidency of the Board of Trade—a Ministry mainly concerned with companies and company matters—he being a director of public companies. I was delighted to receive the promptest contradiction of that statement from Mr. Gerald Balfour. Mr. Balfour, as I understand, had been a director of a public company, or of public companies, up to the time of his appointment to the Presidency of the Board of Trade, and had resigned his directorship on being appointed to that post. I am very glad to have elicited from Mr. Balfour the statement that he had done so; but I venture to think that as these appointments to directorships are published and public, and as much comment is naturally directed to these positions, it would be well if those who hold them and who are also Ministers of the Crown when they divest themselves of them should make their resignation as public as the fact of their appointment. We cannot be supposed to know that they have resigned these directorships unless they say so; and we are bound to go on the public information which is conveyed with regard to them. I must say that I feel less shame in my ignorance as it appeared to be shared by the noble Duke who replied to me, and, as far as any contradiction goes, by all the other Ministers on the Bench opposite. On that part of the case I have no more to say. I was told by the noble Earl that he was coming here to make a personal statement. It was a personal statement from two points of view. It was personal as regards himself, and perhaps a little personal as regards myself. But of that I cannot complain. I am very much obliged to him for giving me notice. I would have given him notice the other night if I had had the slightest intention of making any attack upon him, but, as he truly said, I made no such attack, and I had no fixed intention of speaking. If I had in any way intended to impugn his honour or to attack him in any personal manner I should have thought it my duty to warn him beforehand of the course which I was about to take. But I had no such intention; and the noble Earl admitted that he had no fault to find with the way in which I spoke of him. I only ventured to lay down a public principle, and I lay it down again. A precedent of this kind, though it may involve no present inconvenience and no reflection on any Minister, is full of the gravest peril to the largest interests of the Government of this country.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND LORD PRIVY SEAL: (The Marquess of SALISBURY): My Lords, I do not wish to pursue the personal aspect of this matter, so incautiously and so unfortunately raised. I can only assure my noble friend who sits beside me that nothing has passed that will diminish in any degree—rather will it increase—the very high esteem in which he is held by his party and his colleagues. But I rise not merely for the purpose of saying that, for I know that his position is too well established to be shaken by any action of this kind. I rise because I think that what the noble Earl was pleased to call a principle is not one of that clearness or certainty or advantage that, in the statement of it from his lips, no notice should be taken of it on the part of this House. The noble Earl has not stated any precedent for the doctrines which he laid down. As far as I know they rest at the present moment on his authority alone. I trust that nothing he has said will cause my noble friend beside me to alter his conduct in the slightest degree. I do not believe that the principles which are laid down are sound, and I think that if they are upheld they will rather be an excuse for gratuitous and wounding attack upon individuals than any advantage to the purity of the Government of the Queen. The noble Earl has given us no precedents in this matter I cannot exactly understand how, if the noble Earl were required to write down the new doctrine which he wishes to write into the code of public policy, it could be couched in Parliamentary language. I understand a stockbroker to be a person who sells or buys stock on the order of somebody else. I have heard nothing to induce me to think that stockbrokers are in any special manner speculators in any public companies or funds. On the contrary, my belief is that there is far greater speculation among those who are clients of stockbrokers than in the ranks of the stockbrokers themselves. But what doctrine are you to lay down? My noble friend is a sleeping partner in a stockbroking firm. That is to say, he has invested money in the firm. Are you to lay it down that every one who invests money in the business of a British merchant, if that British merchant goes occasionally on the Stock Exchange, becomes unfit for the service of the Queen? It is an absolutely new doctrine. There is no sort of authority for it whatever. I cannot help feeling that, in thus raising this cry, the noble Earl has taken a superficial similarity of words as expressive of meanings which they do not really convey; and has made a sort of clap-trap cry against stockbrokers because their business is conducted on the Stock Exchange; as people have done against directors who are in no degree more guilty of any commercial sin than any other members of the mercantile community. There are directors and directors. There are directors of the most perfectly innocent kind; directors against whose business it would be impossible to raise any objection; directors whose business does not lead them to cross or to affect in any way the transactions of the Departments of the State. On the other hand, there are directors, undoubtedly, who are connected with the Departments of the State, and, as has been pointed out more than once, even of late, one or two of my colleagues have thought it right to retire from the position of director lest any suspicion should arise. But that does not give any licence generally to attack all directors: nor does the fact that stockbrokers conduct their business in a place where much speculation occurs give you a right to brand them as having naturally inherited such dishonesty that no one who is a stockbroker may be a servant of the Queen. It appears to me that these rash and headlong statements, which really can serve no other than a party purpose, are not of advantage to the public service, and will not maintain its purity against any temptations which may attack it. After all, you must remember that the field of selection is small in our country. We are the only country where Ministers are chosen either from this or from the other House of Parliament; and if you add to the difficulty which that circumstance involves the further condition that no one who has any special connection with any form of commercial business is capable of being selected, then I believe that you not only inflict a very undeserved stigma upon a very honourable profession, but you diminish our power of finding servants who are capable of serving the Queen in her administrative offices. Remember that the difficulty in our Administration and the difficulty in Parliament is not that, on the whole, people know too much about business, but that they know too little, that they belong generally to classes of society not brought into contact with business; and I hold it to be a positive evil if you do anything which will discourage mercantile men of high standing from taking part in the service of the Crown. But, my Lords, I wish to protest against the doctrine which has been laid down, and for my part I do not subscribe to the language which the noble Earl has used, and I earnestly hope that neither my noble friend nor any other gentleman will conceive that this doctrine, lately invented and of no value for any practical purpose, ought to limit the freedom and the opportunity which men of knowledge and experience may have of entering into the political service of the Crown.

The Earl of ROSEBERY: I only rise to make one remark. It is this:—The noble Marquess says there are no precedents for the principle I have laid down. There is a very recent principle—that laid down by Mr. Gladstone's Government in 1892, which required members of the Government to relieve themselves of their directorships. Those members did so, and did not remain in any respect less efficient men of business than they were before.

The Marquess of SALISBURY: That is not the point. It is that people will not accept political offices if they are compelled to resign the means of livelihood which they previously possessed.

The Earl of ROSEBERY: It is exactly the point. These gentlemen did accept office under these terms, and remained Ministers.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—INVALIDED COLONIAL SOLDIERS.

Lord BURGHCLERE: My Lords, in rising to ask Her Majesty's Government what official medical inspections, if any, of the wounded and invalided colonial troops returning to Australia in the Royal Mail steamers, Orient Line, took place before their embarkment, and what medical supervision was provided for them during the voyages by the War Office, I hope I may be permitted to remind your Lordships of the circumstances which led me to put the question on the Paper. On Monday last* my noble friend beside me, Earl Carrington, asked Her Majesty's Government for some explanation with regard to the treatment of certain colonial troops who had been invalided home from active service and were about to undertake the voyage back to their respective colonies. The action of my noble friend in ventilating this subject has been entirely and amply justified by the observations which were subsequently made by the Secretary of State for War in another place.† The gravamen of my noble friend's complaint did not lie so much in the fact that these men had been sent home as third-class passengers, though that obviously lends itself to very substantial criticism. What my noble friend rightly complained of was that, though the majority of them were recovering from wounds or from enteric fever, they were put upon third-class dietary during the voyage, without the slightest discrimination. I am well aware that the third-class fare of our great liners is of excellent quality, and no doubt admirably adapted to a normal stomach; but when a man is recovering from enteric fever his digestive organs are not strong enough to enable him to eat food which may be in every way suitable for a man in the best of health. When the noble Earl brought the matter before the House the other evening, and stated that one man who had been ordered to embark as a third-class passenger had a temperature of 104 degrees, I ventured to ask whether these men had been medically examined before their embarkment. I put that question on the spur of the moment. I did not think it necessary to give notice of it, because it seemed to me a question of so elementary a nature, and so obviously germane to the original question put by the noble Lord, Earl Carrington, that the information would naturally have been in the possession of the noble Lord to whom had been given the duty of replying on behalf of Her Majesty's Government. No definite information, however, was given to me on the subject, and the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, while expressing the opinion that such an examination had probably taken place, suggested that I should repeat the question in order to get a categorical answer. Since then, the Secretary of State for War has admitted in another place that there has been some omission or negligence with regard to the cases to which attention was called by the noble Earl beside me. That admission, I think, makes my question to-night even more necessary, because, if these troops were examined by a proper medical officer before they were embarked, the responsibility for any neglect that took place falls in great measure on that medical officer, and incidentally on those who selected him for the duty. If, on the contrary, these invalids home from the Cape, who had hardly recovered from fever or wounds, were about to be sent back to their respective colonies on third-class dietary, and with third-class accommodation, without any medical examination, then I venture to think some serious responsibility rests upon Her Majesty's Government. Official medical examination seems to me a matter of absolute necessity in all such cases, but I think even more care ought to have been taken in the case of invalided colonial volunteers, who for the first time in our history have been fighting side by side with the Regular army. It would be a matter of extreme regret to everyone if these gallant men returned to their homes with the feeling that there had been a want of that solicitude for their comfort and welfare in this country which their services to the Empire demanded. For my part I cannot believe it possible that no medical examination took place, and it is for the purpose of eliciting the truth on the subject that I have ventured to put the question standing in my name to Her Majesty's Government.

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* See page 326

† See page 553.

*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Lord RAGLAN): My Lords, wherever it was possible these men were sent direct to their own homes from South Africa, but in certain cases the men were brought to England to relieve the convalescent depôts at the Cape. A depôt was formed at Shorncliffe for the invalided colonial soldiers, and at the request of the Secretary of State for War I myself visited the depôt on Wednesday and thoroughly inspected it. I will come to that later on. A large number of these men were convalescent, and were considered well enough to undertake the long voyage from the Cape to this country, and the greater part of them arrived, I am glad to say, in a state of advanced convalescence. Sick furlough was granted to those men who applied for it to the extent of three months, and for any furlough beyond that period they had to produce a medical certificate. Many of them returned to Shorncliffe before finally embarking for their respective colonies. I can assure your Lordships that the medical examination was most carefully conducted at Shorncliffe, and that no man left that depôt to undertake the voyage who was not in an absolutely fit state of health to travel. The cases mentioned by the noble Earl on Monday were of men who had been either on furlough or in convalescent homes in various parts of the country, and who went direct to the port of embarkation. The arrangements by which these men went from the convalescent homes or from wherever they happened to be living direct to the port of embarkation were originally made, I believe, to save them trouble, and it was considered that they would not leave their convalescent homes or their furlough if they were not in a fit state to travel. In certain cases, therefore, the men were not medically examined before they went on board the ship. That is a most unfortunate circumstance, which the War Office very much regret. In future arrangements will be made to remedy that mistake. With regard to the accommodation provided for these men, the noble Lord was informed on Monday that there are on these liners three classes of third-class accommodation. These men were provided with superior third-class accommodation—that is to say, they had only two berths in a cabin—and were provided with a liberal and varied dietary. I will read to your Lordships the third-class dietary table, which, I think, speaks for itself—

"Breakfast, 8 a.m.—Porridge, with milk, fish, chops, steaks, sausages, Irish stew, curried meat with rice, cold meats, fresh bread, butter, jam, marmalade, tea.

"Dinner 1 p.m.—Soups, broths, fish, roast and boiled meats, fresh vegetables, puddings (various), stewed fruits, etc.

"Tea, 5 p.m.—Cold meats (various), with pickles or salad, cakes, buns, etc., bread, butter, jam, marmalade.

"Supper, 8 p.m.—Bread, butter, biscuits, and cheese."

In my opinion, therefore, there was some excuse for the War Office in thinking that these men, who were convalescent, were being provided with a sufficient dietary to thoroughly restore them to health. I can assure the noble Lord opposite that all possible care will be taken in the future with regard to their embarkation. In consequence of statements that have been made in reference to Shorncliffe, I myself visited the camp on Wednesday and found the aarangements of a satisfactory character. There were no colonial troops actually in mess on the day of my visit. Eight or ten, however, were living in the coffee shop, and seemed most comfortable. Men who are not there for more than two days are not put in mess, but live in the coffee shop. Practically they have no fatigue work of any sort to do, this work being done by defaulters in the provisional battalion. The bath accommodation is ample, there being eight baths for privates and five for non-commissioned officers. Hot water is available at all hours of the day. The difficulty has been very much increased owing to the sudden coming and going of men from a hundred different regiments, a great portion of them staying only for a short time. I can assure the House that the War Office are only too anxious that these men should receive the comfort and consideration to which their suffering and their services to the Empire entitle them.

LORD BURGHCLERE: I only rise to thank the noble Lord for his reply, and to point out to him that he has not entirely answered my question. I further asked what medical provision was provided for these men during the voyage. Judging from the menu which the noble Lord has read, medical supervision seems to be highly necessary, for cheese and pickles are not proper food to give men recovering from typhoid fever.

*LORD RAGLAN: These liners all carry a qualified doctor, who would naturally be the person to whom the men would apply when they were unwell.

EARL CARRINGTON: My Lords, I desire to express the great satisfaction with which I have heard the statement of the noble Lord opposite. No doubt there was a very considerable grievance on the part of these men; but, as I said the other night when I brought this subject before your Lordships, I was perfectly certain that it was not the wish of Her Majesty's Government to treat them in this way. I then expressed the opinion that it was due to departmental mismanagement. Your Lordships will remember that I was somewhat severely taken to task by the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who described my statement as exaggerated and misleading. I can assure you that it was very far from my desire to use exaggerated language. My only desire was to put the matter as plainly as I possibly could before the House. I have forwarded information of several cases to the Secretary of State for War, and I have to acknowledge the fairness and courtesy of the right hon. Gentleman, and the readiness with which he has listened to the representations made to him in regard to this matter. As I have been accused of exaggeration, I hope I may be permitted to refer to another case—the case of a man named Freeman. Trooper Freeman is the son of a New South Wales Government official, and was in the second contingent of the New South Wales Mounted Rifles. I knew the family very well in New South Wales. Freeman gave up a post worth £300 a year to fight for the Empire and the Queen. He was offered £350 a year if he would remain, but he declined, and went off to the front. I heard that this man was lying ill in Soho Square, and reported the matter to the Agent-General, who replied thanking me for bringing the case to his attention, and stating that when an official called at his lodging in Soho Square he was informed that Trooper Freeman had gone to see the Army doctor. On 10th November we received at the office of our fund, through the assistance of which every colonial returning to his home has been able to have the comforts of the second class, a letter from Freeman's late landlord in Soho Square to the effect that he had sailed on the previous day. He added—

"Trooper Freeman was very unwell, and really not fit to go, but his orders were imperative. I am grieved that a man in his state of health should have been sent steerage."

I mention this case in the hope that your Lordships will not think that in the statement I made on Monday I used exaggerated language. I hope I may take it from the noble Lord that for the future these men will be well cared for and provided with all the comforts of second-class travelling.

*Lord RAGLAN: It is the case that these men will in the future be sent home with all the comforts of second-class travelling. The Lord Mayor's Fund, which so kindly came to their assistance before, will, I hope, not be called upon again. If the noble Earl will be good enough to send particulars of the case he mentioned it shall be inquired into. Any man who wishes it can obtain an extension of sick furlough if he sends a medical certificate. Of this fact probably the New South Wales trooper referred to by the noble Earl was not aware.

Earl CARRINGTON: Would a man be able to obtain an extension of furlough by sending a medical certificate from a country doctor?

*Lord RAGLAN: A certificate from any qualified medical man would be accepted.

House adjourned at twenty-five minutes before Six of the clock till To-morrow, Twelve of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, 14*th December*, 1900.

Two Members took and subscribed the Oath.

QUEEN'S SPEECH (ANSWER TO ADDRESS).

The Comptroller of the Household reported Her Majesty's Answer to the Address, as followeth:—

"I have received with satisfaction the loyal and dutiful expression of your thanks for the Speech with which I opened the present Parliament."

NEW WRIT.

For the County of Monaghan (North Monaghan Division), in the room of Daniel Macaleese, esquire, deceased.—(*Mr. T. M. Healy.*)

PETITIONS.

INHABITED HOUSE DUTY AND INCOME TAX.

Petition from Ealing and Acton, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT, 1888.

Copies presented, of Orders made by the County Councils and County Borough Councils of various Counties in England and Wales under Sections 57 and 59 of the Act, and confirmed by the Local Government Board [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

EAST INDIA (EXAMINATIONS FOR THE CIVIL SERVICE).

Copy presented, of Regulations for Examinations for the Civil Service of India [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

RAILWAY ACCIDENTS.

Copy presented, of Returns of Accidents and Casualties as reported to the Board of Trade by the several Railway Companies in the United Kingdom during the nine months ending 30th September, 1900, together with Reports of the Inspecting Officers and Sub-Inspectors of the Railway Department to the Board of Trade upon certain Accidents which were inquired into [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

SEAMEN'S SAVINGS BANKS (MONEY ORDERS AND TRANSMISSION OF WAGES).

Accounts presented, of all Deposits received and repaid during the year ended 20th November, 1899, and Statement as to Money Orders issued and paid from 1855 to 31st March, 1900, and of Receipts and Payments in connection with the transmission of Seamen's Wages from 1878 to 31st March, 1900 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 388.]

FOREIGN JURISDICTION ACT, 1890.

Copy presented, of Order in Council of 26th November, 1900, entitled, "The Siam (Registration) Order in Council, 1899" [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACT, 1894.

Copy presented, of Order in Council of 26th November, 1900, fixing an increase of salary for a clerk in the establishment of the Commissioners of Northern Lighthouses [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of Order in Council of 26th November, 1900, making Rules concerning the Lights and Signals to be carried by Vessels when within the Harbour of Galway [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

NEWCASTLE CHAPTER ACT, 1884.

Copy presented, of Order in Council of 26th November, 1900, establishing two Residentiary Canonries in the Cathedral Church of Newcastle [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1858.

Copy presented, of Order in Council of 26th November, 1900, approving a Statement of proposed new and revised Appointments, alterations of Salaries, and abolition of appointment in the Establishment of the Secretary of State for India in Council [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

PRIVATE LEGISLATION PROCEDURE (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1899.

Copy presented, of General Order for the Regulation of Proceedings under and in pursuance of the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, amending General Orders Nos. 70 and 71 already issued [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 389].

UGANDA RAILWAY (CONTRACTS FOR BRIDGES).

Address for "Return of the names of the British and American firms who tendered for the erection of bridges for the Uganda Railway, and the amounts of the various tenders."—(*Mr. Cremer.*)

ROYAL PATRIOTIC FUND.

Address for Return for (1) Account of the Net Moneys or Securities paid over or transferred to the Commissioners of the Royal Patriotic Fund on behalf of and for the relief of the Families, or Near Dependents, of the Officers and Men of Her Majesty's Forces, including the Colonial troops, who have lost their lives in, or in consequence of, the war operations in South Africa; (2) Schedule of the Widows, Children, or Near Dependents, or other Cestui-que-trusts, ascertainable up to date, entitled to benefit under such Scheme, and the amounts and conditions of their relief in the following form:—

Schedule of Beneficiaries.

Name and rank of husband, father, or deceased.	Name of Widow.	Amount of allowance or other relief.	Names of Children.	Dates of their births.	Amount of allowance.	Name of other Cestui-que-Trusts.

—(*Mr. Kearley.*)

QUESTIONS.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—SOLDIERS DEPENDENTS AND GOVERNMENT SITUATIONS.

MR. KEARLEY (Devonport): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether Her Majesty's Government, in appointing to vacancies in the various Government departments, would preferentially consider the cases of the dependents of officers and soldiers who had been killed in action or died from wounds or disease contracted on active service, before selecting other candidates for clerkships, typewriterships, and messengerships in the public service.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): Other things being equal, any appointed authority would be anxious to find suitable employment for the dependents of men who have died in the service of their country. But, of course, I cannot hold out the possibility of upsetting the basis on which appointments throughout the service generally rest.

MR. MERRIMAN'S LETTER.

MR. PIRIE (Aberdeen, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he can state, without detriment to the public interests, why no reparation can be made to Mr. Merriman for the want of consideration shown to him in withholding from him any opportunity of passing observations on his letter published in August by Her Majesty's Government.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN, Birmingham, W.): I am not aware that Mr. Merriman has suffered any injury, and I do not see that any reparation is required.

MR. PIRIE: Is it intended to remove in any way the impression in the public mind——

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

MR. PIRIE: Then I shall call attention to this matter to-morrow.

"SEAT SOLD TO THE BOERS" INCIDENT—MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S TELEGRAM.

MR. COURTENAY WARNER (Staffordshire, Lichfield): With reference to the speech which the Colonial Secretary made in the House and in which he said that a mistake had been made in coding the telegram and the words "sold to the Boers" had been substituted for "gained by the Boers," may I ask the right hon. Gentleman if his attention has been called to a statement in the *Civil Service Times* as follows—

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Member cannot read the paper.

MR. COURTENAY WARNER: The statement is that the right hon. Gentleman's memory had failed him. [Cries of "Order!"]

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member must not put such a statement forward on the authority of a newspaper.

MR. COURTENAY WARNER: Is the statement true?

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I shall be glad to have an opportunity of replying to the question which the hon. Gentleman wished to put to me, because it evidently is calculated to cause misapprehension. Whatever may have been said outside the House to a contrary effect is certainly the result of misinformation. The statement I made was that I applied to the postmaster, and the postmaster admitted that a mistake had been made in the office, and no doubt the orginal telegram was in the office. That is the fact. A mistake was made in the office. If I had had notice I would have brought down the letter of the postmaster and read it to the House.

LORD ROBERTS'S PROCLAMATIONS.

MR. CHANNING (Northamptonshire, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether any of the proclamations issued by Lord Roberts, besides the proclamations of annexation of the two Republics, were drawn up in this country and issued by Lord Roberts on the instructions of the War Office or the Colonial Office; and, if so, which of the proclamations issued as a Parliamentary Paper were drawn up in this country.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): I cannot answer that question in detail, but I may say that Her Majesty's Government accept full responsibility for all Lord Roberts's proclamations.

MR. CHANNING asked a supplementary question, which was inaudible in the Gallery.

PROGRESS OF THE WAR—THE NOOITGEDACHT REVERSE.

SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT (Sheffield, Ecclesall): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is in a position to give the House any further information with regard to a mishap at Magaliesberg, and whether he can state whether the four companies of the Northumberland Fusiliers have been captured, and to what battalion they belonged.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): Will the Secretary of State say whether this is guerilla warfare, or actual warfare?

*MR. BRODRICK: I have communicated to the papers the whole of the information received from Lord Kitchener with regard to the action in question. We have no reason to suppose from anything Lord Kitchener has said that any troops have been captured. We only know we have to regret the loss by death of four British officers.

HIRE OF TRANSPORTS.

MR. ALFRED DAVIES (Carmarthen Boroughs): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he can give the lowest and highest prices paid per ton for the hire of transports during the African war, the names of the steamers, their owners, size, speed performed, and the dates on which they were chartered.

THE CIVIL LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Captain PRETYMAN, Suffolk, Woodbridge): It would be quite impossible to give the information asked for by the hon. Member within the limits of an answer to a question without running the risk of giving a misleading impression, but if the hon. Member will call at the Admiralty every endeavour will be made to give him the information he desires.

WAR OFFICE ADMINISTRATION—APPORTIONMENT OF RESPONSIBILITY.

MR. YERBURGH (Chester): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can state who is responsible for advising the Secretary of State as to the Military requirements of a probable campaign; and, whether such advice is voluntarily tendered, or does it await inquiry by the Secretary of State.

The following questions on the same subject were also asked:—

COLONEL WELBY (Taunton): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether, by the memorandum showing the duties of the principal officers of the War Office, dated 7th March, 1899, the Secretary of State or the Commander-in-Chief is held responsible for the Military efficiency and preparedness for war of our Military forces.

COLONEL WELBY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the Commander-in-Chief, who is charged with the collection and compilation of military information, and has in his department the Director of Military Intelligence, who deals with the collection and distribution of information relating to the military geography, resources, and armed forces of foreign countries and of the British Colonies and possessions, was responsible for an efficient military survey of those parts of the frontiers of Natal and Cape Colony presumably likely to become a theatre of war in case of invasion by the Transvaal or Orange Free State; or whether the Secretary of State for War was responsible for the authorising and making of that survey.

COLONEL WELBY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the Adjutant-General who is charged with the military education and training of the officers, warrant officers, non-commissioned officers, and men of the Regular and Reserve forces and Militia of the United Kingdom was responsible to the Secretary of State for War, or to the Commander-in-Chief, that the military training and education of those who sailed from this country for the South African war were efficient.

*MR. BRODRICK: No change has taken place in the responsibility of the Secretary of State for War to Parliament for the military efficiency and preparedness for war of our military forces. The Commander-in-Chief is the chief military adviser of the Secretary of State, and has the general supervision of all military departments of the War Office. All orders to the Army, whatever department they affect, are submitted to and signed by him. It is the duty of the Commander-in-Chief to tender any advice which he thinks necessary for the proper conduct of a campaign.

COLONEL WELBY: Was the Commander-in-Chief or the Secretary of State responsible for the survey referred to in my second question?

*MR. BRODRICK: That point is covered by the answer I have given.

COLONEL WELBY: Will the right hon. Gentleman explain in what way?

*MR. BRODRICK: I am responsible to Parliament, and the Commander-in-Chief is responsible for the Army. My hon. and gallant friend must adjust any responsibility which he thinks may result with one or the other according to this statement.

COLONEL WELBY: But who was responsible for the military surveying of Natal and Cape Colony? Am I to take it it was the Secretary for War?

*MR. BRODRICK: The responsibility to Parliament rests with the Secretary for War, and I shall not endeavour to divest myself of any portion of it.

WAR OFFICE ADMINISTRATION—SUPERANNUATION REGULATIONS.

CAPTAIN NORTON (Newington, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is able to communicate to the House the steps which he has taken, or proposes to take, in reference to the reconstruction of the military and civil departments of the War Office, in accordance with the recommendations of the Committee presided over by the Financial Secretary to the War Office; and whether he will accelerate the superannuation of officials who have already reached the age of sixty years and completed forty years service.

*MR. BRODRICK: I am giving this subject close consideration, but am not in a position to make a statement. There are seven members of the higher division civil department of the War Office over sixty years of age. Three of them retire within a few months.

ARTILLERY FOR SOUTH AFRICA—PURCHASES ABROAD.

Mr. YERBURGH: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether any batteries of artillery have been procured from abroad for use in South Africa; if so, how many, and whether such batteries are uniform in any respect with those in the service; and whether he can state how many different kinds of artillery have been employed in South Africa.

*Mr. BRODRICK: One battery of howitzers was purchased abroad of a different type to the other howitzers in the service. Sixteen different types of ordnance were employed in South Africa. Three of these were naval guns, and two were supplied from private sources to Volunteers.

Mr. YERBURGH: Was that the only battery purchased abroad?

*Mr. BRODRICK: Yes, for use in South Africa.

DECEASED SOLDIERS' EFFECTS AND DEFERRED PAY.

Mr. LOUIS SINCLAIR (Essex, Romford): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he will cause an inquiry to be made in the case of the widow of Private J. Hasler, of 2nd Somerset Light Infantry, who died of enteric fever at Kimberley 9th November (Mrs. Hasler wrote on 16th November to the commanding officer of the said regiment asking for the effects and deferred pay of the said J. Hasler, but no reply has been vouchsafed to her); and whether the Secretary of State for War will expedite matters so that Mrs. Hasler and her two children are not compelled to go to the workhouse.

*Mr. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS (Birmingham, S.): I have no information as to the case, but will be very glad to make inquiry into it.

WAR GRATUITIES.

Sir HERBERT MAXWELL (Wigtonshire): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the gratuities granted to officers and men of the Army for war service in South Africa will be extended to include those Militia battalions which, having volunteered for active service, have been employed in garrison duty abroad during the war.

*Mr. BRODRICK: The gratuity will only be issued to the officers and men, whether Imperial or colonial, who have served in the South African command from the 10th October, 1899, to such date as may hereafter be notified in Army Orders.

SOLDIERS' AND SAILORS' ASSOCIATION—LOCAL FUNDS.

Mr. CHANNING: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he is aware that many of the local funds of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Association are exhausted, or nearly exhausted, with the result of serious reduction in the help given to the wives and children of men at the front; and whether Her Majesty's Government will now make provision from the Treasury to meet these cases.

*Mr. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: I understand that the Soldiers' and Sailors' Association are making great efforts to maintain their grants. The Government grant to the married women is 1s. 1d. a day separation allowance, with 2d. for each child, while the allotment of pay by the soldier amounts to 4d., and a further 1d. a day for each child up to 6d. In the case of men in public employ before the war began the wife is granted half wages. Her Majesty's Government do not think it desirable to ask Parliament to raise the provision further from public funds.

ENGLISH PURCHASES OF ARTILLERY IN GERMANY.

Sir HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if his attention has been called to the statement, on 12th December, of Baron von Richthofen, the Imperial German Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, that a large number of field batteries of German guns have been ordered by the British War Office of the Rhenish Machine and Metal Goods Company, and that the Imperial Government had stopped the further execution of the order until the guns were no longer needed; whether he will state what steps were taken by the War Office to ascertain if similar guns could be made in Sheffield or elsewhere in the United Kingdom or British Empire under royalty or other business arrangements as to patents; and whether, having regard to the danger of being dependent upon foreign manufacturers, controlled by foreign Governments, for munitions of war, he will encourage industrial enterprise and the laying down of the necessary plant in the Queen's Dominions by a guarantee that the Government will place its orders with its own taxpayers and not with foreigners.

*MR. BRODRICK: Yes, Sir. I have seen the statement. Early this year it became necessary to give large additional orders for field guns for early delivery. The ordnance factories and the only gunmaking firms in the United Kingdom received orders for more field guns and carriages than they could execute within the current year, and an order, about equivalent to that given to each English firm, was placed in Germany a month later. The ordnance factories have at this date completed their order. The German firm has delivered the whole order and the guns are available for issue; one of the English firms has delivered one-third of the order, and the other has delivered nothing at all. The Government have every desire to give priority to British manufactures. Every encouragement has been given to gunmaking firms in this country to lay down plant by giving orders to the value of several millions sterling, and I will take care that everything is done which foresight can suggest to secure continuity of orders. But in view of the figures quoted above and the absolute necessity of securing prompt delivery, I can give no guarantee that orders will not be placed abroad when the public interest requires it.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: Was the delivery of batteries ordered in Germany stopped by the German Government?

*MR. BRODRICK: No, on the contrary, they were received here, but, unfortunately, the batteries which ought to have been delivered by English firms were not delivered. As I read the speech of the German Secretary of State, an order was issued to stop further delivery, but the guns had been delivered.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON (Dundee): Can the Return of warlike material purchased abroad which was refused earlier on grounds of public policy now be given?

*MR. BRODRICK: Possibly it might be given at the close of the year, or some convenient date. Of course, it will take some time to prepare, as a certain amount of research will be required.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS (Carnarvonshire, Eifion): Is there any objection to giving the names of the contractors who failed to fulfil their contracts?

*MR. BRODRICK: I would rather not give the names now; I am having investigation made in reference to each factory and case of non-delivery. It may be necessary to take further steps.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Was it since the Anglo-German Convention was entered into that these guns were stopped?

MILITARY TOURNAMENT OF 1900—APPORTIONMENT OF PROFITS—ALDERSHOT SWIMMING BATH.

MAJOR RASCH (Essex, Chelmsford): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the profits of the Military Tournament for 1900 amounted to £7,600 and were paid to the Commander-in-Chief in July; whether £2,000 of this amount was allocated for a swimming bath at Aldershot; and, if so, will he explain why this expense should not fall on the Estimates instead of on funds hitherto available for military charities.

*MR. BRODRICK: The profits amounted to £7,500. The disposal of the moneys rests entirely with the Commander-in-Chief, and Lord Wolseley considered it expedient to spend £4,000 on the soldiers' swimming bath at Aldershot.

MAJOR RASCH: Why should not this fall on the Estimates?

*MR. BRODRICK: I am not entirely cognisant of the precise amount of demand there was for the swimming bath, but I presume Lord Wolseley considered it was a purpose to which these funds were applicable.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB (Great Yarmouth): Is Lord Wolseley or the Secretary of State responsible for this?

*Mr. BRODRICK: I do not know whether the Secretary of State has any power over the Military Tournament which is not held under the statutes under which the War Office is conducted. It has been conducted by the Commander-in-Chief; the proceeds are administered by him, and applied to such purposes as he considers desirable for the Army.

Mr. PAULTON (Durham, Bishop Auckland): Has the Secretary of State authority to see that a swimming bath is provided at Aldershot?

General LAURIE (Pembroke and Haverfordwest): In whom does the title to the swimming bath rest?

*Mr. BRODRICK: I presume it rests with the Crown, like other property administered by the War Office.

ROYAL ARTILLERY LIEUTENANCIES.

Mr. NEWDIGATE (Warwickshire, Nuneaton): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is aware that there are at present in the Royal Artillery only 130 first lieutenants serving as against 435 second lieutenants; whether the second lieutenants in question often have to perform the duty of first lieutenants, but only receive second lieutenant's pay; and whether the military authorities will now be willing to alter the rule which precludes second lieutenants in the Royal Artillery and Engineers from receiving promotion till they have served for three years in the Army, whereas no such rule is in force as regards cavalry and infantry.

*Mr. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: In the horse, field, and garrison artillery there are 221 first lieutenants and 808 second lieutenants. The first and second lieutenants perform the same duties. It is, however, manifestly of importance that the senior subalterns who frequently perform captains' duties should have higher rank. The question of the promotion of second lieutenants, referred to in the third paragraph, is under consideration.

1st GORDON HIGHLANDERS VOLUNTEER CORPS.

Dr. FARQUHARSON (Aberdeenshire, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can state the finding of a court of inquiry assembled to investigate certain statements recently made with reference to the alleged use of abusive language to the Volunteer Corps 1st Gordon Highlanders at Lemiston, on 3rd July, by an officer of that battalion.

*Mr. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: No detailed report of the court of inquiry which Lord Roberts ordered to assemble has yet reached the War Office. Lord Roberts, however, stated in a telegram that from the evidence of the court he considered that the words of the officer had been grossly misrepresented, and that the reprimand administered by the officer commanding the battalion was necessary.

MILITIAMEN'S CLOTHING.

Mr. COURTENAY WARNER: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he will state what has been done in reference to improving the clothing of Militiamen of those battalions serving in the United Kingdom or abroad who, being embodied, have the same duties as Regulars to perform, but have up to the present had inferior clothing to the Regulars.

*Mr. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: The clothing of the Militiaman differs in scale, but not in quality, from that of the Regular soldier. During embodiment the Militia have been allowed to retain time-expired garments for fatigue duties, and to condemn and replace with new garments those considered by a board of officers to be in bad condition, though not time-expired. The whole question of Militia clothing is under consideration.

*Mr. COURTENAY WARNER: What is the meaning of "scale"? Is it a difference between the cloth and serge?

*Mr. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: The meaning is that the garments issued are precisely the same.

PIERSHILL BARRACKS, EDINBURGH.

*Mr. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether his attention has been called to the nature of the hospital accommodation at Piershill Barracks, Jock's Lodge, near Edinburgh; and will he give instructions for better arrangements to be made for the comfort of the patients, and arrange for the medical officers to be supplied with modern surgical instruments.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: The accommodation in this hospital is considered ample—twenty-seven beds constitute the normal provision for an establishment of 447 soldiers in barracks, and thirty-two beds are provided in this case. The surgical instruments are of a modern pattern, and can readily be supplemented from the district equipment store. No complaints have been received as to the comfort and welfare of the patients. The buildings are in a satisfactory condition.

*MR. WEIR: I shall take an early opportunity of calling attention to this matter, and of moving a reduction of the salary of the official concerned.

INSPECTION OF FORTIFICATIONS—GRIEVANCES OF CIVIL STAFF.

MR. PIRIE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he has received a memorial from the civil staff of the department of the Inspector General of Fortifications drawing attention to their treatment and praying for a redress of their grievances; whether the memorial was recommended to the Secretary of State's consideration by General Sir Richard Harrison and other military officers under whom the petitioners had served; and whether any reply has been, or will be, sent to the Inspector General.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: The memorial will receive consideration, with the general question of War Office organisation.

WAR OFFICE—SECOND DIVISION CLERKS.

CAPTAIN NORTON: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he will favourably reconsider the cases of assistant clerks and abstractors who had been recommended for advancement to vacant clerkships of the Second Division of the War Office by the principal clerks in charge of their respective branches, and whose recommendations had not been acted upon.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: Only so recently as August last six promotions by selection were made from twenty-four eligible clerks of this class to the position of second division clerk. The question of further promotions will be considered.

CAPTAIN NORTON: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury have declined to approve of the promotion to the higher division of the Civil Service of second division clerks serving in the War Office on the ground that the men recommended had attained the age of forty years; whether he could hold out any hope of the rule in question being rescinded; and whether their Lordships would reconsider the cases of second division clerks who had already suffered in consequence of the operation of the forty years rule at the War Office.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am assured that there is no general rule of the service fixing a limit of age above which a clerk of the second division cannot be appointed to the first division. The recommendation in each case is in the discretion of the head of the department when a vacancy occurs. At the same time it must be taken into account that the first consideration is the fitness of candidates for the duties to be done, and it is obvious that as a man advances in middle life he becomes less qualified for the post of junior clerk.

WAR OFFICE CONTRACTS IN BELFAST—WAGES RATES.

MR. KEIR HARDIE (Merthyr Tydvil): Has it come to the knowledge of the Government that Messrs. Wilson and Co., of Belfast, who are engaged on a War Office contract, have reduced the wages of their men from 32s. to 22s.; that those who refused the lower sum have been dismissed; that their places have been filled with unskilled labour, and is not this a violation of the conditions under which the contract was given out?

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: I have only just received notice of this question, but I will make further inquiry into the new allegations, which, I believe, are made under a misapprehension.

MR. KEIR HARDIE: I will repeat the question to-morrow.

*MR. POWELL-WILLIAMS: That will not give me time to make inquiries at Belfast.

WAR OFFICE CONTRACT DEPARTMENT REORGANISATION.

*MR. FABER (York): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether it is proposed to reorganise the Contract Department of the War Office, in consequence of the investigations of the Select Committee.

*MR. BRODRICK: I am afraid I cannot at present answer any questions of this kind. The whole subject of War Office organisation is under consideration.

CITY IMPERIAL VOLUNTEERS—LACK OF EMPLOYMENT FOR RETURNED MEN.

MR. KEIR HARDIE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether his attention has been called to the complaint of members of the City Imperial Volunteers who now find it impossible to find employment, and whether the War Office proposes taking any action in the matter.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: I am not aware that such is the case, but I believe that those who left employment to serve abroad have been received back by their employers.

VOLUNTEERS—FURTHER DRAFTS FOR SOUTH AFRICA.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if the condition of affairs in South Africa remains such as to postpone the return of the Volunteers, Imperial Yeomen, Militia, and married Reservists until far into the new year, whether he will consider the desirability of making a further appeal to the Volunteer force for drafts to take the place of such of the 10,000 members of that force still at the seat of war, who may find themselves compelled to take their discharge if possible, either by sickness, or the calls of their civil occupation in the United Kingdom.

*MR. BRODRICK: I should wish to consult Lord Roberts on this question before arriving at a decision.

COMPENSATION FOR SHORT RATIONS.

MR. EUGENE WASON (Clackmannan and Kinross): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether any compensation is given to troops during a campaign when they have short rations in lieu of the rations which are ordinarily issued.

*MR. BRODRICK: No, Sir. There is no regulation granting compensation in such a case, nor is it apparent on what principles such compensation could be granted. The only remedy seems to be a more liberal treatment of the soldier when supplies are available. This is left entirely to the discretion of the General Officers commanding, whose first object is the well-being of the troops.

COST OF TELEGRAPHING CASUALTIES.

*MR. SOAMES (Norfolk, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is aware that the officers in command of battalions in South Africa have frequently been put to great expense in telegraphing the news of the deaths of soldiers to their relations after actions in the war; and whether the Government propose to refund such sums of money.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: No, Sir. I have not heard of such cases. The deaths of soldiers have all been communicated from the seat of war to the War Office at the public expense and forthwith published. Any direct communications from the officers commanding battalions to the relations of the soldiers are of the nature of private messages, and would not be a charge on public funds.

BRITISH TROOPS FROM INDIA FOR SOUTH AFRICA AND CHINA SERVICE.

*MR. FABER: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he will state what is the total number of British troops withdrawn from India for service in South Africa and China; and whether men of more than eight years colour service have been retained in India.

*MR. BRODRICK: The number of British troops withdrawn from India for service in South Africa amounts to about 8,500 and in China to about 450. Men of over eight years service are detained in India under the terms of the Royal Proclamation.

MR. CAINE (Cornwall, Camborne): May I ask whether a number of Indian troops have not been stationed at Mauritius and other places to relieve British soldiers now serving in South Africa?

*MR. BRODRICK: Those are Indian and not British troops, and they are paid for by the War Office.

ENTERIC FEVER—INOCULATION, ETC.—STATISTICS.

Mr. EUGENE WASON: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can now give to the House any particulars of the number of soldiers who were inoculated against enteric and who have died from that disease; and whether, in any case, it has been proved that inoculation has in any degree mitigated the severity of the disease.

*Mr. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: No, Sir. I am afraid that statistics for the war in South Africa are not yet available.

MORTALITY AMONG HORSES IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN CAMPAIGN.

Colonel WELBY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can see his way to publish a Return of the number of horses purchased for the South African campaign, showing the countries where they were bought, the average price paid, and the number that died in transport to the Cape; also a Return showing the number of horses belonging to the forces in South Africa at different times during the war, and the death casualties that occurred amongst them.

*Mr. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: I am afraid such a Return must wait for a time till we have done purchasing, and have fuller information from South Africa.

LOSS OF THE "MEXICAN"—SOLDIERS' REMITTANCES.

Sir JAMES FERGUSSON (Manchester, N.E.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, whether certain remittances of money from soldiers serving in South Africa, through the Post Office, were lost in the wreck of the steamer "Mexican;" whether, though more than six months have since elapsed, those sums have not been recovered; and what reason exists for that difficulty.

The FINANCIAL SECRETARY to the TREASURY (Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E.): It is the case that many letters containing remittances from soldiers serving in South Africa were lost in the wreck of the "Mexican." So far as these remittances consisted of money orders and postal orders, duplicates have been issued in all cases in which proof of sending could be supplied. It is believed that the banknotes sent in registered letters have been made good by the banks. A certain amount of coin remitted is actually lost. The Cape Government, which provided the sea conveyance, does not accept responsibility for such losses; but the Postmaster General has undertaken certain legal proceedings, which, if successful, may possibly enable him to replace some portion of the lost coin and give compensation for other valuable articles lost in the mails.

HONG KONG DEFENCES.

Mr. COURTENAY WARNER: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he can say what is being done towards putting Hong Kong in a proper state of defence, especially the arming of the forts with modern breech-loading guns, providing the Volunteers with breech-loading guns, and providing smokeless ammunition.

*Mr. BRODRICK: The re-armament of Hong Kong is making steady progress, but it would not be expedient to give any details.

CROMARTY FIRTH—NAVAL STATIONS.

Mr. WEIR: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he is aware that there is excellent anchorage for Her Majesty's Fleet in Cromarty Firth opposite the towns of Invergordon and Cromarty, Ross-shire; and, in view of the fact that no such good anchorage or shelter is available for the fleet elsewhere on the east coast of Scotland, will he consider the expediency of fortifying the two headlands known as the Sutors at the entrance to the Firth.

Captain PRETYMAN: The anchorage in Cromarty Firth is well known as a good one, but is not superior to other anchorages in Scottish waters. The question of fortifications must be considered as a whole by the Admiralty and War Office.

H.M.S. "THUNDERER'S" GUNS.

*Sir CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): I beg to ask the representative of the Admiralty if the recent breakdown of the guns of H.M.S. "Thunderer" has been investigated; and, if so, with what result.

CAPTAIN PRETYMAN: The facts relating to the explosion in question have been referred to the Ordnance Committee for opinion, but no reply has yet been received.

ROYAL NAVAL CHIEF GUNNERS—VACANCIES.

COMMANDER YOUNG (Berkshire, Wokingham): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury, as representing the First Lord of the Admiralty, if he can state when the two vacancies in the chief gunners, Royal Navy, list are likely to be filled up; and whether, in future, vacancies occurring in the chief warrant officers' ranks will be filled up by the Admiralty with the same promptitude as occurs when vacancies take place in the Admirals' and other lists of the Royal Navy.

CAPTAIN PRETYMAN: The merits of the gunners eligible for promotion are under consideration, and replies are awaited to references that have been made respecting their qualifications. With the exception of flag vacancies, the executive lists are not necessarily filled as vacancies occur, but no delay takes place in making promotions.

FRANCE AND SUBMARINE BOATS.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the attention of the Admiralty has been called to the provision for eighteen additional submarine boats said to be contained in the new French naval programme; and whether there has been any modification in the policy of the Admiralty in this matter.

CAPTAIN PRETYMAN: The provision of additional submarine boats in the new French naval programme has received the attention of the Admiralty. A statement will be made on the subject when the Estimates are laid before Parliament.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: Have any experiments been made or are any to be made by the Admiralty?

CAPTAIN PRETYMAN: I cannot say.

WEST INDIA DOCK NAVAL STORE AND DEPTFORD VICTUALLING YARD—EMPLOYEES.

CAPTAIN NORTON: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether his attention has been drawn to the number of men who have left the West India Dock Naval Store and Deptford Victualling Yard since March 31st, 1899, in consequence of the conditions under which they are employed; and whether he will cause inquiry to be made into this matter.

CAPTAIN PRETYMAN: There has been no abnormal change in the usual numbers of men joining and leaving the Naval departments referred to, and consequently there are no circumstances which call for any special action on the part of the Admiralty. All complaints by the men put forward in the recognised manner will naturally receive the careful attention of the Board.

CAPTAIN NORTON: If I furnish the hon. Gentleman with a statement showing that the information furnished to him is incorrect, will he reconsider his answer?

CAPTAIN PRETYMAN: Anything the hon. Member forwards will have careful consideration.

PEMBROKE DOCK.

GENERAL LAURIE: I beg to ask the Civil Lord of the Admiralty, of which private notice has been given, what is the reason for the delay in the completion of the Carr Rocks Jetty at Pembroke Dockyard; whether any means can be adopted to expedite the work, as it is understood the facilities the jetty will afford will materially reduce the time required for completion of, as well as the cost of fitting out, vessels at Pembroke.

CAPTAIN PRETYMAN: The Admiralty are so dissatisfied with the rate of progress at which this work is being executed by the contractors that special measures are being taken to deal with the situation.

COMMISSIONS TO PROMOTED BLUE-JACKET BOYS.

MR. HERBERT LEWIS (Flint Boroughs): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether his attention has been drawn to a recent statement by Lord Charles Beresford that during the last twenty years only three commissions have been offered to Naval men who entered service as bluejacket boys; and whether the Government intend to take any steps to remedy this state of things.

CAPTAIN PRETYMAN: The statement as to the number of men promoted to commissioned rank during the period referred to is correct. The question of such promotions is one to which the Admiralty have given much attention, and though no bar has been placed upon the promotion of deserving men, the great difficulties surrounding the question have limited the number made.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR NAVAL ADMINISTRATION.

MR. HERBERT LEWIS: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the First Lord of the Admiralty is solely responsible to the country for the efficiency of naval administration, or whether his responsibility is shared to any, and, if so, what extent with the Naval Lords.

CAPTAIN PRETYMAN: The First Lord of the Admiralty is responsible to Her Majesty and Parliament for all the business of the Admiralty, but all members of the Board are necessarily concerned by virtue of the Royal Patent under which they act in the efficient administration of the Navy.

CHINA—ANGLO-GERMAN AGREEMENT—SPHERES OF INTEREST.

MR. YERBURGH: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the Anglo-German Agreement nullifies the agreement of the 2nd September, 1898, made between the representatives of certain British and German corporations, defining the respective spheres of interest of Great Britain and Germany as regards railway concessions; and, if not, whether such agreement applies only to the parties immediately concerned in it, or whether it represents an understanding arrived at by the Governments of Great Britain and Germany; and whether the Anglo German Agreement in any way affects the agreement of the 28th April, 1899, between Great Britain and Russia defining the respective spheres of each country for railway concessions.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Viscount CRANBORNE, Rochester): The agreement of the 2nd September, 1898, between the British and German syndicates was concluded with the cognisance and approval of the two Governments, and is in no way prejudiced by the Anglo-German Agreement of the 16th October last. The answer to the second question is in the negative.

CHINA—TERMS OF SETTLEMENT.

SIR E. ASHMEAD BARTLETT: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he is in a position to inform the House as to the terms of a settlement in China, and especially as to whether the Chinese Sovereigns are about to return to Pekin.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Her Majesty's Government hope the cases to be determined before negotiations can be entered upon are on the point of being agreed upon by the Powers. I have no information as to the last part of my hon. friend's question.

EAST AFRICA PROTECTORATE—TRADE STATISTICS.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he is aware that the Report of the Trade of the East Africa Protectorate for the year ending 31st March, 1900, does not show the approximate tonnage of the imports and exports; and will he consider the advisability of arranging for this information to be given in future Reports.

VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: The attention of the Commissioner will be called to the matter, and he will be instructed to arrange that the desired information is included in next year's Report.

BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA PROTECTORATE—NYASA RAILWAY.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he is aware that Commissioner Sharpe, in his Report on the British Central Africa Protectorate for the year ending 31st March, strongly urges the construction of the proposed Nyasa Railway, especially the portion between Chiromo and Blantyre; and in view of the fact that the imports for the

Protectorate show an increase of £69,551 17s. 4d. over the previous year, and the exports an increase of £41,383 14s. 7d., will he state whether the Government have yet determined to construct the proposed railway at an early date.

VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: The answer to the first paragraph of the question is in the affirmative. With regard to the second paragraph Her Majesty's Government have noted the gratifying increase in the trade returns, but the answer to the question must be in the negative.

NICARAGUA CANAL.

MR. NORMAN (Wolverhampton, S.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether Her Majesty's Government has any reason to believe that other European Governments would agree to regard as neutral a ship canal in Central America occupied and fortified by the United States Government; whether Her Majesty's Government has reason to believe that the Republic of Nicaragua accepts the view expressed by the United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, that the relationship between the United States and Nicaragua is analagous to that between Turkey and Egypt at the time of the construction of the Suez Canal, namely, the relationship between suzerain and vassal; and whether Her Majesty's Government understands that the United States Government associates itself with the protocol signed by all the Great Powers of Europe at the London Conference on 13th March, 1871, to the effect that it is an essential part of the law of nations that no Power can liberate itself from the engagements of a Treaty except with the assent of the contracting parties, by means of an amicable arrangement.

VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: With regard to the first paragraph of the question no communication whatever has passed between Her Majesty's Government and other European Governments upon the subject. We think that no useful purpose will be served by dealing with paragraphs 2 and 3 at the present moment.

SUGAR BOUNTIES.

COLONEL MILWARD (Warwickshire, Stratford-on-Avon): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he can give the House any information as to the Conference recently held in Paris to further the abolition of the sugar bounties; and whether Her Majesty's Government adheres to the statement of policy contained in the instructions to the British delegates at the Brussels Conference, 1898, that it is the earnest desire of Her Majesty's Government to secure the suppression of all bounties on sugar, which they consider to be prejudicial to the general interests of the British Empire.

VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: Her Majesty's Government have not been officially informed of what passed at the recent meeting at Paris between representatives of the French Government and delegates of Germany and Austria-Hungary. Her Majesty's Government still adhere to the statement of policy referred to by the hon. and gallant Member.

UGANDA RAILWAY BRIDGES.

SIR ALFRED HICKMAN (Wolverhampton, W.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he will take steps to insure that tests of the materials to be used in the Uganda bridges shall be made, and that there shall be a thorough inspection of the bridges when erected at makers' works before being sent away, in the same manner as would be the case if the bridges were made in this country; whether he has seen a book published by Professor Vose, the eminent American engineer, entitled "Bridge Disasters in America"; and, whether he is aware that on the average about twenty bridges break down in that country every year.

VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: The materials and work on the Uganda viaducts will be inspected in the same way as if they were built in England, and by an English engineer of large experience in ironwork. Inasmuch as the contractors have undertaken the erection of the bridges *in situ*, it is not probable that they will erect the girders in their yard in America in the same way as is customary for bridges in this country where the conditions are commonplace. We have no information as to the circumstances under which the failures mentioned in the question have taken place, but the risks referred to were no doubt carefully considered. In the present instance the bridges have been designed in England.

MR. BARTLEY (Islington, N.): Will there be any inquiry to see that these contractors pay the trades' union scale of wages, as British firms have to do?

[No answer was given.]

REVISION OF TENDERS FOR GOVERNMENT WORKS—UGANDA RAILWAY BRIDGE TENDERS.

MR. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether there is any rule in the Foreign Office precluding the department from affording contractors an opportunity of revising their tenders, and whether such rule is as invariably observed as it was in the recent case of the British and American firms who tendered for the erection of bridges for the Uganda Railway.

VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: I stated yesterday what the practice in respect of asking firms to revise their tenders has hitherto been. We do not think it possible to depart from this practice as a general rule. Whether this rule should invariably be observed is a matter for consideration. I need not say that the Government would be very glad if they were able to place their work with British firms with due regard to economy and rapidity of delivery.

MR. CREMER: Then there is no such rule in connection with the Foreign Office?

VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: Practically not.

TURKISH LOAN CONVERSION CONVENTION.

MR. PIERPOINT (Warrington): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether any, and, if any, what progress has been made regarding the Conversion of the Turkish 1855 Guaranteed (Crimean) Loan, as to which a Convention was signed in August, 1898, or whether the Convention has entirely lapsed.

VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: The negotiations on this subject are still suspended. I am unable to make any further statement in regard to them.

CIUDAD BOLIVAR—MURDER OF MR. LYALL.

MR. PIKE PEASE (Darlington): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the murderer of Mr. James Lyall, Vice Consul at Ciudad Bolivar, has been tried; and, if so, with what result; and whether Her Majesty's Government will consider the question of compensating Mr. Lyall's family.

VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: According to the latest accounts received from Caracas in the course of the present month the trial of Mr. Lyall's murderer was still proceeding. Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires, in accordance with his instructions, has not failed to impress continually upon the Venezuelan Government the interest with which this case is watched by Her Majesty's Government, and the attention which it has attracted in this country. Further steps in this matter are at present under consideration. The question of compensation to Mr. Lyall's family cannot be considered until the trial is concluded.

FLINTSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL AND GOVERNMENT BLUE BOOKS.

MR. HERBERT LEWIS: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether a copy of certain correspondence relating to China was sent by the Foreign Office to the clerk of the Flintshire County Council during the autumn of this year; and whether there is any precedent for sending to county councils despatches relating to Foreign affairs.

VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: I have no information of any correspondence relating to China having been communicated to the clerk of the Flintshire County Council, but if the hon. Member will give further particulars I will make inquiries.

MR. HERBERT LEWIS: I will forward the noble Lord the information he asks for.

FIJI.

MR. CATHCART WASON (Orkney and Shetland): I beg to ask a question of which I have given private notice—namely, to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, in view of the irritation caused in New Zealand by a speech alleged to have been made by the Governor of Fiji to the natives, the Government will call upon the Governor of Fiji for some explanation.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I telegraphed on the 30th November to ascertain if the statement attributed to the Governor of Fiji was correctly reported. As there is no cable communication between Sydney and Fiji, it will probably be some time yet before an answer can reach me.

ALIEN IMMIGRATION.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade if he is aware that his predecessor announced, on the 10th of February, 1897, that Her Majesty's Government were pledged to some legislation regulating the immigration of aliens, upon the lines of Lord Salisbury's Bill of 1894, which has since passed the Upper House, and that the Government had no desire to depart from such pledges; and, if, having regard to the arrival at eastern ports between the 1st of January, 1897, and the 30th of November, 1900, of nearly 190,000 pauper aliens, exclusive of foreign sailors, for settlement in this country, upwards of fifty per cent. being Russians, Poles, and Italians, for the east end of London, and to the increase in the numbers of one-fourth this year, he will take steps to obtain the fulfilment of these promises, bearing especially in mind the hardships it would inflict upon the Reservists in South Africa if their places at home were taken by foreigners whilst they were fighting.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. GERALD BALFOUR, Leeds, Central): I am aware that my predecessor stated on 10th February, 1897, that the Government were pledged to some legislation on the subject of alien immigration. Between January 1st, 1897, and November 30th, 1900, about 190,000 aliens arrived in the United Kingdom from the Continent, exclusive of seamen and of persons stated on the Alien Lists to hold through tickets to other countries. The great majority of these aliens are, however, incorrectly described as "paupers," and there is no reason to suppose that the bulk of them settle permanently in this country, a considerable number being known, from other sources of information, to have subsequently proceeded abroad. The other figures stated in the question are correct. As my predecessor stated in answer to the hon. Member for Southampton on March 26th, the forthcoming census is likely to give more accurate information than is now available as regards the permanent residence here of aliens. I am not at present in a position to make any statement with respect to legislation.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: I beg to give notice that in the event of no legislation being proposed on this subject by the Government next session, I shall move an Amendment of the Address and divide the House upon it.

MR. KEIR HARDIE: Is it proposed to prohibit the importation under contract of foreign workers?

[No answer was given.]

MR. FORDE RIDLEY (Bethnal Green, S.W.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade if it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to introduce next session any legislation to place restrictions upon the immigration of pauper aliens.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: As I have already stated in my reply to my hon. and gallant friend the Member for the Central Division of Sheffield, I am not at present in a position to make any statement with respect to legislation on this subject.

SHUNTING OPERATIONS—WERNETT GOODS YARD, OLDHAM.

MR. SCHWANN (Manchester, N.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether his attention has been drawn to the dangerous character of shunting operations carried on at the Wernett Goods Yard, Oldham, situated in close proximity to a tunnel, in which the operation of hooking-off has to be performed, and in which the noise and smoke are so great as to prevent trains approaching from the other end of the tunnel on the opposite line being noticeable; and whether he would ascertain if the fixing of an automatic gong or bell would warn shunters of their danger in time and obviate risk to life and limb.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: No, Sir; but I will write to the railway company concerned, and thereafter communicate with the hon. Member.

BRITISH SEAMEN IN AMERICAN PORTS—"BLOOD-MONEY."

MR. TREVELYAN (Yorkshire, W.R., Elland): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether the Board have any information as to the demand for the payment of what is known as "blood-money" in respect of seamen shipped on British ships in Portland, Oregon; and whether such demand is in accordance with recent American shipping legislation.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: Yes, Sir. The Board of Trade have received several communications with regard to the exaction of what is known as "blood-money" at Portland, Oregon, and are in communition with the Foreign Office on the subject. I am not prepared at the present moment to say exactly to what extent the legality of these demands is affected by recent American legislation.

LUNATIC ASYLUM WARDERS' PENSIONS.

MR. ALFRED DAVIES: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether it is his intention in the ensuing session to legislate with a view to secure pensions to those permanently employed in public lunatic asylums.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. RITCHIE, Croydon): I cannot make any statement as to the possibility of legislation in the ensuing session on this matter.

PROTECTION OF ALBATROSSES.

MR. KEIR HARDIE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been directed to the torture of albatrosses by starvation, freezing, and strangling on passenger ships en route for Australia and elsewhere; and whether there exists any law for the protection of these birds.

MR. RITCHIE: No, Sir, my attention has not been drawn to the occurrences referred to. Though I am not in a position to say whether the Act would apply to the case, I may, perhaps, draw the hon. Member's notice to the Wild Animals in Captivity Protection Act of last session.

MR. KEIR HARDIE: Is the Act operative on board an outward bound British vessel?

MR. RITCHIE: The hon. Gentleman had better refer to the Act. He will there get more accurate information.

DETENTIONS IN GAOL AWAITING TRIAL.

MR. BRYNMOR JONES (Swansea District): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he is aware that a prisoner, tried and acquitted at the recent Chelmsford Assizes, had been detained in gaol awaiting trial for more than four months; and whether there is often undue delay in the trial of persons committed for trial at the assizes, and whether he will take steps to remedy such grievances.

MR. RITCHIE: My attention had not been previously called to the case to which the question refers, and there has not been time to ascertain the particulars of it. As to the second paragraph I must refer the hon. Member to an answer to a similar question given on July 23rd last by my hon. friend the Attorney General.*

DELETERIOUS MATTERS IN BEER.

MR. COURTENAY WARNER: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade if he intends to take some further action to stop the sale of poisonous beer, as fresh cases of poisoning are still being reported.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. LONG, Bristol, S.): My right hon. friend has asked me to reply to this question. The Local Government Board have no power to stop the sale of any particular beer, but I may state that there is reason for believing that the cases of illness which are now coming under observation for the first time are in the main those of persons who received the poison some time since.

MR. CHAPLIN (Lincolnshire, Sleaford): I beg to ask the President of the

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* See *The Parliamentary Debates* [Fourth Series], Vol. lxxxvi., page 875.

Local Government Board if he can state what steps have been taken to ascertain the facts with regard to the alleged poisoning by beer, into which an inquiry has been instituted by the Local Government Board; if he has yet received any information as to the number of persons who have been affected and the number of deaths which are alleged to have been caused by it; and, if not, whether he will make public the information obtained by the Local Government Board as early as may be after he receives it.

MR. LONG: As this matter has excited considerable public interest, perhaps I may be allowed to state somewhat fully the course which has been adopted with respect to it. As regards the steps which have been taken by the Local Government Board, I would repeat what was stated by my right hon. friend the First Lord of the Treasury on Tuesday last, namely, that from the first outbreak of the epidemic the Board have had the matter under observation. Dr. Buchanan, one of the most experienced of their medical inspectors, is visiting the places affected, and has been instructed to obtain all possible information on the subject, including the action taken by those interested in the breweries and manufactories of brewers' sugar concerned, and by the local authorities for detecting arsenic in beer or other substances, which contain chemically manufactured sugar. Moreover, an expert committee, consisting of Sir Lauder Brunton and Drs. Stevenson and Luff (the Analysts to the Home Office), Mr. Gordon Salamon, Dr. Buckley, and the hon. Gentleman the Member for the Launceston Division have made a careful investigation on behalf of the Manchester Brewers' Central Association. The brewers and manufacturers have given them every possible access to their premises and facilitated in every way their inspection and investigation. The Board's inspector has been in communication with members of the committee, and cordial co-operation and assistance have been rendered both to the committee and the inspector by the Medical Officers of Health for Manchester and Salford. The House may rest assured that everything practicable is being done to ascertain the facts. I am informed that the association has pledged itself to recall or destroy all beer in the brewing of which the implicated substances have been used, and that instructions to this effect have been sent to all the brewers of the association. The obtaining of information as to the number of persons who have been affected and the number of deaths alleged to have been caused forms part of Dr. Buchanan's inquiry, which is not yet complete. His report will be made public as early as practicable after its receipt. I may add that the Board have issued a circular to local authorities recommending them to cause samples to be analysed both of beer and of articles of food in which chemically manufactured sugars may enter.

KIRKDALE INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS.

MR. DAVID MACIVER (Liverpool, Kirkdale): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether the Kirkdale Industrial Schools, which have long been registered as a place of worship, and in which religious services are held four times weekly, are not, in common with all other charities in a like position, by reason of such registration entitled to claim the same exemption from local rating which is enjoyed by churches and places of worship generally.

MR. LONG: I presume that these schools are not exclusively used for public worship, and unless they are so used they would not appear to be entitled to the exemption to which my hon. friend refers.

MOTOR CARS—TRAFFIC REGULATIONS.

MR. ARTHUR WILSON (Yorkshire, E.R., Holderness): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether, having regard to the motor car accidents that have taken place, Her Majesty's Government will take steps to provide for the safety of the public by framing regulations to ensure that all drivers of motor cars shall submit to a test and hold a certificate as competent drivers.

MR. LONG: Various suggestions have been made to the Local Government Board for the alteration of the regulations with regard to motor cars, both by the local authorities on the one hand and by those interested in the use of these vehicles on the other. These suggestions will receive my consideration, but I am afraid that I cannot give any promise in the direction desired by my hon. friend.

Mr. ARTHUR WILSON: Is it not the fact that regulations are enforced in France?

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order! That does not arise out of the question.

HOSPITALS—EXEMPTION FROM RATES.

Mr. HORNER (Lambeth, N.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, in view of the circumstances under which hospitals and institutions of a like kind have to raise funds necessary to carry on their charitable work, it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to initiate legislation to give effect to the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, dated 30th July, 1900, by which it was recommended that the principle of exemption from rates should be applied to hospitals and kindred institutions not carried on for profit or gain, and supported wholly or in part by voluntary contributions or endowments; and whether Her Majesty's Government propose in any way to give effect to the other recommendations of that Report.

Mr. LONG: Perhaps my hon. friend will allow me to answer this question. The matter to which it relates is one of considerable difficulty, and forms part of the subject now under the consideration of the Royal Commission on Local Taxation. I cannot at present give any promise as to its being dealt with by the Government.

BETHNAL GREEN ELECTRIC LIGHTING STATION — PROVISION FOR WORKMEN DISHOUSED.

Sir MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGREE (Bethnal Green, N.E.): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether, in case of his sanctioning the erection of the electric light station in Bethnal Green on the site proposed in the scheme of the local borough council, he will make provision for the housing in the same neighbourhood of about 200 silk weavers, who would be displaced thereby, and for the erection of their looms.

Mr. LONG: I have within the last day or two received representations from some of the silk weavers on this subject, and I am in communication with the borough council with regard to it.

WIMBLEDON EDUCATION DISPUTE.

Mr. TREVELYAN: I beg to ask the Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education whether, on the receipt of the resolution passed at a statutory meeting of Wimbledon ratepayers on 9th July in favour of the establishment of a School Board for Wimbledon, the Board of Education informed those responsible for forwarding the resolution to the Board of Education that exception was taken to the validity of the notice convening the meeting at which the resolution was passed, or whether the Board of Education merely acknowledged the receipt of the resolution.

The VICE-PRESIDENT of the BOARD of EDUCATION (Sir John Gorst, Cambridge University): The resolution was forwarded to the Board of Education by the chairman of the meeting. The clerk of the Kingston Union was asked, in the usual course, whether the meeting was duly summoned, and from his reply it did not appear that the notice convening the meeting was published in the manner required by the Act. Objection to the validity of the notice was taken by certain ratepayers at the meeting, and afterwards it was well known to all parties concerned that the Board of Education were not prepared to act upon the resolution.

Mr. TREVELYAN: Did the Board of Education send any intimation to the conveners of the meeting?

Sir JOHN GORST: I believe no actual letter was sent, but everybody in Wimbledon knew the notice was contrary to the Act.

MURDER PLEAS—SCOTTISH AND ENGLISH PRACTICE.

Mr. CALDWELL (Lanarkshire, Mid): I beg to ask Mr. Attorney General whether there exists in England, as in Scotland, a settled practice of the judges in charges of murder not to accept a plea of guilty tendered by an accused, so as to ensure that sentence of death should only pass after trial before, and verdict of, a jury; and, if not, whether the Government will take steps by legislation or otherwise to bring the practice of England in accord with the practice of Scotland in such cases.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir ROBERT FINLAY, Inverness Burghs): In England there exists no such settled practice as that stated in the question of the hon. Member to exist in Scotland. Every precaution is taken to prevent any danger of miscarriage, and there is no occasion for legislation.

INCOME TAX RETURNS.

*MR. SOAMES: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if he is aware that a number of persons who are liable to income tax fail year after year to make any returns of profits under Schedule D; whether there is any penalty attaching to such an evasion; if so, why it is never enforced, and whose duty it is to take proceedings in such cases; and whether he will draw the attention of the persons charged with that duty to the desirability of taking action in the matter.

*THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir M. HICKS BEACH, Bristol, W.): It is true that some persons who ought to make returns for assessment under Schedule D of the income tax fail to do so, and thereby incur a penalty for neglect, or render themselves liable to be charged in default of a return in such a sum as the additional commissioners of income tax may deem they ought to be charged. It is not the fact that proceedings for not making a return are never initiated, though as a rule in such cases assessments are made by the additional commissioners, and it is not doubted that the revenue is thereby adequately secured. If the hon. Member can give me any particular instance of default I will inquire into it.

NEW SILVER COINAGE FOR CHRISTMAS DEMAND.

MR. BECKETT (Yorkshire, N.R., Whitby): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he is aware that the Mint is either unable or unwilling to supply more than a small proportion of the new silver required by the public at Christmas time; and whether he will take steps to induce the Mint to provide such an amount as will more nearly meet the public demand.

*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: The arrangements for the distribution of silver coin to meet public wants in England and Wales are made through the Bank of England. The amount of new silver coin estimated by the Bank as necessary to meet the Christmas demand this year was £445,000, and the whole of this has been issued by the Royal Mint. The Bank has a large stock of silver coin in hand to meet trade requirements.

POST OFFICE TELEPHONE EXTENSION—BREAKING UP OF LONDON STREETS.

GENERAL LAURIE: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, whether the Postmaster General could arrange to expedite the work in connection with the extension of the telephone service (which is stated to be the cause of the excavations in the public highways), both by insisting on the workmen being continuously employed and further by the use of relief gangs, so that the work may be carried on day and night, so that the streets may as soon as practicable be available for the purpose for which they were constructed, that is for the locomotion of the public.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The Postmaster General is using every effort to expedite the underground work now in progress in connection with the establishment of a telephone exchange service in London, as well as to minimise the inconvenience to the public. It is not possible, however, to carry on all the work by night as well as day. There is no difficulty as regards the work of excavation and filling in, but the laying of the ducts must be carried on by day in order to ensure the proper execution of the work. In all important thoroughfares night shifts have been employed on excavation wherever the number of ducts to be laid admitted of the duct-laying keeping pace with the excavation work. The hon. Member must not assume that all the excavations are being made by the Post Office, the electric light companies being engaged in similar operations.

MR. CAUSTON (Southwark, W.): May I ask whether the hon. Gentleman is aware that the Old Jewry and other important thoroughfares in the City have been completely blocked for a fortnight, and that no carts or conveyances of any kind can get up or down?

MR. BARTLEY: Parts of the city of Westminster are also impassable.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I have no information as to particular streets, but if any particular cases of undue delay are brought under my notice I will call the attention of the Postmaster General to them.

GENERAL LAURIE: Cannot it be arranged to continuously employ men at Ludgate Circus, where there are only two men on the excavations from end to end?

[No answer was given.]

BIRKENHEAD POSTMEN'S PAY.

MR. HOULT (Cheshire, Wirrall): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, if he is aware that the maximum pay of new entrants into the town postmen's class at Birkenhead and district has been reduced from 30s. per week to 28s.; and seeing that Birkenhead is practically a residential suburb of Liverpool and forms part of the Port of Liverpool, the cost of living and labour being the same in both towns, can he state on what grounds the reduction has been made.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The Postmaster General has decided that the maximum pay of new entrants to the town postmen's class at Birkenhead shall be 28s. instead of 30s. a week, because the lower sum more nearly corresponds with the scale of wages paid at other towns of similar size and importance to Birkenhead.

WALLACE COLLECTION, HERTFORD HOUSE—EXPENDITURE.

MR. BECKETT: I beg to ask the First Commissioner of Works whether he will have a statement prepared of the total sums spent in the reconstruction and decoration of Hertford House, and in the housing, arranging, and cleaning of the Wallace Collection.

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (Mr. AKERS DOUGLAS, Kent, St. Augustine's): The expenditure for which I am responsible is limited to the purchase and adaptation of Hertford House, and has amounted to £124,000. I am unable to give the cost of the arranging and cleaning of the collection, as these matters were under the control of the trustees, who have been supplied with funds under a separate Vote for which the Treasury is responsible.

ABERDEEN POST OFFICE BUILDINGS.

MR. PIRIE: I beg to ask the First Commissioner of Works if he can state what sums will be inserted in the Estimates for next year for the new post office buildings in Aberdeen, and whether the building operations could be commenced during this winter, more especially as money has already been voted and that delay has taken place in commencing the work.

MR. AKERS DOUGLAS: The amount to be taken in next year's Estimates for the Aberdeen Post Office is not yet settled, but the work will not be delayed by financial conditions. My hon. friend the Secretary to the Treasury explained the situation on Monday,† and I would again point out that building has not been commenced owing to the difficulty of coming to terms with the town authorities, who, at the last moment, put forward a proposal for widening the street. After long negotiation the town authorities have agreed to provide the necessary equivalent in land, but the shape of the site is altered so that fresh plans and specifications have to be drawn up; and with every desire to push matters on, I cannot undertake that the work can be commenced before the middle of next year.

ROAD CONSTRUCTION IN THE ISLAND OF LEWIS.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Lord Advocate if he will state what progress has been made with the proposed road between Gravir and Cromore, in the Park District of the Island of Lewis.

*THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. A. GRAHAM MURRAY, Buteshire): The Congested Districts Board made an offer some time ago of a subsidy for this road, and they are now awaiting the reply of the county council.

CROMARTY—EVICTION OF MARY ROSS.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Lord Advocate if he will state under what circumstances Mary Ross, aged ninety-one, of Church Street, Cromarty, was evicted from her house in August last. And was the house sold by order of the Crown; if so, will he state the price it realised, and the amount received by the Crown after payment of all expenses.

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† See page 349.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY: The house referred to did not belong to the Mary Ross mentioned, but to Mrs. Margaret Peter. Mary Ross resided in the house as a pauper in receipt of outdoor relief. Mrs. Margaret Peter was illegitimate and died intestate. The house, therefore, fell to the Crown as *ultimus hæres*, and was sold. It was of small value; I am informed that the net amount accruing to the Crown was £18 11s. 5d.

MR. WEIR: What was the total sum realised?

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY: About £40.

MR. WEIR: Not more than half the value of the property.

SOUTH UIST—REPORT ON OUTBREAK OF INFECTIOUS DISEASE.

MR. JOHN DEWAR (Inverness-shire): I beg to ask the Lord Advocate whether the Government will publish, or allow to be copied, the full text of the Report, dated 28th December, 1897, by Sheriff Campbell, Stornoway, and the papers and proceedings of the inquiry on which the Report was based, in regard to an outbreak of infectious disease in South Uist, in Inverness-shire, which are referred to in the Fourth Annual Report (year 1898) of the Local Government Board of Scotland.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY: The matter referred to is dealt with by the Board in their Fourth Annual Report, pages 23 and 45, and a very full summary of the Report is further given in the Appendix, pages 37-39. There therefore appears to be no occasion for further publication.

TYPHUS FEVER IN INVERNESS-SHIRE.

MR. JOHN DEWAR: I beg to ask the Lord Advocate whether the Local Government Board for Scotland was aware of an epidemic of typhus fever, involving twenty cases (of which six were fatal) between 1st October, 1899, and 12th February, 1900, in the locality between Finsbay and Scadabay, in the parish of Harris, in Inverness-shire, having a congested crofter and cottar population of about 1,000; and whether the Local Government Board, the County Medical Officer, and the District Medical Officer of Health failed to visit the locality or to take any steps to check or to assist in checking that epidemic; and, whether a public inquiry will be made into the circumstances attending that outbreak.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY: The figures given by the hon. Member are, I believe, correct, but the Local Government Board had no special intimation of the outbreak, the existence of which they learned from the regular reports of the medical and sanitary officers. The County Medical Officer did not visit the locality between the dates specified, but he was in constant communication with the District Medical Officer, who did, and who reports as follows:—"The Local Authority acted very promptly, and gave every assistance." On the whole matter I am satisfied that no more could have been done in the absence of an isolation hospital, and I do not see any reason for ordering a public inquiry.

SCOTTISH SCHOOL BOARD TEACHERS —APPEALS AGAINST DISMISSAL.

MR. NICOL (Argyllshire): I beg to ask the Lord Advocate whether a measure giving the right of appeal to teachers in Scotland in cases of their alleged wrongful dismissal by School Boards will be introduced by the Government during the session of 1901.

SIR MARK STEWART (Kirkcudbrightshire): I beg also to ask the Lord Advocate if it is the intention of the Government, next session, to introduce legislation in order to give teachers in Scotland a right of appeal in cases of wrongful dismissal, also to give to old teachers the same right to superannuation allowances as are enjoyed by those who have become teachers at a comparatively recent date.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY: With regard to the first part of the question, the subject is under consideration, and there will be a conference between the

English and Scotch Education Departments, but I am not prepared to give any definite pledge at the present time. In regard to superannuation, the allowances to old teachers under the Superannuation Act are fixed by the terms of the Act, and while certain advantages are offered to those teachers, I am not prepared to say that they can establish a claim to superannuation on the same scale as teachers who have paid the contributions under the Act for the whole period of their service.

SCOTTISH UNIVERSITY FEES RETURN.

MR. THOMAS SHAW (Hawick Burghs): I beg to ask the Lord Advocate if he can say when the Return of the fees payable at the Universities of Scotland is expected to be issued.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY: The Secretary for Scotland is still awaiting the Return from the University of St. Andrews, which is promised, however, within a few days. As soon as it is received the figures will be arranged and the Return issued.

ILLEGAL TRAWLING OFF THE HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS.

MR. CATHCART WASON: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, in view of the fact that the attention of the Government has been repeatedly called to the violations of the law by persons and companies engaged in the pursuit of trawling within forbidden limits, the Government will take into consideration during the recess adequate measures for protecting the property of the coast fishermen round Shetland and Orkney and the Highlands and Islands of Scotland.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY: As regards illegal trawling the Government have taken measures to prevent trawling within the enclosed areas, as has been privately explained to the hon. Member, and it is not at present possible to come under any further obligations on the subject, but any practical suggestions made to the Government will receive their most careful consideration. I ought to say that I cannot wholly understand or admit the propriety of the use of the word "property" in the question.

ILLEGAL TRAWLING IN MORAY FIRTH.

MR. BLACK (Banffshire): I beg to ask the Lord Advocate whether his attention has been called to the case of a foreign trawler, convicted a few weeks ago of trawling within the three-mile limit near Burghead in the Moray Firth; whether he is aware that the fine of £50 imposed in that case was less than the value of the trawler's catch, and thus afforded no practical deterrent against a repetition of the offence; whether the Government have considered as to an increase of the maximum fine of £100 and forfeiture of nets at present exigible; and whether it is the intention of the Government to introduce a measure for the better enforcement of the restrictions against trawling within forbidden areas.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY: The Fishery Board have no official information as to the value of the catch in question, but they cannot assume that the judge who had the whole circumstances before him and imposed a penalty short of the maximum, did not keep in view the adequacy of the penalty as a deterrent to a repetition of the offence. The Government have not at present under consideration any increase of the maximum penalties. As regards further measures it is not clear what class of measure the hon. Member suggests. But it is to be observed that while up to 1898 the Fishery Board had only one cruiser at their disposal they have now three, and will shortly have four.

SCOTTISH SHERIFFS' SALARIES.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether the Report of the Committee appointed to inquire into the question of increasing the salaries of sheriffs in Scotland has yet been considered; and, if so, will he state the character of the decision.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The Report is now under the consideration of the Treasury.

ORANGE DISTURBANCES AT STEWARDSTOWN.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that on the night of 26th October an Orange drumming party, numbering according to the police about 200, marched through Stewardstown, county Tyrone, and without provocation broke the windows in seventeen Roman Catholic houses, including that of the parish priest; that the mob also assaulted and stoned Roman Catholic inhabitants and the police; that one policeman has lodged a claim for £1,000 in consequence of the injuries he received from the Orangemen; and that the riot lasted from 8 p.m. to 4 a.m., although fifteen extra police were drafted in in aid of the local force; can he say why no batons were drawn during the riot nor arrests made, and whether inquiry will be made into the conduct of the head constable who was in charge of the force as to why the rioters were allowed to remain undispersed; is he aware that at the subsequent hearing of the summonses against the accused parties the Crown Solicitor only asked for a rule of bail against them; and that the Crown Solicitor allowed the magistrate to adjudicate without protest, although the Orange Lodge is kept in his house, and a constable swore the rioters went there for torches; and did the resident magistrate who presided at the trial say the men were only out for a night's amusement; and will the Government take any steps to restore amongst Roman Catholics some confidence in the administration of the law.

*THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover): The facts are substantially as stated in the first paragraph. Evidence, however, was also given to the effect that bottles were thrown at the Orange party, numbering some 400, from the house of one of the opposite party. The police on duty used every possible exertion to quell the disturbances. The head constable, in my opinion, acted with discretion in not ordering the police to use their batons. Owing to the darkness of the night it was impossible to detect the actual stone-throwers. Proceedings were taken against six persons who formed part of the riotous crowd, and they were bound to the peace. It is not proposed to hold an inquiry into the conduct of the head constable The Crown Solicitor asked the Bench to place the accused under a rule of bail. It is the fact that an Orange Lodge meets in an outhouse belonging to one of the magistrates who adjudicated. So far as I am aware there was nothing in the evidence to connect him in any way with the accused, and therefore the Crown Solicitor took no exception to his presence on the Bench. The Resident Magistrate, who presided, stated that—

> "The persons in the crowd were out for amusement, and were within their rights so long as they conducted themselves, but as soon as stones were thrown they became members of an unlawful assembly."

MR. T. M. HEALY: How is it that for eight hours the riot was allowed to continue without a single arrest being made by the police?

*MR. WYNDHAM: I think the constables acted with great discretion. They were a relatively small force, and the numbers of the opposing party were very great.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Will the right hon. Gentleman give instructions that the same discretion shall be shown in the rest of Ireland whenever a riot goes on?

[No answer was returned.]

IRISH SCHOOL TEACHERS—GRADES AND PENSION RIGHTS.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the teachers appointed before the 1st April, 1900, and who will be graded higher than their present classes according to the new system of grading, will get the pension rights of the grades to which they will be promoted by paying increased premiums.

*MR. WYNDHAM: It will not be possible for some time to say whether any changes will be needed in the Pension Rules owing to the new system of grading of National Teachers, but the rights of teachers who were in the service before 1st April, 1900, under the Pension Rules then in force, will be safeguarded.

CATTLE DISEASE—IRISH REMOVAL REGULATIONS.

SIR JAMES RANKIN (Herefordshire, Leominster): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in view of the fact that Great Britain is free from cattle disease of any kind, it would be possible for the Irish Government to remove the restrictions at present existing upon the importation of cattle for breeding purposes from Great Britain into Ireland.

*Mr. WYNDHAM: The restrictions upon the importation of cattle from Great Britain into Ireland have been relaxed, but in consequence of the existence of disease amongst cattle in this country it is felt that the restrictions cannot at present be entirely removed.

DUBLIN CORPORATION BILL—EQUALISATION OF RATES.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if the undertaking, given by his predecessor on the Third Reading of the Dublin Corporation Bill last session,† has been complied with in reference to communicating the intentions of the Government to the corporation before November with regard to the introduction of an Equalisation of Rates Bill as between Dublin City and the townships of Rathmines and Pembroke in the form recommended by the Joint Committee of Lords and Commons last session.

*Mr. WYNDHAM: No, Sir. So soon as I arrived in Dublin after appointment to my present post I conveyed to the Corporation of Dublin an expression of regret that it had proved impossible to fulfil the undertaking owing to the General Election and changes in the Government. The Lord Mayor was good enough to accept the reasonableness of that explanation, and I am in communication with him on the subject.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that it was on the assurance of the then Chief Secretary that the Corporation Bill was allowed to pass?

*Mr. WYNDHAM: I do not derive that impression from studying the debate.

IRISH CUSTOMS AND EXCISE DUTIES—REMITTANCES TO LONDON.

Colonel NOLAN (Galway, N.): I be to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if he can state what sum was remitted by the Bank of Ireland to London in the last financial year, as representing the excess of Excise, Customs, taxes, and other imposts collected in Ireland over the civil expenditure in Ireland.

*Sir M. HICKS BEACH: The amount remitted by the Bank of Ireland in the financial year 1899-1900 was £4,000,000; but this only approximately represents the excess of receipts over civil expenditure in Ireland as the balance left in the exchequer account in the Bank of Ireland varies according to circumstances, and the larger part of this excess of receipts is required to meet Army and Navy expenditure in Ireland, which is paid for here.

MINISTERS' SALARIES—THE LORD PRIVY SEAL.

Sir JOHN COLOMB: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, in view of the proposed revival of a salary attached to the office of Lord Privy Seal, he can give an assurance that before the Vote is taken an opportunity will be afforded to the House other than that under provisions of Standing Order No. 56, to discuss the expediency of rearranging the salaries of Ministers of the Crown, and of considering the existing circumstances under which the Lord President of the Privy Council, with a salary borne by Civil Service Estimates, is specially employed as President of the Defence Committee of the Cabinet in discharging duties of great importance in relation to the security of the Empire in war.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I am afraid I should hardly be justified in giving my hon. and gallant friend the special facilities next session that he asks for in order to carry out the rather wide subject of discussion he proposes. I may point out, as regards the last part of this question, that the principle therein laid down is one that could hardly be accepted by the House, for it seems to be matter of unimportance upon what kind of Vote the salary is borne of a Minister who is asked to serve on the Committee of the Cabinet. The Defence Committee is only a Cabinet committee, as I have before explained to the House, and I think it should be treated as such.

DATE OF NEXT SESSION.

Mr. CHANNING: I beg to ask the first Lord of the Treasury whether he will consider the convenience of Members who may be going abroad, and announce now or before the end of the present sittings the approximate date at which the next session will begin.

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† See *The Parliamentary Debates* [Fourth Series], Vol. lxxxvi., p. 1294.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Parliament will be prorogued till February 14, and I think we shall have to meet on that day. If it turns out to be possible the Government will be very glad if, after the labours of this session, the meeting can be delayed until the 19th, but I doubt whether that would be practicable.

Mr. CHANNING: Can we understand that unless there is a great emergency Parliament will not be called before the 14th?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Unless some quite unexpected event occurs we shall not be called together before the 14th.

CLOSURE OF SUPPLY.

Mr. HERBERT LEWIS: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether in view of the number of Votes closured every year in Committee of Supply, the Government will in the early part of next session appoint a Grand Committee to consider the details of National expenditure without derogating from the existing rights of Members to criticise Votes in Committee of Supply.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I have no reason to think there is any general desire to make the innovation in procedure recommended by the hon. Gentleman. This question seems to assume that there was less discussion under the new rule than under the old system. As a matter of fact there is much fuller discussion.

SIR CHARLES DILKE'S SPEECH OF YESTERDAY—PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

*Sir CHARLES DILKE: I wish to explain a report of words used by me which has led to a representation by a recognised public body with regard to those words. The statement reported is "that the value of the mineral rights under surface sites for the Rand alone had appeared in the report accepted by the late Chamber of Mines as 44 millions sterling." That was so reported, and it is a mistake. The complaint is made on behalf of the Chamber of Mines that the words are incorrect. The reference which I made to the Chamber of Mines was at an earlier point and on another matter. The words which I used were these:—"That the various estimates taken of the value of these rights are:—Over £75,000,000, £75,000,000, £44,000,000, £40,000,000—that is the estimate, I understand, accepted by the late Ministry of Mines of the Transvaal Government"—the word chamber has been reported—"also as low as £7,500,000 and £1,000,000." A mistake has been made by my having been reported to have said in that place "Chamber of Mines" instead of the "late Ministry of Mines of the Transvaal Government."

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE.

Resolved, That this House do meet To-morrow, at Ten of the clock.—(*Mr. Balfour.*)

SUPPLEMENTAL WAR LOAN (No. 2) BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. Lowther (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Clause 1:—

Mr. EDMUND ROBERTSON (Dundee): There are one or two points of detail which I should like to submit very shortly for the consideration of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and of the Committee on the question that Clause 1 stand part of the Bill. This is, I think, the fourth of the series of War Loan Bills, and I do not suppose that it is the last. When the first Bill of this series was brought before the House in October, 1899, the Chancellor of the Exchequer made a statement in regard to his intention which was then received with much satisfaction from all parts of the House, and as to which, I think, some re-assurance would be now desirable. The question was as between permanent borrowing and taxation; and this is what the Chancellor of the Exchequer said on the 23rd October, 1899, on one of the stages of the first Loan Bill. He said—

> "My intention is that this debt will not be of long duration. I think it ought to be provided for, if necessary, of course, by an addition to taxation, but I hope it may be paid off in the year next ensuing or even sooner."

Are we now to understand that as the cost of the war is much greater than the right hon. Gentleman contemplated, the undertaking he then gave no longer holds good? Are we to understand that we are adding something to the debt which will not be subject to the declaration then made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer? I put a question to the Chancellor of the Exchequer the other day on another point. It is not the first time I have approached him on that subject. We were discussing yesterday the question of the Transvaal assets available for the cost of the war. I think there are other assets which may be made available, and which are now running to waste. The specific asset I have in contemplation, and which is not now made use of, is what is called the monopoly value of the publicans' licences arising from the present scale of duties.

*THE CHAIRMAN: That question does not arise on the first clause of this Bill.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: I understood that I should be in order in discussing any question relating to the raising of ways and means.

*THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member will see that it would be quite impossible to frame an Amendment to cover the point he raises.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: I understood that I would have been in order if I had raised this point on the Second Reading of the Bill, and that I would have been in order in raising it in Committee. If you rule that I am not in order, I have nothing more to say on that point. But I have another point which I can make relevant without any great strain on logic—and that is as to the extent to which Imperial contributions might be made towards the cost of the war. Without going further into the matter I hope that at some later stage some kind of assurance will be given that the self-governing portions of the Empire outside the United Kingdom which have responded so loyally to the call of the Empire will show that they are equally willing to recognise their responsibilities in other directions.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.) desired to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he could give any reply with regard to the question he had asked previously as to the amount of the War Loan given to America. Considerable dissatisfaction had been expressed at the amount of the last loan given to that country. Not only had America got the making of war-like stores, such as bridges and so forth, but in addition to that a large portion of the loan as well.

*THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir M. HICKS BEACH, Bristol, W.): I can make no promise whatever as to the means by which I shall raise this loan, except so far as they are laid down in this Bill, nor any action I may take as to the place where it will be raised. As I have already stated to the House, it may be more than six weeks before it is necessary to raise any money at all, and it is impossible for me to forecast what may be the state of the money market then, or in what manner it will be most useful to the public to raise the loan. As to the last loan, I found that in all probability I could not obtain in the London market such terms as a Chancellor of the Exchequer ought to accept. I therefore made inquiries in America; a part was taken there at a fair price, and the remainder was scrambled for in the money market here mainly, I believe, because part of the loan had been taken up in America. Having made inquiries since of persons well able to form an opinion, I am confident that my action in placing part of the loan in America had a very material influence for the benefit of the public on the money market here.

Clause 1, and remaining clauses agreed to.

Bill reported without amendment; to be read the third time To-morrow.

CONSOLIDATED FUND (APPROPRIATION) BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1:—

*MR. T. M. HEALY: I desire to renew the protest I made in March last in regard to the amount asked for to provide for the purposes of this war. I do not believe that £16,000,000 is an adequate sum, and I believe that the Government, as I said last March, are unconsciously deceiving themselves and misleading the taxpayers. We cannot expect Gentlemen in the position of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to do more in their personal capacity than he has done, for naturally he wishes to minimise the cost, and shrinks from facing realities. When the right hon. Gentleman stated in March last that he would only have to make provision up till September he must have been acting on information from the War Department, and the House went to a dissolution on that. I do not say that the political consequence of this miscalculation now is as grave as it was then or that the results can be so serious, because there will not be a dissolution between this and 31st March next, but the three Kingdoms have been misled by previous estimates, and the Government have been voted back to power in consequence. I think when we see such disasters occurring as we have read and are told it is mere guerilla warfare, it is not £16,000,000, but £60,000,000 that will be needed. These small amounts that are being asked for, lest you should frighten your own supporters, must prove of the greatest encouragement to the Boers. You say you want to put an end to the war, but you cannot do it on the cheap, and it would be far better to take your courage in both hands and confess the truth to the nation. To pretend the war is over, and that the Republics are conquered, is to foster a delusion. Having divided the House upon the Vote in former stages, I do not propose to divide the House now, because having by voice and vote made my protest against this unjust and ruinous war, I do not consider I am called upon to do more, but I seriously invite the attention of the taxpayers to the fact that this £16,000,000 is just as inadequate for the job which you have in hand as the amount you asked for in March last. I do not attach the least blame to the Chancellor of the Exchequer personally, because he has, I believe, never been in favour of the policy which provoked this train of misfortunes.

Clause 1 and remaining clauses agreed to.

Bill reported without amendment; to be read the third time To-morrow.

POST OFFICE (WEST INDIA MAIL CONTRACT).

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [13th December], "That the Contract, dated the 1st day of September, 1900, entered into with the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company for the conveyance of the West India Mails for the period from the 1st day of July, 1900, to the 30th day of June, 1905, be approved.—(*Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*)

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolved, That the Contract, dated the 1st day of September, 1900, entered into with the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company for the conveyance of the West India Mails for the period from the 1st day of July, 1900, to the 30th day of June, 1905, be approved.

Whereupon, in pursuance of the Order of the House of the 7th day of this instant December, Mr. Speaker adjourned the House without Question put.

Adjourned accordingly at a quarter before Five of the clock.

TEMPORARY EXECUTION OF POWERS OF SPEAKER.

By virtue of an Act passed in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of His late Majesty King George the Third, intituled, "An Act to repeal so much of two Acts made in the tenth and fifteenth years of the reign of His present Majesty, as authorises the Speaker of the House of Commons to issue his Warrant to the Clerk of the Crown for making out Writs for the Election of Members to serve in Parliament, in the manner therein mentioned, and for substituting other provisions for the like purpose," I do hereby nominate, appoint, and authorise—

The Right Hon. John William Mellor,
Sir John Edward Dorington, baronet,
The Right Hon. James Alexander Campbell,
Sir Thomas Henry Grattan-Esmonde, baronet,
Mr. Henry Hobhouse, and
Mr. John Edward Ellis,

being Members of the House of Commons, or any one or more of them, to execute all and singular the powers given to the Speaker of the House of Commons for the time being, for issuing Warrants to the Clerk of the Crown, in the cases as in the said Act specified.

Given under my hand and seal, this tenth day of December, in the year of our Lord One thousand nine hundred.

WILLIAM COURT GULLY,
Speaker.

14th December, 1900.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Saturday, 15*th December*, 1900.

LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE.

Report made from the Lord Chancellor, that the right of Geoffrey Henry, Baron of Oranmore and Browne, to vote at elections of Representative Peers for Ireland has been established to the satisfaction of the Lord Chancellor; read and ordered to lie on the Table.

VISCOUNT MOUNTGARRET.

Report made from the Lord Chancellor that the right of Henry Edmund, Viscount Mountgarret, to vote at elections of Representative Peers for Ireland has been established to the satisfacion of the Lord Chancellor; read and ordered to lie on the Table.

VISCOUNT MOUNTGARRET.

LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE.

Ordered and directed, by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, that certificates be sent by the Clerk of the Parliaments to the Clerk of the Crown in Ireland, stating that the Lord Chancellor of the United Kingdom has reported to the House of Lords that the right of the Viscount Mountgarret and of the Lord Oranmore and Browne to vote at the elections of Representative Peers for Ireland has been established to the satisfaction of him the said Lord Chancellor; and that the House of Lords has ordered such reports to be sent to the said Clerk of the Crown in Ireland. And it is hereby also ordered, that the said Reports of the said Lord Chancellor be sent to the Clerk of the Crown in Ireland.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

SOUTH AFRICA.

Military Notes on the Dutch Republics of South Africa. Presented[by Command], and ordered to lie on the Table.

POLLING DISTRICTS (COUNTY OF LONDON).

Order made by the County Council of the County of London, dividing the East Division of Finsbury into Polling Districts. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

SUPPLEMENTAL WAR LOAN (No. 2) BILL.

CONSOLIDATED FUND (APPROPRIATION) BILL.

Brought from the Commons, and read 1^a.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Standing Order No. XXXIX. considered (according to order), and suspended for this day's sitting.

SUPPLEMENTAL WAR LOAN (No. 2) BILL.

CONSOLIDATED FUND (APPROPRIATION) BILL.

Standing Order No. XXXIX. having been suspended, Bills read 2^a (The Lord Ashbourne). Committees negatived. Bills read 3^a, and passed.

House adjourned during pleasure.

House resumed

COMMISSION.

The following Bills received the Royal Assent:

1. Consolidated Fund (Appropriation).
2. Supplemental War Loan (No. 2).

HER MAJESTY'S SPEECH.

Delivered by the Lord Chancellor. Commission for proroguing Parliament read, and Parliament prorogued to Thursday, the 14th of February next.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Saturday, 15*th December*, 1900.

The House met at Ten of the clock.

A Member took and subscribed the Oath.

PETITIONS.

OFFICERS OF THE INDIAN STAFF CORPS.

Petition of F. A. Andrew, F. G. W. Davies, W. A. Hill, George B. Brown,

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

H. W. Davies, D. F. Stuart, and Arundel Begbie, for redress of grievances; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY.

Petition from Balham, for prohibition; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

COLONIAL REPORTS (MISCELLANEOUS).

Copy presented, of Report No. 15 (Canada, Memorandum on the Legal Status of British North American Indians) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

POLLING DISTRICTS (LONDON).

Copy presented—of Order made by the County Council of London dividing the East Division of Finsbury into Polling Districts [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

PAPERS LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.

1. Endowed Charities (County of London)—Return relative thereto [ordered 2nd August, 1894; *Mr. Francis Stevenson*]; to be printed. [No. 390.]

2. Endowed Charities (County of Montgomery)—Return relative thereto [ordered 14th February; *Mr. Grant Lawson*]; to be printed. [No. 391.]

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

MR. SPEAKER laid upon the Table:—List of the Bills, Reports, Estimates, and Accounts and Papers printed by order of the House, and of Papers presented by Command, Session 2, 1900, with a General Alphabetical Index thereto, 27th Parliament, First Session, 64 Vic., 3rd December, 1900, to 15th December, 1900; to be printed. [No. 392.]

QUESTIONS.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—THE NOOITGEDACHT REVERSE.

MR. CAINE (Cornwall, Camborne): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can give the House any further information concerning General Clements' engagement.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): I have a telegram from Lord Kitchener which arrived at six o'clock this morning, and more or less bears out the less favourable account which was given yesterday of the attack on Nooitgedacht. It is as follows—

"Pretoria, Dec. 14, 6 p.m.

"General Clements has brought in his force to Commando Nek unopposed.

"His casualties were, I regret to say, heavy.

"Killed.—Five officers; nine other ranks.

"Missing.—Eighteen officers and 555 other ranks.

"These latter were four companies Northumberland Fusiliers, who ware stationed on hill, and some Yeomanry and other details sent up to support them. Name and nature of wounds are being telegraphed from Cape Town.

"Broadwood's Brigade took no part in the engagement. Boers suffered severely."

The other telegrams refer to the operations against De Wet, and are as follows—

"Pretoria, Dec. 14, 6 p.m.

"General Knox drove De Wet north to the Thaba Nchu-Ladybrand line, which was held by our troops. De Wet's force, about 3,000 strong, has made several attempts to get through during the day, assisted by a force of Boers operating from the north. These attacks have been driven back, though some Boers from the south have been able to get through the line.

"Two commandoes still in the neighbourhood of Zastron are being dealt with by mounted troops operating from Aliwal and Rouxville."

"9.30 p.m.

"Whilst passing our lines in the neighbourhood of Thaba Nchu, De Wet's force lost considerably.

"The South African Light Horse and Thorneycroft's Mounted Infantry captured one 15-pounder taken at Dewetsdorp, one Pom-Pom, several wagons ammunition, twenty-two prisoners, and some horses and mules.

"A portion of the enemy's force has not been able to pass north."

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): Can the right hon. Gentleman say whether the captured force was the 1st or 2nd Battalion (Northumberland Fusiliers)?

MR. BRODRICK: I understand it was the 2nd Battalion.

DESTRUCTION OF IRRIGATION DAMS.

MR. HERBERT LEWIS (Flint Boroughs): I wish to ask a question of which I have given private notice, namely, whether the right hon. Gentleman has any information with reference to the breaking of dams in South Africa since Lord Roberts' proclamation. Can the right. hon. Gentleman say to what extent the destruction has gone on ?

MR. BRODRICK: I am afraid I cannot answer the question without notice.

MR. KEIR HARDIE (Merthyr Tydvil): But I sent notice of a similar question last night. It was to ask the Secretary for War if he can inform the House how many irrigation dams, referred to in Lord Roberts' proclamation of November 8th, have been destroyed in South Africa; whether the destruction of such dams does not turn the land into a sandy waste, and whether instructions have been given that the dams be rebuilt in order that crops may be grown, and the country saved from famine.

MR. BRODRICK: The hon. Member's notice only reached me at 9.30 this morning, and it has been impossible for me to have inquiry made.

"SEAT SOLD TO THE BOERS" INCIDENT—MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S TELEGRAM.

MR. KEIR HARDIE: I beg to ask the Secretary for the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, a question of which I have given him private notice; whether he will lay upon the Table of the House the original of the telegram sent by the Colonial Secretary in which the phrase "given to the Boers" was changed by the transmitter into "sold to the Boers."

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.): The hon. Member says he gave me private notice. I have not had any notice, but without notice I should say the Post Office has no authority to lay this telegram on the Table.

MR. KEIR HARDIE: I posted the notice myself on Friday night to the Postmaster General.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE (Carnarvon Boroughs): With the consent of the sender could not the telegram be laid on the Table ?

MR. BRYN ROBERTS (Carnarvonshire, Eifion): I should like to ask whether, with the assent of the sender, the Postmaster General would be allowed to show the original to any Member of the House, and whether the sender will so consent.

*THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir M. HICKS BEACH, Bristol, W.): The law prohibits the publication of telegrams. I cannot say offhand whether it is possible for this telegram to be produced or not, but I am quite sure of this, that my right hon. friend the Colonial Secretary would desire its publication if possible.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS: Will the Colonial Secretary give his consent ?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN, Birmingham, W.): I have already stated the facts of this case, and I should have thought that the statement would have been completely satisfactory to the House. I stated that I gave instructions to send a telegram, in answer to a request for one which was addressed to me by some candidate, to the effect that the Mayor of Mafeking's message was that a seat lost to the Government was a seat gained by the Boers. I saw in the papers next day or the day after that this telegram had arrived at its destination in the form that a seat lost by the Government was a seat "sold to" the Boers, which is perfect nonsense. I at once sent my private secretary down to the Post Office to make inquiries. It was admitted, at once, that the telegram had been incorrectly sent. I believe the original telegram was shown to my private secretary, or offered to be shown to him, and it has since been offered to be shown to me. It was perfectly correct as I intended it. The postmaster admitted that, owing to a mistake by the transmitter of the telegram, the words had been altered. I have not the slightest objection to the production of the telegram.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS: Will the right hon. Gentleman communicate that to the Postmaster General ? It is all very well to say in the House that he has no objection to the production, but will he communicate that to the Postmaster General? Merely stating that he has might, or might not, be sufficient.

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! That is not a proper observation.

TAXATION IN THE ANNEXED REPUBLICS—SUGGESTED COMMISSION.

MR. STROYAN (Perthshire, W.): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if it is the intention of the Government to appoint a Commission, or other body, to investigate on the spot and report as to the industrial, commercial, and agricultural position and prospects in the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies, and on the mode of adjusting taxation, with a view to securing the encouragement of the mining industry and the increase of a loyal majority.

*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: This question should be addressed to the Colonial Secretary rather than to me. But I may remind the hon. Member that two Commissions have already been appointed and are at work investigating certain matters, and of course it is possible that some further inquiries may be held on others. A general inquiry such as he contemplates is rather a matter for the Government, I think.

THE COLONIAL CONTINGENTS—STATISTICS.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE: I beg to ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office what has been the strength of the contingents sent to South Africa by the Dominion of Canada, the group of the Australian Colonies included in the Commonwealth of Australia Bill, and the Colony of New Zealand respectively; what the number of men from each invalided home; and what the number of men from each allowed to leave otherwise than as invalids.

MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS (Birmingham, S.): My right hon. friend's question only reached me this morning, and I have not been able to make the necessary inquiries. What I would suggest to the hon. Member is that I should treat the question as being addressed to the Secretary for War at the War Office, in which case a written answer will be sent as early as possible.

WAR OFFICE CONTRACTS—BELFAST TENT CONTRACTORS.

MR. KEIR HARDIE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether it has come to his knowledge that Messrs. Wilson and Sons, tent and sail makers, of Belfast, whilst engaged on a War Office contract for tents, reduced the wages of skilled tent-makers from 32s. to 22s. per week; whether, upon the men refusing to accept these terms, they were dismissed and their places filled with unskilled labour and boys; whether this is a violation of the conditions upon which the contract was given out; and whether, in the event of the facts being as stated, he will remove the name of Messrs. Wilson and Sons from the list of War Office contractors.

MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: As I informed the hon. Gentleman last night, it is impossible for me to answer these questions without full notice. I have been unable as yet to make further inquiries into this matter. But what I believe did occur was this. The contractors for tents originally employed sail makers on the work, and having found it was not necessary to employ so high a standard of labour they resorted—as they were perfectly entitled to do—to tent-makers, in order to complete the contract. The wages of tent makers are less a great deal than those of sail makers, and if that is the case the contractors have not committed any breach of contract, and it is not a matter with which the War Office can interfere.

MR. KEIR HARDIE: In making further inquiries will the right hon. Gentleman inquire of the workpeople and the Trades Council?

MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: If the hon. Gentleman will give me time I will guarantee that very full inquiries shall be made.

ABERDEEN POST OFFICE BUILDINGS.

MR. PIRIE (Aberdeen, N.): I beg to ask the First Commissioner of Works whether the £2,000 already voted for the Aberdeen Post Office are still available or if the money has been devoted to some other purpose, and, if so, what purpose; and whether he will state, seeing that all preliminary arrangements are complete, why the building cannot commence in the spring of next year.

The FIRST COMMISSIONER of WORKS (Mr. Akers Douglas, Kent, St. Augustine's): Of course, I cannot answer this question, seeing it requires communication with Edinburgh, and it only reached me a few minutes ago. But I will send a reply to the hon. Member. Any money voted for a service for a given year is available up to the end of March, and if not then expended must be re-voted in the next year. With regard to the second part of the question, referring to the delay in the erection of these buildings, I may point out that the municipal authorities of Aberdeen desired the creation of a street which involved a change of site, and entirely new plans had consequently to be prepared.

Mr. PIRIE: The plans are not new entirely.

Mr. AKERS DOUGLAS: I have carefully looked into the matter, and am prepared to say that my facts are correct.

SUPPLEMENTAL WAR LOAN (No. 2) BILL.

Read the third time and passed.

CONSOLIDATED FUND (APPROPRIATION) BILL.

Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third Time."

*Mr. PIRIE (Aberdeen, N.): I had earnestly hoped it would not be necessary for me to have to call attention to a subject which I have already brought before this House on three occasions during the present short session—I allude to the questions put to the Colonial Secretary with regard to a letter published in what I might call an Electioneering Book, but which I ought, perhaps, to term a Blue-book. The letter I refer to was written by Mr. Merriman to a colleague in the Cape Assembly, and it was published by the Government without the writer being afforded any opportunity of explaining his position in regard to it.

*Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order! That does not arise on this Bill.

*Mr. PIRIE: But this is an Appropriation Bill, on which I would submit we are entitled to discuss any subject.

*Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member may call it an Appropriation Bill, but he is only entitled to discuss those subjects which relate to the Estimates dealt with by the Bill.

*Mr. PIRIE: Then perhaps I may refer to the subject incidentally in the remarks I am going to make on the general condition of affairs in Cape Colony, and, indeed, in South Africa generally, and I will merely cite it as one of the many examples which account for the state of feeling to which I am about to draw attention.

*Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order! I think it well to inform the hon. Member that he cannot debate a subject I have ruled out of order by saying he is going to do it incidentally.

*Mr. PIRIE: This being so, before the House passes the Third Reading of this Bill, I will merely ask leave to make a few remarks on the general situation in South Africa, a situation of which, I think, the House possesses a very imperfect notion. I beg to draw the attention of hon. Members to its great gravity and seriousness. I think it is almost a misnomer to speak of this Bill as a War Loan Bill—the actual facts are such as to justify it being called a Civil War Loan Bill. Hon. Members have no conception of the amount of intermarriage which has gone on in South Africa. The whole community there may be said to form one large family, and it is because I wish the country to have a more correct idea of the situation and to realise how close are the ties between our colonists in South Africa and those who are suffering the horrors of this war that I am making these remarks to-day. During the few months which I spent in South Africa, I came across many instances of this close relationship between families fighting on opposite sides, and I may say that they could be multiplied a hundredfold. In one case a Cape colonist of Dutch descent had two sons who settled in the Transvaal as burghers. Those two sons, as was their duty, went out to fight on commando. Both were killed, and the old man's reply, on being informed of the fact, was: "I have seventeen other relatives still fighting on the same side for you to kill." Another colonist had no fewer than thirty-five relatives taking part in the war, and similar instances could be found in all parts of Cape Colony. There was one very sad case, that of the daughter of a well-known gentleman in Stellenbosch, near Cape Town, who married a judge of the Free State. The judge went out on commando, he was taken prisoner, and, while he was detained, his farm in the Free State was blown up with dynamite. I will not say whether that was right or wrong; military necessities may have demanded it. His wife and children were transported to Port Elizabeth, and obliged to live in iron huts, being provided with the barest necessities of life. I am glad to have this opportunity of testifying to the fact that, as far as I could observe, making allowances for hardships, the actual conduct of our soldiers towards the women and children was universally humane. But the fact remains, that while detained at Port Elizabeth this lady lost one of her children through, as is alleged, the hardships to which they were subjected. Now, cases like these are to be found broadcast throughout the Colony, and are known to every colonist in South Africa. Can you wonder, therefore, that the people feel bitterly, and that they are protesting in the only manner open to them against the continuance of this war? Is it likely to conduce to a better feeling on their part when Sir Alfred Milner, receiving a deputation which presents the constitutional protests of these people against the continuance of the war on the present lines, tells them that their protest in the conference at which it was adopted was the work of "clever agitators"? Surely clever agitators are not needed to induce people to give expression to their natural feelings. I hope that the people of this country will soon become alive to the actual facts of the situation, and will realise that the feelings of these people are indeed deeply disturbed. There is a most extraordinary and steadily growing mistrust in the minds of British colonists of Dutch descent. I mention a fact not generally known in this country when I state that for some days before the actual invasion by our troops of the Orange Free State, the whole of the South African colonial forces were arrested on the borders of Cape Colony by order of Lord Roberts. The report went about that it was not the intention of the Commander-in-Chief to allow any of the South African colonial forces to carry on the war in the Orange Free State or the Transvaal, recognising that it was only just and right that if those people had afterwards to live together it would be conducive to good feeling between them that in the conduct of the war they should be mixed up as little as possible with the invasion, and that the troops of this country and the Canadians and Australians only should be employed. I regretted that Lord Roberts' order was overruled, but I cannot say by whom. That is a fair example of how this mistrust has been created, and how feeling will become unnecessarily embittered unless something is done to alleviate the strain now prevailing. Since I last addressed the House there has been absolute confirmation of the dissatisfaction felt in South Africa with reference to the course pursued by Sir Alfred Milner, and of how his new appointment is being looked upon there as the crowning stone to the series of one-sided appointments to which I then alluded and by the exposure of which the hon. Member for Mansfield has rendered a public service. Our policy has not been worthy of this country. It has been one that reminds me of a big man who, having been insulted by a little boy, instead of being content with giving him a box on the ear, or a sound whipping, is not content until he has killed him. That is not a dignified policy. That is why, before the passing of this Bill, I ask for some explanation of the way the war is being conducted. We are reversing the great British traditions of old. I would like to read an extract from a letter written by a lady at Cape Town to an English gentleman. She says—

> "I think it would only be by coming amongst them [the Dutch] that you could understand how deeply the Dutch people are suffering—how truly they had trusted and loved and looked up to England and its Queen, and how

puzzled they now are and unwilling to give up their ideal, while all that represents England to them here is so hostile and repulsive and cruel."

That is the state of affairs in Cape Colony. As the Leader of the Opposition has said, the time for statesmanship has come, and the time of militarism is over. The Secretary for War said that he feared to exhibit weakness. I wish, indeed, that this country had, in the last few years, shown strength for the weak instead of what we have shown, weakness towards the strong. Generosity to the numerically weak can never be misjudged as in this case. I wish we could take a warning by history. The only thing open for us at the present moment is to declare an armistice and enter into negotiations with Botha. I would ask the House to remember that the generals in the field do not represent Kruger or Krugerism. They have been, in the past, bitterly opposed to Kruger and his methods. They are the men with whom we ought to treat at the present moment. We should not be blind to the lessons of history. I ask the House to remember that in Canada in 1837 we did not say that we would not make terms with the rebels, but that we did not know enough, and we sent a Royal Commission, with the result that negotiations were entered into and peace was brought about. Then there is the history of America. It is useful to look back on the old annals of this House. For a time the war there in 1780 was carried on because a majority were in favour of it, but little by little that majority disappeared, and at last it was resolved that the war should be stopped. The logic of facts is very strong indeed. We will never govern the Transvaal by force. When I hear military men and others say "Why should they not give in?" I feel inclined to ask, are the conditions of the two forces the same? The Boers are fighting for what belongs to them, and we are fighting for what does not belong to us. This country has got a wolf by the ear, and unless we take care that wolf might give us a deal of trouble yet. I do not believe this country will see the assimilation of these two races for over a hundred years if we pursue the policy we are pursuing at the present time. A great effort is being made to capture De Wet, but supposing that you had captured him, which would happen? Do you mean to tell me that other De Wets will not spring up? Of course they will. The Colonial Secretary in referring to the future mentioned the ominous word "famine." I regret that the Secretary for War has not given some information in regard to the breaking of dams in the Orange Free State. There is not one labourer's cottage in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal that does not possess its dam. A dam is as essential to the life of those on the farms as the steam boiler to the engine. Have hon. Members realised that there are 800,000 natives in the Transvaal, and 200,000 natives in the Orange Free State? Is it imagined that you can starve out the Boers when you have to support the natives? This is a continuation of the terrible ignorance which has prevailed in this country for eighteen months. I wish to ask an explanation in regard to a telegram. Telegrams coming through Reuter and passing the strict censorship must be taken as accurate. The telegram is headed "Lord Kitchener's Intentions," and contains the following—

> "As Lord Kitchener is taking steps by which it is hoped that the campaign will be brought to a speedy close, the conduct of the war will be changed."

I hope at least that it will not be a change in which our opponents will be considered and classed as rebels. I trust that it will not be a policy of extermination. I warn the Government that the blood will be upon their heads if they should be guilty of such a thing as that. I warn them that a policy of retaliation will not be a policy that will even succeed, apart from the question of right or wrong. Success appears to be the only thing that appeals to hon. Gentlemen opposite. The reason for the ignorance prevailing in this country cannot be entirely attributed to the press. I should be out of order if I dwelt on this subject, but I wish to say that the press in South Africa is a monopoly controlled by one company, and that company by one man—the De Beers Company and Mr. Rhodes. For the first time in a military campaign instead of having a military censorship there has been a political censorship. I wish to speak with all respect of the two or three hon. Members who have been performing the arduous duties of press censors. They have done the work as well as it could be done under the circumstances. But it is against all the true interests of the country to have Members of Parliament, on one side or the other, in the press censorship, and determining what news should reach this country. It was absolutely wrong, in my opinion, to take over the press on reaching Bloemfontein. Better have no press at all than to hand it over as was done to the nominees of the mine owners in South Africa. The Boers have proved their sterling value, but we have made false calculations from the beginning to the end of the campaign. I only trust that we may not continue to do so. Our world position is at stake. The First Lord of the Treasury has referred to the fact that we have the goodwill of the Governments of Europe. I think the right hon. Gentleman must be very blind, or willingly blind, if he does not see why. We have the goodwill of the Governments of Europe because they are getting everything they want out of us in China, Samoa, and elsewhere. Why should they wish to put an end to what is so manifestly to their advantage? General Buller, the other day, expressed the pious wish that this war would benefit the world. If we persevere in our present course it may benefit the world, but in a very different way from that meant by General Buller. It may lead to this—that instead of our being the leader in everything which is high, noble, and worthy of our past, we shall have to vacate that position in favour of another nation which holds better to the law of right-doing which ought to govern the conduct of nations. I trust I have not been presumptuous in bringing these matters forward. I have laid my small experience before the House with some reluctance, because I do not care in any way to lay myself open to the suspicion of bringing experience gained in the military service of the Queen to the service of one party or the other. But I have made these remarks in no party interest, but in those of truth and of my country, and because it is my bounden duty to give the best advice I can in the Queen's Assembly, and as representing my constituents I am bound to let the experience I have gained as a servant of the Queen, in no matter how minor or humble a capacity, be known as widely as possible. I would ask the Government for an explanation—firstly, of their conduct in regard to the letter of Mr. Merriman, because it has had an enormous effect on South African opinion; secondly, of what is meant by that ambiguous telegram as to Lord Kitchener's intentions; and thirdly, of the incidents of breaking dams; and I would also like a promise that the political censorship which has obtained during this campaign should cease.

*Mr. WILLIAM JOHNSTON (Belfast, S.): I desire to urge upon Her Majesty's Government the desirability of having a day of national thanksgiving at the commencement of the new century. It was gratifying to notice the high tone of Lord Roberts' speech on leaving Cape Town the other day, and to see how he recognised the hand of Almighty God in protecting him during the war. I humbly suggest on this last day of the session, and almost at the close of the nineteenth century, that it would be extremely desirable that the whole nation at the commencement of the new century should present themselves before Almighty God, thanking Him for the victory that has been given, and entreating His protection and guidance during the time that is to come.

Mr. HERBERT LEWIS (Flint Boroughs): I hope on the 1st January we shall have something to be thankful for, but, at all events, to-day is a day of depression and humiliation. The sad and painful news read by the Secretary of State for War this morning must have cast a gloom over the House, and depressed even more than has hitherto been the case the minds of all who take an interest in the events that are proceeding in South Africa. I should like to refer to the language of the proclamation issued on 14th December, in which the Commander-in-Chief points out that—

> "Except in the small area occupied by the Boer army under the personal command of Commandant-General Botha the war is degenerating and has degenerated into operations carried on in an irregular and irresponsible manner by small and in many cases insignificant bodies of men."

Lord Roberts then goes on to point out—

> "I should be failing in my duty to Her Majesty's Government and to Her Majesty's Army in South Africa if I neglected to use every means in my power to bring such irregular warfare to an early conclusion."

Then he goes on to use these words—

> "The means which I am compelled to adopt are those which the customs of war prescribe as being applicable to such cases. They are ruinous to the country—the burning of farms and the breaking of dams—and entail endless suffering on the burghers and their families, and the longer this guerilla warfare continues the more vigorously must they be enforced."

I would ask the Government, in view of the events which have transpired within the last few hours, is this policy going to be continued? Is this burning of farms, the breaking of dams, and the devastation of the country to be continued until at last we shall be able to call it a peace when we mean a desert? "The more vigorously must they be enforced." I do not know whether from to-day the war has not resumed its original character. Who is there to-day who can stand up in this House and really say that we are carrying on a series of guerilla operations? We are told that the character of the war is now going to be changed, and that Lord Kitchener, as I understand, is about to take still more repressive measures against the Dutch population of the two colonies. What the character of that action may be we are left to imagine. All I can say is that if it involves more brutality and suffering than that which has hitherto taken place, we shall soon, as a nation, have reason to hide our heads in shame. What are we doing to bring this war to an end? This Bill provides for the appropriation of £16,000,000 more, and I daresay that when we meet again we shall have another enormous demand. Have hon. Members read the correspondence between Lord Roberts and General Botha? Is it for us now to say that nothing short of unconditional surrender will satisfy us? How can we expect to treat with these leaders, these De Wets and Bothas, in the field, when we have issued these proclamations to the effect that whatever may be forgiven to others they, at all events, will never be forgiven? Time after time the leaders are referred to and expressly excepted from everything in the shape of an amnesty. I might refer to the despatch of the 28th September, which states—

> "This concession [that is to say, that the burghers who surrender voluntarily will not be sent out of the country] does not apply to those who have taken a prominent military or political part in the war, nor to those who have broken their oath of neutrality, nor to foreigners."

The leaders there, as in other cases, are expressly exempted. Under circumstances of that kind, and if the terms of these proclamations are to be adhered to, it is practically impossible to hope to deal with the leaders at all. There is another question arising out of these proclamations to which I wish to draw the attention of the House. The proclamation is No. 27, and it affects very seriously the refugees now at Cape Town and elsewhere. It makes the taxes, revenues, dues, licences, and moneys due to the Government of the South African Republic payable to Her Majesty's forces now in occupation of certain portions of the said territory. This proclamation has aroused the keenest apprehension amongst the refugees. They are under the impression that those influences so well and accurately described the other day by the hon. Member for Mansfield, which now surround the Government of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony, will, under this proclamation, practically deprive them in a very large number of instances of their own property. It is quite impossible for them to pay the taxes and so on which are payable in respect of these properties, and unless the taxes are duly paid they fear that the properties will be forfeited. I wish to ask the Government whether they can give the House any assurance that those fines and penalties will not be enforced against these men in their absence. These people are not pro-Boers; they call themselves Imperialists; they are perfectly loyal to the Government of this country, but they have an apprehension that the capitalists will have an opportunity of "freezing them out," as it is termed, that it will be their object to limit the white population of Johannesburg and the mining centres as much as possible, to do as much of the work as possible by means of native labour, and to secure the complete control and dominion of the country with the presence of a very few white men, to whom they will have to pay high wages. I think this apprehension is a very natural one, and it has found very strong expression in Cape Town. With regard to the damage which is occasionally done to lines of communication, I would put it to the Government that it is utterly impossible in many cases for the people who live near the lines of communication to have any control whatever over the raiding bands that swoop down upon the railways and do the damage. Why, under circumstances of that kind, should these unfortunate people, simply because they happen to live near the lines of communication, be punished? The proclamation of the 19th June contains one article which I would venture to describe as the most cowardly thing ever put into any proclamation. It states—

> "As a further precautionary measure the Director of Military Railways has been authorised to order that one or more of the residents who will be selected by him from each district shall from time to time personally accompany trains while travelling through their districts."

That is to say, these men were to be taken as hostages up and down the railway. [Ministerial cheers.] Is that cheered on the other side of the House? [Renewed cheers.] Why, the authorities were so utterly ashamed of it that five weeks later they repealed the measure. This proclamation states that in the same districts where any damage is done to the railway a fine to the extent of 2s. 6d. per morgen will be levied on the area of the farm or farms on which the damage was done. Now, some of those farms average 6,000 acres. I think that is an enormous fine. We were told by a distinguished general who has recently returned from South Africa that these operations were not carried out by *bonâ fide* burghers, but by parties consisting of foreigners and people of that sort. If that be so, what earthly reason can there possibly be for penalising these poor unfortunate people who happen to live within a few miles of the railway, and where these things have happened very much against their will? There is another provision in one of those proclamations to which I should like to refer, and it is proclamation No. 35. It states that—

> "In cases where some members of a family, who all live on one farm, have broken their oath and gone on commando, those remaining are to be warned that, unless the former surrender within a reasonable period, all stock, supplies, etc., will be taken, and no receipt given."

The word "et cetera" is a tremendous word, and it is of indefinite magnitude. It represents watches, chains, and the household furniture. Everything is to be looted, and no receipt is to be given. There are also other provisions with regard to the burning of the leaders' houses, but I shall not detain the House any further upon this question. We gain absolutely nothing by enforcing such provisions as these, and I trust that for the sake of the honour and the credit and good name of this old country the Government will carry on the war in the future as it should be carried on between civilised Powers, and that women and children shall, as far as possible and consistent with the cruel necessity of war, be spared all this lamentable suffering of which our eyes have been witness within recent months.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS (Carnarvonshire, Eifion) said the hon. Member for North Aberdeen had referred to the condition in which the women were kept at Port Elizabeth, and he stated that they were not furnished with the proper necessities of life. He read last night a letter which strongly confirmed the complaint made by his hon. friend. The letter was written by a lady who was well known throughout South Africa, and she asserted that at Port Elizabeth in the camp there were between 300 and 600 women who were military prisoners, that there was only one chair for the lot of them, and they had to sleep on mattresses. She also stated in the same letter that fourteen of these women were expecting soon to become mothers, and had to sit the livelong day upon the ground. He thought it was necessary that they should know all the facts of these cases. His hon. friend had stated that he believed the English soldiers did all they could, and that they might be relied upon to treat the women fairly and properly. He quite agreed with that, but it was the authorities who were to blame. These women were absolutely deprived of any communication with the outer world, and although they were allowed to receive friends, they were not permitted to bring them newspapers. These women were the wives of soldiers who were fighting against the British, and they were imprisoned as military prisoners. It was absurd to talk of the Hague Convention, for nothing like this treatment of women had ever been practised before by any civilised nation. We went to war to preserve British civilisation as against the civilisation of the seventeenth century, which was rampant in the Transvaal, but what we were now imposing was not the civilisation of this country, but that of a debased section in the country who had forced it into war. Complaints had been made on both sides of the House with regard to the detention of the Imperial Yeomanry, and all Members of the House felt that they had not been fairly dealt with, and that they had been kept longer than the original terms of their engagement. A most important letter was published in the *Morning Leader* on Thursday last, which he thought should receive the immediate attention of the Secretary of State for the Colonies in the interest of discipline. Whether the statements in the letter were true or false it was equally important that they should have his attention. If true the persons implicated should at once be punished, and if untrue the statements should be denied. The letter purported to come from a man connected with the Imperial Yeomanry who was said to be a prominent man in the north of England. He made the usual complaint that he was being kept in South Africa after the war was said to be over, while the C.I.V.'s had been allowed to return because they had London at their back. Then the writer of the letter went on to say that the Australian contingent demanded to be sent home according to the terms of their engagement. That privilege was not accorded to them, and when they were ordered to march they refused, and threw down their rifles. The guns were then turned upon them, when they immediately picked up their rifles and said, "Now turn your guns upon us." The C.I.V.'s were allowed to come home because they had London at their back and the Australians because they went on strike. If this was not true, it was most important that this impression which was evidently credited among the Imperial Yeomanry should be corrected; if true, then it was necessary that immediate steps should be taken to deal with a gross breach of discipline in the British Army. His hon. friend the Member for Battersea was attacked by the right hon. Gentleman because of a reference he made to the fact that there was a considerable amount of dissatisfaction at the treatment accorded to the Volunteers. He invited the right hon. Gentleman's attention to what had appeared that day in the *Morning Leader*, written by Mr. Charles Williams, in which he made a very bitter reference to the praise accorded to a regiment like the C.I.V.'s. Practically they had done nothing. [Ministerial cries of "Oh, oh," and "Shame."] Their total casualties amounted only to 4½ per cent., whilst some of the Regular regiments had casualties in one engagement amounting to over 30 per cent. There was a feeling of jealousy existing among the Regulars because the Volunteers were practically carpet soldiers. [Ministerial cries of "No, no," and "Order, order!"] What was the use of booming these men, who had done nothing, as compared with our gallant Regulars who had fought our real battles at Magersfontein, Colenso, and Stormberg, and many of whose regiments had been decimated? The C.I.V.'s had been brought home to London and the whole business of London had been stopped in order to do them honour. It was only natural that the men who had really borne the heat and burden of the day would feel resentment at the treatment accorded to the C.I.V.'s simply to serve a political purpose by exciting the political ardour of the jingoes of England. Reference had been made to the ominous telegram from Lord Kitchener, in which an indication was disclosed of adopting some other method of dealing with the men who had broken the oath of neutrality, and in which it was hinted that the death penalty was to be exacted. He supposed that meant that all prisoners taken henceforth were to be shot. He noticed that some 600 of British men and officers had been captured by the Boers, and if Lord Kitchener carried out the death penalty there would certainly be reprisals by the Boers upon British prisoners. The moderation and patience of the Boers under the circumstances was astonishing, for they had treated British prisoners with the utmost care and consideration, and in such a way as had won over the hearts of British soldiers, who entertained the most kindly feeling towards the Boers, and this was solely on account of the experience they had had of them in the field. It was impossible not to expect that there would eventually be reprisals, and if it were found that our soldiers were being shot by the Boers the feeling of indignation which was now rising would attain such dimensions as would probably frighten even a Government with a majority of 130. The suggestion that these men should be shot was based on the assumption that they had voluntarily broken their oaths of neutrality. What occurred was that the oath of neutrality was forced upon them. An article appeared in the December number of the *Nineteenth Century* which he would commend to the attention of hon. Members. It was written by Mrs. J. R. Green, who visited the Boer prisoners at St. Helena. She had a conversation there with a pale, delicate lad, who stated that he had taken his oath. He added that he was told he would be shot if he did not take it. He declined twice, and thereupon a British officer took out his revolver, and with his finger on the trigger, put it to the lad's head. He was told a bullet would be put through his head, and he then took the oath. The British Army left, and the Boer Army then occupied the place. They took the lad on commando, and now it would appear that if he were taken prisoner he would be shot. That was monstrous. If the Boers were forced to take the oath under threat of being shot or deported, it was binding on them only as long as protection was afforded them. How would a similar oath be treated in the British Army? According to strict military rule, a British private is not allowed to take an oath of parole. What would occur in the event of an invasion of this country? Let the House imagine for a moment that England had been invaded by an allied continental force, and that all the southern counties had been cleared of the English, and that a certain number of English soldiers had been captured and forced to take the oath of neutrality. If these men had been recovered was it to be supposed for a moment that the oath they had taken would be allowed to prevent them from taking part in the defence of their country? The hon. Member opposite referred to the importance of our abasing ourselves before Almighty God. He was told that Lord Roberts was to be taken to a national service at St. Paul's Cathedral. To identify the Christian religion or any Christian service with the horrible practices in South Africa was blasphemy, and to approach the Throne of Grace under any such pretence was a blasphemous proceeding. What we ought to do was to alter our conduct and make it more in accord with that of a Christian nation, instead of being as it was in accordance with the worst proceedings even of uncivilised countries.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE (Carnarvon Boroughs): I am extremely reluctant to intervene in debate to-day, but the very grave news that has come this morning, and the fact that we shall not have an opportunity of discussing the situation for another two or three months in Parliament make it, I think, necessary that something should be said in addition to what has fallen from my hon. friends. We have just suffered one of the severest reverses of the war. We have suffered it after Lord Roberts had declared in a speech in South Africa that the war was over. It is also known from Lord Kitchener's despatch that De Wet has broken through for the tenth time, and that he has escaped with the bulk of his commando. That, in itself, is a serious fact, because it proves that the war is going to be prolonged for some months yet before guerilla warfare commences, because according to the rule laid down by the Colonial Secretary, as long as 2,000 or 3,000 men with guns hold together it cannot be called guerilla warfare. Accepting that definition, we have not yet even approached the guerilla stage. We have not yet arrived at the stage Lord Roberts said had been reached months ago, of marauding bands roaming over these two States. I make no further apology under these circumstances for trespassing on the time of the House. It is only within the last forty-eight hours we have had an opportunity of reading the proclamations issued by Lord Roberts. These proclamations ought really to have been published long ago, and even now that they are published I must call the attention of the House to very serious omissions. There are two or three documents necessary for the interpretation of the proclamations which the right hon. Gentleman admits the importance of by printing others of a similar character, and these are omitted altogether. I should like to know why the important correspondence between the General of the Boer forces and Lord Roberts has been omitted. In it Lord Roberts is stated to have communicated to the Boer General the fact that he meant to burn all farms within ten miles of any spot where the railway was broken. That communication is not included in these despatches as it ought to have been in view of the fact that Lord Roberts' orders were that the farmhouse nearest to the spot where the railway was broken should be burned. Then again, an order is published which interprets and modifies former orders, but I should like to know—and I think the House is entitled to the information—why the previous orders which were modified have not been published. I do not believe the House or the country fully realises what is going on. I took the trouble a day or two ago to go through the columns of *The Times* for the last couple of months with reference to the war, and I was astonished at the devastation to which we own up, with reference to the burning of farms. The Colonial Secretary endeavoured to minimise it the other day, but he could not possibly have read the evidence transmitted from South Africa. There is another very important admission in connection with this matter in the statement that two villages were burned. Bothaville, with the exception of one or two public buildings, was burned—the reason assigned being that there was sniping of the British troops from that village. I am not disputing whether that was right or wrong, but a few days afterwards another telegram stated that Bentestroom had shared the same fate of Bothaville — no reason being assigned. I am not discussing these military measures, but what I wish to criticise is that two important acts of this character were committed and no single word regarding them appears in Lord Roberts' despatches. I cannot believe that Lord Roberts has not reported these facts to the War Office—he has reported facts much more insignificant. The same observation applies to what is called "the clearing of the country" despatches. Sometimes Lord Roberts calls it "depleting," sometimes "denuding," and again, "clearing the country." It is only within the last few weeks that these despatches have been published at all. It is true we have had from time to time telegrams sent by Reuter and sometimes by Laffan, stating that the country west of Bloemfontein was all clear, that the country in the south-west of the Free State was all clear, and so on, but there was not a word about it in Lord Roberts' despatches. There has, however, been a change within the last fortnight. Despatches with reference to this matter are now being published, but why have they been suppressed up to the present? An article has appeared in *The Times* which shows that the burning of farms is a much more serious matter than the Colonial Secretary is prepared to admit. Summarising the news, *The Times* stated that General Hunter had completed his march from Bothaville to Kroonstad, "burning the farms on his way." That shows that it is not merely the farm nearest the spot where the railway is cut that is burned, but that a system of devastation has been carried on. I wonder if hon. Members have perused the proclamations which have just been published. I venture to say that they ought. I am sure that if hon. Members read the proclamations they would come to the conclusion that proceedings are sanctioned by them which they could not possibly approve of. In one of his proclamations Lord Roberts states that wherever public property is injured the houses in the vicinity of the place where the damage is done will be burned, and the principal civil residents will be made prisoners of war. The proclamation of 19th June, after referring to the cutting of the railways and the telegraphs, goes on to say—

> "The houses and farms"—

not the nearest houses—

> "in the vicinity of the place where the damage is done will be destroyed, and the residents in the neighbourhood dealt with under martial law."

And they are also fined, as my hon. friend near me reminds me. I am not going to discuss what the military rules are. I do not profess to understand them. But, at any rate, we have got to govern this country later on. We have made it part of the British Empire, and the first thing we have got to impress the inhabitants with is that, at any rate, we are a just people. Now, I ask, is there any justice in punishing one man for the offence of another? General Botha, General Delarey, General De Wet, or some other raiders, living, it may be, two hundred miles from the spot, swoop suddenly down and cut the railway. You do not punish De Wet, because you cannot catch him, but you burn the farms, possibly occupied by women and children, of all those people who have had nothing to do with the raid and the cutting of the railway. I do not think that is calculated to impress the inhabitants of those two States with a clear sense of the even-handed justice they are likely to have at our hands. The history of De Wet proves this. In the month of May last he offered to surrender his commando of 1,000 men on the simple condition that he would be allowed to return to his farm and his men to their farms. We said we would receive nothing but absolute unconditional surrender. The next step was that the railway was cut near Kroonstaad, not far from De Wet's farm. It is a silly assumption that that was done by De Wet, although he was in command of a force which was perfectly justified, according to the rules of war, in cutting your communications anywhere. But what did we do? We burned his farm buildings and devastated the whole place. It was a most excellent farm, because he was a most prosperous farmer. What was the next step? De Wet's wife died of a broken heart, and one of his sons was killed. He became a desperate man, and had nothing to gain by surrender. What has been the result to us? What have we gained? We have sustained more humiliating disasters at the hands of this man, whom we have treated so unfairly and so foolishly, than at the hands of any general opposed to us this century. He is making a mockery of our military prestige and making us the laughing stock of the world. We have 210,000 troops in the field, with all the resources of this great Empire at our disposal, and yet we cannot catch this one man who is in command of a force which, with all the exaggeration natural to the circumstances, we can only attribute to number 3,000. Nothing was gained by making this man desperate, and it was a silly, foolish, iniquitous policy to burn his farm, ruin his property, and bring his family to the grave. It is not a military question at all; it is a question of understanding the ordinary influences that govern human nature. Here you have a pastoral people and everything which naturally leads them to action—love of their property, intense love of their farms, which they have practically made, and of their houses (it may be said that these houses are only worth £50 or £60, but they cost a lifetime of work), all these sentiments, and love of country and of wife and children might have been utilised by us as a means of inducing them to return to their farms. But instead of that we convert all these feelings into a terrific weapon, and incite them to desperation and to greater deeds of anger against us. It is simply a perversion of statesmanship. As to the clearing of the country, that is a much more serious matter than the burning of the farms, and I will tell you the reason why. When a detachment of our troops burn a farm they see that the women and children are destitute, and that they must be provided for. Naturally, therefore, they take them to the nearest garrison town. But when you clear the country it means that you clear it of all food-stuffs. That is stated specifically in Lord Roberts' proclamation and in all the telegrams from the front. You leave the women and children on the farms, but you leave no food for them. There is one question I would like to ask the right hon Gentleman the Secretary for War. How many of these women and children are in the charge of the British Army and fed by it? I challenge hon. Members to read these despatches and not to come to the conclusion that practically the whole of the country from the Orange River right up to the line of Pretoria has been swept clean of cattle so far as we can do it. You read one day of General Hunter clearing the country from Bothaville to Kroonstaad, next that General Knox has cleared the country between the Vaal and Thaba Nchu-Ladybrand line. In every part of the country you find clearing operations going on; but what have you done to provide for the women and children left behind? The proclamations say that this is done not merely because of treachery or because a farmer has broken his oath, but that when a member of the family is on commando the farm is to be cleared and no receipt given. In what civilised country would that be tolerated? If we were at war with France would we go to a soldier's house and clear it out simply because the soldier was at the front? The whole country is denuded by these operations. Does the House really consider what that means? There must be from 120,000 to 150,000 women and children in the two States, and a very small proportion of these are fed by the

British Army. We clear the country and leave all the women and children there without any provisions at all, and at the mercy of the Kaffirs. More than that, are these Boers who are on commando, and who are ranging the country, going to starve as long as a single bag of mealies is to be found in the Kaffir kraals? We seem to have overlooked the fact that there are 800,000 Kaffirs in the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal. Would De Wet's or the other raiding commandoes starve so long as they can turn in and raid Kaffir mealies? There are telegrams that state that they are attacking Kaffir villages for that very purpose. What is to be done? Is the whole country to be cleared of all foodstuffs? If so, what is to be done with the Kaffirs? We have 900,000 paupers in this country; are we going to have a million in South Africa? We are organising a famine in South Africa. I think the House ought to take cognisance of these facts. Clearing the country cannot be disputed on the evidence of Lord Roberts himself and of the correspondents. Let me quote a telegram which shows how futile these operations are. It came on 25th November from the camp at Nooitgedacht, stating that 550 prisoners had been captured together with mealies and ammunition, and over 2,000 head of cattle. It then goes on—"The district has been cleared of anything that would assist the enemy." Three weeks after we hear from the same place the news of one of the greatest disasters of the whole war! That shows how foolish, how futile all this policy is. We are providing a famine, and possibly a native insurrection. How long will the civilised world stand this? Whatever the Governments and rulers may do, it is perfectly clear what the people of Europe are thinking about this business; and it is quite possible that one day their feelings may become too strong for their rulers. I remind the House that there was foreign intervention in the dispute with the American colonists, and if this war is prolonged, and if operations of this character are carried on, then I say there will be foreign intervention in South Africa, and we shall have to pay the penalty, not merely of the shame of the transactions in these colonies, but the much more substantial penalty of facing the world in arms against us.

*MR. ELLIOT (Durham) said the House had listened to speeches of a somewhat impassioned character by hon. Gentlemen opposite. No doubt they felt very strongly, and deplored from the very bottom of their hearts what was going on in South Africa, although they seemed to depend a good deal on unverified details. But they had lost sight of the dangerous and difficult position in which this country stood as regarded the whole war. Vigorously as they had been pleading, he had heard throughout the debate not a single suggestion as to how we are to improve our position Whether there was any injustice in any one particular case was not the only question to be considered. We were face to face with a position of extraordinary difficulty which at any time might become a position of considerable danger. Yet hon. Gentlemen concentrated their attention upon what are, as a matter of fact, military measures only. What should be done while battles raged and victories were being lost and won, must, in the main, be left to the views of the commanders in the field, and one might search all history through and not find a general more generous in spirit in his attempt to make his rule indulgent and just than Lord Roberts. He last summer called attention to the proclamation of Lord Roberts, and asked whether it was issued according to the principles of international law or whether it was hurriedly drawn up without legal assistance, and whether it would not be better for the Government to withdraw it. He received no answer to that question, which did not much trouble him, but at the same time he was glad to see that the proclamation which Lord Roberts issued after he got into Bloemfontein, and which turned every soldier who opposed us in the field into rebels, had been practically repealed by the proclamation which he issued in the following September. Nothing could have been more hurried than the issue of the first proclamation, which was issued when Lord Roberts, after a hurried march, seized the town and held no more territory than he commanded by the range of his guns. He had no hesitation in informing the House that such a proclamation could not make those who opposed us rebels in the ordinary sense of the word. Rebellion meant the breaking of allegiance. In this case there was no allegiance to break, so that in the nature of the case there could be no rebellion or treason. It was therefore with a feeling of considerable satisfaction that he noticed that, to a large extent, the terms of that proclamation had been abrogated. It was not his intention to go at length into the question of the burning of farms, but our position in South Africa was a position of danger, and what was absolutely necessary was that our lines of communication should be secured. We could not keep our troops there unless we secured the line of communication by which they were to be fed. Therefore he did not agree that it was not right in any case to burn farms when the owner of the farm used it as a fortress. But the matter also had to be looked at from the point of view not only of the man to whom the farm belonged, and who had been guilty of some irregular act of war, but also from the point of view of military necessity. Warfare could not be carried on without things being done which were sometimes in themselves unjust. Wars in themselves were deplorable, and this was no exception to the rule; but at the same time we were fighting for our own credit and the welfare of South Africa, because there would never be peace and prosperity in South Africa until our authority was supreme from Cape Town to the north of the Transvaal. It was our duty to bring the war to an end, and in discussing the question of the burning of farms it was not right to have no regard to anything but the particular justice of any particular case—of whether the man to whom the farm belonged had done anything which would make it right to destroy a particular farm. There might be cases where property had been destroyed in which, when peace was restored, a question might arise as to whether it was right and just to restore that property, but we had to feed our army. However anxious brave soldiers might be to fight they could not do so unless the lines of communication were kept open. Hon. Members seemed to consider that war consisted really of one set of men shooting another set of men, but that was not the whole art of war. This was the last occasion for two months that anything could be said in the House of Commons upon the subject of the war, and it was not, perhaps, very much to be regretted. The House, with practical unanimity, had done its best to heartily support the Government, and had voted as much money as they chose to ask for, for the purpose of bringing the war to an end, and it was not for him to say upon what terms peace should be made. It was with intense satisfaction that he had heard the speech of the Colonial Secretary, which, however, throughout, contained nothing new with regard to the policy of the Government in respect of South Africa. It is suggested that the overtures contained in the right hon. Gentleman's speech had not been favourably received by Dutch papers of South Africa; but it must not be forgotten that the Dutch press in that country were in antagonism to the Government of the present time, and whatever projects the Government had in view it would be foolish to suppose would be well received at the Cape. He supported those projects, not only because he thought they were liberal and right, but because the policy of the Government was the only policy by which self-government could ever be obtained by South Africa. He had heard during the course of the debate a good deal of comment upon the actions of Sir Alfred Milner. He believed Sir A. Milner to be a thoroughly just man, and that when he set up his authority as governor in the Transvaal he would be found to be a just man. He would take up his duties with the support of the whole English population, and some backing from the Dutch. No doubt on occasions he would be called upon to place severe restraint on the extreme section of the Outlanders, but if he were, nobody could do it better than he. They had heard much of the horrors of the war. War was accompanied by horrors, unfortunately, and the details were such as to move our deepest regrets. An article in the *Nineteenth Century*, written by a learned gentleman very well acquainted with the law and practice of war, stated that so far as he knew the case, and when everything was said and done, on both sides up to the present time there had been an absence of cruelty and barbarity in this war—an absence of the exaggerated horrors and cruelties which made it compare favourably with previous wars. Horrible as some of the stories were, he believed that was so. He thought that when they looked to the action of our officers and soldiers, and also to the action of the

Boers they might feel with some confidence that the humanity of the combatants was on the increase, and that there was really no reason to make accusations of barbarity on the one side or the other. The news they had heard that day was depressing to a degree. When they came back some two months hence, he trusted that they would hear better news, that at last victory would be wholly restored to our arms, and that peace would be so far established that they would be able to carry out the wise policy which was ably presented to Parliament the other day by the Secretary for the Colonies.

MR. CAINE (Cornwall, Camborne) said his hon. and learned friend who had just sat down complained of the somewhat impassioned speeches which had been made. If they stripped away all passion on both sides, the controversy before them would be nothing more than whether it was wise to continue the coercion policy in South Africa which hon. Members on that side of the House, and many on the other side, deplored. It was a question of coercion against conciliation. He believed that the sad and deplorable news they had just received showed that the policy of coercion would be a failure. It was absurd to talk about guerilla warfare and all the rest of it, in view of the news they had received. They wanted the war brought to an end. He agreed with the hon. Member for Durham that it was impossible to vote against the supplies now asked for. The war was being carried on by the nation, and they were bound to pay for it. He wanted to say a few words on behalf of his own constituency. He represented a constituency which was interested in South Africa more than any other represented in that House. There were 1,500 men in it who had come home from South Africa after spending seven, ten, or twelve years in the country. These men had remitted home £220,000 of their wages saved in time of peace in South Africa. Why were they at home? There was no employment for them in Cornwall, the mining industry there being more or less depressed. During the contest in which he had recently been engaged he stood on the side of conciliation, and his opponent stood on the side of coercion, frankly and avowedly. He had gone through eleven contested elections, and he had never known one where the issue was so clear and definite. His opponent had the active support of the Government, and the Secretary for the Colonies sent a telegram recommending him to the constituency. He had no fault to find with the right hon. Gentleman. The telegram contained some kindly words concerning himself. It was a strong appeal to the constituency to stand for coercion against conciliation.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN, Birmingham, W.): I did not use the word "coercion" or "conciliation."

MR. CAINE: Oh, no, but it was in warm support of my opponent. A telegram of that nature surely commits the Secretary for the Colonies to approve of the line my opponent was taking. Continuing, the hon. Member said that in 1895 the Unionist candidate was returned with a majority of 462, whereas at the last General Election he (Mr. Caine) was returned with a majority of 108. That result was a direct declaration of the opinion of the constituency which more than any other in the country had material relations in South Africa and personal knowledge of the country. Of the men home from South Africa 700 were actually on the register. They were Uitlanders. They were not common miners; they were sober, thrifty, well-educated people—men who could command good positions in South Africa. They were foremen and could earn £30 a month in wages. The influence put on these men, legitimate and a great deal illegitimate, to vote for his opponent was enormous. They were told that if they did not support his opponent they would be boycotted when they went back to South Africa by the owners and managers of the mines on Rand, because they had been faithless to the interest of the mine owners. Of the 700 on the register 650 recorded their votes for himself, standing on a policy of conciliation against a policy of coercion. He believed this war would never end so long as the present policy of coercion was continued. His hon. friend the Member for Durham said the country had confidence in Lord Roberts as a merciful man, but he did not say it had confidence in Lord Kitchener. Lord Kitchener was going to carry out an avowed policy of coercion of the strongest character. He thought the Government should carefully consider whether they could not strike out some method of conciliation that would bring the war to a close. Why could they not tell the people in arms that if they would lay down their arms they would be treated as fellow-subjects, and that in 1902 they would be allowed to form their own government and enter into the privileges of a free colony? All history showed that the line the Government was taking was one which could end only in failure.

MR. BRYNMOR JONES (Swansea Boroughs) asked why no despatch of a full character, according to military precedent, had been published since 17th April, and whether the non-publication was on the advice of the ex-Commander-in-Chief, and in accordance with the Queen's regulations.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): The question of the hon. Gentleman with regard to the non-publication of the despatches has, I think, been already answered by the declaration of my right hon. friend the First Lord of the Treasury, who said that until the operations in which these officers had been involved had to some extent come to an end it would not be possible to publish a long series of despatches. Although the war is certainly not over in that sense, still the operations have assumed a different character, and, as regards the main expedition, I hope to be able to publish the despatches very shortly indeed. It is our object, as I have said before, to lay before Parliament and the country as full and frank a declaration as we can, in order that they may see what has occurred and form their own judgment upon it. As to the general debate of the last two hours, I have given attention to what has fallen from hon. Members opposite, but I am afraid I cannot usefully add anything to what has already been said by the Secretary for the Colonies in regard to the policy of the Government in respect of the future conduct of the war. I do not think anything has been said in the course of the long debates during the last fortnight which can lead any man in South Africa to suppose that the Government is anxious to continue any line of policy which will make it more difficult for the Boers to cease from their present operations and return to their farms. But on the general principle that the colonies must be British colonies, and that the government cannot at present, at any rate, be a representative government—on these points for the present it is absolutely impossible for the Government to make any concession. When we are dealing, as we are still dealing, with organised hostile bands in the field, too great progress in the direction which has been urged so universally by speakers on the opposite side this morning would be taken by any country, and would certainly be taken by the Boers, as an exhibition of weakness, and a concession not given owing to our generosity, but wrung from us by the difficulties which have been occasioned by the war. I do not wish to labour this, or say another word upon it. I may expose myself if I do so to the suggestion that I am endeavouring in some respects to detract from the declarations of the Colonial Secretary. We abide by those declarations. We have every reason to believe that in the humane conduct of the war Lord Kitchener is entirely at one with Her Majesty's Government. We have given our own opinion with regard to the policy of burning farms. We are aware that our general in South Africa has issued stringent instructions in regard to it; and I do not think that anything can be shown which is likely to add to the feeling of bitterness which undoubtedly exists on the part of the Boers, but which it is the desire of Her Majesty's Government as far as possible to replace by that feeling of confidence in our Government which we believe will grow up when British rule is established. There is only one speech of which I desire to take notice, a speech conceived in a most unfortunate tone—that of the hon. Member for the Eifion Division of Carnarvonshire. I am sorry after what occurred the other night to have to state what I believe is the feeling of the great majority of the House on both sides with regard to speeches of the character of that delivered by that hon. Gentleman. I think that when troops have gone out to the seat of war—some of them Regulars, some of them Volunteers, some of them, like the Militia, semi-Regulars, but who have gone out as Volunteers—when such troops have served side by side without distinctions being made, without anything which divides them from each other, I think it is not only an ungenerous, but I was going to say almost a criminal thing to attempt to drive in the wedge of discontent between them, to look about in order to pick up scraps of information without any authority——

MR. BRYN ROBERTS: There was authority—the statements of the soldiers themselves. I would tell the right hon. Gentleman that I will not be brow-beaten by anything he may say.

MR. BRODRICK: The hon. Gentleman says the remark of one soldier is to govern the opinion of the whole rank and file of the British Army. That is the sort of statement which is brought before us by an hon. Gentleman who founds on it a general indictment, and who, having sat here comfortably at home himself——

MR. BRYN ROBERTS: As you did, and got paid for it.

MR. BRODRICK: The hon. Gentleman is not ashamed to call men who for nine months have been faring hardly and going through great privations, and who have not complained at all, carpet soldiers, from the comfortable position he occupies in this House.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS: In comparison with the men who were at Magersfontein.

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Gentleman has expressed his views, and I must ask him not to persist in these interruptions.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS: The right hon. Gentleman ought himself to observe the decencies of debate.

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Gentleman himself used strong expressions, and he should not resent the reply which is made to them.

MR. BRODRICK: I will withdraw not a word of what I have said.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS: Nor will I.

*MR. SPEAKER: I must ask the hon. Member not at every sentence to interject retorts and denials. The hon. Member must keep himself under control.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS: I am.

MR. BRODRICK: It is because the hon. Gentleman, on insufficient premisses, and without verifying his assertions, makes suggestions of this kind, which he knows will be telegraphed out to those in South Africa who do not know him as the opinion of a Member of the British House of Commons, that I hold him up as I do to the censure of the House and to the reprobation of every fair-minded man in the country. I say that the great mass of the Members in this House dislike these accusations, and that the great mass of Members in the House regard them as an entire infringement of those liberties of free speech we enjoy in Parliament. Members of Parliament have the responsibility, in my judgment, of coming here equipped with facts that they can verify, but have not the right of launching at Her Majesty's soldiers, whether Volunteers or Regulars, insinuations which they are not able to prove. I hope we may be allowed now to close this discussion. I can only say, as regards the more important considerations brought forward with great feeling by hon. Members opposite, that they will not find in the recess that the Government have been unmindful of their declarations with regard to their consideration for the Boers. On the other hand they will also find that we must fulfil our paramount duty of supporting Lord Kitchener to the best of our ability, and, in the interest of the common good of this country and of South Africa, of bringing this war to a speedy conclusion.

*MR. CHANNING (Northamptonshire, E.): I had no intention of intervening in this debate, but I think the right hon. Gentleman has been slightly unfair to the hon. Member for the Eifion Division. My reason for saying so is that, as I understand, my hon. friend laid before the right hon. Gentleman a statement from one of the men of the Yeomanry, drawing attention to the state of indiscipline alleged to be shown by certain Australians. He asked whether those facts were true, and, if so, whether the military authorities would not punish those who were responsible for allowing such a breach of discipline to take place. I do think that to hold up an hon. Member to opprobrium in the violent terms used by the right hon. Gentleman simply for asking for information, and that the discipline of the Army should be maintained, is hardly a reasonable exercise of the power which resides in the right hon. Gentleman as a distinguished Member of this House. I have only one thing more to say. I welcome the tone of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman in so far as he has thrown light on the present policy of the Government. The real point we have at heart on this side of the House—and we feel it too deeply to wish to treat the question as a party matter—is that this war should be brought to an end, and that there should be no unmerciful treatment of our foes. I hope we may interpret the words of the right hon. Gentleman as an assurance on behalf of Her Majesty's Government that they will see that the anticipations in regard to Lord Kitchener and the methods it is suggested he will adopt will not be realised. We have a right to demand that. It is clearly proved that the policy of coercion has only exasperated the situation in South Africa, and has brought the war almost into as perilous a state again as it was last December. No one of us here can form an exact appreciation of what are actually the real relative military risks and possibilities, but clearly the policy of exasperation, the policy of denial of hope, has led to an increased intensity of attack on the part of the Boer forces. Do let us take a wider, a more generous consideration of all the forces and motives at work among the population of South Africa. There is one point which has been too often overlooked, and which I would venture to ask the House to consider dispassionately. Again and again small bodies of British troops have been captured by the Boers under circumstances of hard and desperate fighting. We know perfectly well that in these desperate skirmishes, where unfortunate British soldiers have been placed at a disadvantage and compelled reluctantly to surrender, the Boers have behaved generously in ceasing to fight the moment there was a sign that the British recognised their inability to continue the contest. Men of brutal and murderous disposition, carrying on guerilla warfare such as you have heard of in Spain and other countries, would have availed themselves of every opportunity to cut down and destroy their opponents. Hundreds of families in this country have to thank this forbearance of the Boers at such a moment for the return of those they love. It is therefore proved that we are dealing with men who have the sentiments of humanity and fair play in their hearts, and I do trust that the terrible insinuation in a London newspaper the other day, that Lord Kitchener was a man who would not hesitate to kill, will not be allowed to be justified in the fact. Are we to have these men shot down as rebels, treated with the full measure of martial law, or are we to recognise that they are men of, whatever faults they may have, humane and generous instincts? I hope that what has fallen from the right hon. Gentleman does mean that there is no truth in any of the hateful suggestions as to what Lord Kitchener's future proceedings will be.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS: I desire to make a personal explanation. The right hon. Gentleman charged me with alluding to the C.I.V.'s as carpet soldiers without any *data*, or without any proof. I expressly stated the grounds on which I made that reference, and that was that only 4½ per cent. of casualties were sustained by them——

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

MR. BRYN ROBERTS: He misrepresented what I said.

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Gentleman is replying on the speech, which is not permissible.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS: I am saying that he misrepresented what I said.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read the third time and passed.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to—

Supplemental War Loan (No. 2) Bill.

Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill, without Amendment.

MESSAGE TO ATTEND THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS.

The House went; and the Royal Assent was given to—

1. Appropriation Act, 1900 (Session 2).

2. Supplemental War Loan (No. 2) Act, 1900.

And afterwards Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech was delivered to both Houses of Parliament by the Lord High Chancellor (in pursuance of Her Majesty's Commands), as followeth:—

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I thank you for the liberal provision which you have made for the expenses incurred by the operations of My Armies in South Africa and China.

Then a Commission for proroguing the Parliament was read.

After which the Lord Chancellor said—

"*My Lords, and Gentlemen,*

"By virtue of Her Majesty's Commission, under the Great Seal, to us and other Lords directed, and now read, we do, in Her Majesty's name, and in obedience to her commands, prorogue this Parliament to Thursday the 14th day of February next, to be then here holden; and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Thursday, the 14th day of February next."

End of the First Session of the Fifteenth Parliament of Her Majesty.

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[AUTHORISED EDITION].

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HOUSE OF COMMONS. SESSION 2, 1900.

List of Rules, Orders, &c., which have been presented during the Session, and are required by Statute to lie for an appointed number of Days upon the Table of the House.

Title of Paper.	Date from which the Period runs.	Period to lie upon the Table.
Factory and Workshop Acts (Period of Employment) (Warehouses in Factories or Workshops where Bright or Burnished Metal Goods are made),—Copy of Order, dated 6th September, 1900, made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department in pursuance of Section 65 of The Factory and Workshop Act, 1878, and Section 39 of The Factory and Workshop Act, 1895, permitting the Warehouses in Factories and Workshops where Bright or Burnished Metal Goods are made to be treated as separate Factories or Workshops, as far as regards the period of employment of children, young persons, and women [41 and 42 Vic., c. 16, s. 65]	6 December	40 days
Inebriates Acts, 1879 to 1899 (Rules for Retreats),—Copy of Rules for Retreats licensed under the Inebriates Acts, 1879 to 1899, dated 18th October, 1900, approved by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, in substitution for the Rules dated 10th August, 1888 [61 and 62 Vic., c. 60, s. 21 (1)]	6 December	4 weeks (whilst the House is sitting)
Intermediate Education (Ireland),—Copy of Time Table of Examinations for 1901 [41 and 42 Vic., c. 66, s. 6]	6 December	40 Days
Agriculture and Technical Instruction (Ireland) Act, 1899 (Rules),—Copy of Rules made under the Act for the execution of the Judicial duties in the Fisheries (Ireland) Acts, 1842 to 1898 [62 and 63 Vic., c. 50, s. 28 (2)]	6 December	40 days
Agriculture and Technical Instruction (Ireland) Act, 1899 (Rules),—Copy of Amended Rules for the Administration of Loans under The Sea and Coast Fisheries Fund (Ireland) Act, 1884 [62 and 63 Vic., c. 50, s. 28 (2)].	6 December	40 days
Winter Assizes (Ireland),—Copy of Four Orders in Council, dated 2nd November, 1900, for holding Winter Assizes in Ireland [40 and 41 Vic., c. 57, s. 69]	6 December	100 sitting days
Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Act, 1877 (Oxford),—Copy of a Statute made by the Governing Body of St. John's College, Oxford, on 9th December, 1899, amending Statutes III. 1, III. 14, V. 4a, and XV. 2, of the Statutes of the College [40 and 41 Vic., c. 48, s. 50]	6 December	12 weeks
Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Act, 1877 (Oxford),—Copy of a Statute made by the Governing Body of Worcester College, Oxford, on 24th January, 1900, amending Statute III. 16 of the Statutes of the College [40 and 41 Vic., c. 48, s. 50]	6 December	12 weeks
Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Act, 1877 (Oxford),—Copy of a Statute made by the Governing Body of Exeter College, Oxford, on 16th March, 1900, amending Statutes II. and V. of the Statutes of that College [40 and 41 Vic., c. 48, s. 50]	6 December	1 week

Title of Paper.	Date from which the Period runs.	Period to lie upon the Table.
Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Act, 1877, (Oxford)—Copy of a Statute made by the Governing Body of Jesus College, Oxford, on 16th March, 1900, amending the Schedule to the Statutes of that College [40 and 41 Vic., c. 48, s. 50]	6 December	12 weeks
Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Act, 1877 (Oxford),—Copy of a Statute made by the Governing Body of New College, Oxford, on 24th March, 1900, amending Statute III., Clause 18, of the Statutes of that College [40 and 41 Vic., c. 48, s. 50]	6 December	12 weeks
Public Records Supreme Court of Judicature,—Copy of Schedule containing a List and Particulars of Classes of Documents existing or in ordinary course about to exist in the Central Office, and in the District Registries, which are not considered of sufficient public value to justify their preservation in the Public Record Office [40 and 41 Vic., c. 55, s. 1]	6 December	4 weeks
Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899,—Copy of General Order for the Regulation of Proceedings under and in pursuance of The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, amending General Orders Nos. 70 and 71, already issued [62 and 63 Vic. c. 47, s. 15 (3)]	14 December	One month

NOTICES OF MOTIONS

WHICH NOW STAND IN THE ORDER BOOK OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

FOR THE NEXT SESSION.

1. Mr. Herbert Lewis,—Museum Grants,—That it is desirable to give Wales a due share of the Museum Grants of the United Kingdom.

2. Mr. Macnamara,—Elementary Education (Finance),—To call attention to the system of financing Elementary Education in England and Wales from public funds, central and local, and from voluntary subscriptions; and to move, That a Select Committee be appointed to report specifically to the House as to whether it is expedient that public elementary education should continue to be maintained in any part by voluntary contributions; if not, whether the public funds necessary should be drawn entirely from the central exchequer or from both central and local sources; in the event of the Report being in favour of the perpetuation of a local charge for education, how the fund necessary to meet the said local charge may be most equitably raised; and if it be decided that all public elementary schools shall derive their necessary income from wholly public sources, what changes may be necessary and desirable in the management and conduct of the schools.

3. Sir Francis Powell,—Standing Committees (Amendment of Standing Order 50),—New Proviso in lieu of existing Proviso: Provided always that every such Bill on report to the House shall be appointed for consideration, and if a Bill has been amended by the Standing Committee the provisions of Standing Order No. 40 (Consideration of Bills as amended) shall not apply to such amended Bill.

4. Sir Albert Rollit,—London Boroughs (Honorary Freedom),—Bill to extend the Honorary Freedom of Boroughs Act to the new London Boroughs.

5. Mr. Tomlinson,—New Parliaments (Taking the Oath),—That, in order to provide for the more seemly and regular taking and subscribing of the Oath at the commencement of a new Parliament, the Clerks shall prepare and place upon the Table lists headed for each half-hour during the Sitting of the House on the days prescribed for taking the Oath, and so numbered as not to allow of more than 50 names being so subscribed, and all Members not being Privy Councillors or not being entitled by custom to precedence, may subscribe their names on the lists so prepared, and during each half-hour in such Sitting the Members shall (subject to any customary precedence) be entitled to come to the Table in the order in which their names appear on such lists, and shall have during such hour precedence over any Members whose names are not subscribed to such list.